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A HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

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JAMES THE FIFTH

From the portrait in the possession of the University of Aberdeen.

A HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

FROM THE ROMAN EVACUATION TO THE DISRUPTION, 1843

BY

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PREFACE

ALMOST within the past generation the processes of Scottish history have been disencumbered from confusing debris of conjecture, revealing in authoritative detail a story of development unsurpassed by the national experience of any modern community. To the *Histories* of the late Historiographer and Mr Andrew Lang I owe the guidance every reader must receive from them, though I dissent not infrequently from their reflexions on facts and persons. Dr William Law Mathieson's work, covering a more restricted field, has as permanent a place in the bibliography of the subject. My canvas is smaller, my purpose restatement rather than reconstruction. English history is generously served by works of varying thoroughness. In Scotland none intervenes between the several-volumed *Histories* already named and text-books merely adequate to school-room use. To fill the gap this volume has been written in the interests of the general reader and student alike. Its *format* forbids the documenting of statements or minuting of authorities. But the facts have been closely tested. I hope they will not be accused of dulness through the author's lack of wit or imagination to present them otherwise.

There is no historical literature that lends itself more naturally to genealogical illustration than Scotland's. There is no mode of elucidation so invariably omitted. I have striven to provide an apparatus whose utility, I think, will be obvious to those who use it. But for considerations of space there is no reason why the thirty-two Pedigree Tables that follow should not have been sixty-four. As it is, I have been guided in my selection of subjects by three considerations: to afford a complete genealogy of the Royal House: to prefer less familiar

mediaeval to modern pedigrees: and to exclude families —*e.g.* Montrose and Dundee—prominent through the activities of but one of their members. I express my sincere thanks to the Lyon-King-of-Arms, Sir James Balfour Paul, C.V.O., for his interest in these Tables and his invaluable revision of them.

The frontispiece is a portrait of King James V from a picture lately come into the possession of this University. Its remoter history is not known. But its authenticity and the identity of its subject are not questionable. Its likeness to the well-known picture of the King painted with Mary of Guise is very apparent.

Among the maps, that of Early Scotland I owe to the kindness of Mr W. R. Kermack: it is taken from his excellent *Historical Geography of Scotland*: the map of the Earldoms and Sheriffdoms has been based upon a similar map in the Oxford *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, by kind permission of the Delegates of the Oxford University Press and of Messrs W. & A. K. Johnston, Limited.

I warmly acknowledge help received from Mr W. Douglas Simpson, Lecturer in British History in this University. His full knowledge of Scottish history has been of advantage to pages which have passed in proof under his careful eye. To my colleagues, Professor W. L. Davidson, LL.D., and Professor A. A. Jack, I am indebted for wise counsel upon the subjects in which they are authorities.

C. SANFORD TERRY.

King's College,
Old Aberdeen.
August, 1920.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
1.	THE ROMAN EPISODE	1
2.	THE FOUNDATIONS	10
3.	A FEUDAL KINGDOM	21
4.	CONSOLIDATION	40
5.	THE CONTESTED SUCCESSION	56
6.	THE BRUCES	70
7.	THE EARLY STEWARTS	86
8.	JAMES THE FIRST	101
9.	THE FALL OF THE DOUGLAS	112
10.	JAMES THE THIRD	124
11.	FLODDEN FIELD	136
12.	THE FRENCH ALLIANCE	153
13.	THE ARRAN REGENCY	171
14.	THE REFORMATION	183
15.	MARY STEWART	204
16.	THE COUNTER-REFORMATION	229
17.	THE CATHOLIC REVOLT	261
18.	KING AND KIRK	287
19.	THE COVENANT	311
20.	THE SOLEMN LEAGUE	353
21.	THE CROMWELLIAN UNION	385
22.	THE RESTORATION	419
23.	THE REVOLUTION	452
24.	THE UNION	485
25.	CIVIL WAR	521
26.	THE NATIONAL REVIVAL	563
27.	DISRUPTION AND REFORM	596
	INDEX	629

FRONTISPIECE

James the Fifth (from the portrait in possession of the University of Aberdeen)

MAPS

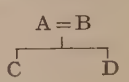
		TO FACE PAGE
1.	Early Scotland	16
2.	Earldoms and Sheriffdoms *circa* 1300	64
3.	The Lowlands and the Border Districts	144
4.	Protestants and Roman Catholics *circa* 1590	272
5.	Covenanters and Royalists, 1644	352
6.	The Campaigns of Montrose	384
7.	The Highland Clans	464
8.	Scotland and Northern England: The Jacobite Campaigns	528

PEDIGREE TABLES

NOTE

The sign = signifies a marriage: A = (1) B indicates that B was the first spouse of A. A ≈ B signifies the irregular union of A and B.

Legitimate descent is shown by straight rules: the illustration states A and B to be the parents of C and D.



Illegitimate descents are distinguished by a wavy rule ~~~~~~.

The letters d. *s.p.* indicate death without heirs; d. *s.p. leg.* death without legitimate heirs; d. *v.p.* death in the lifetime of the father.

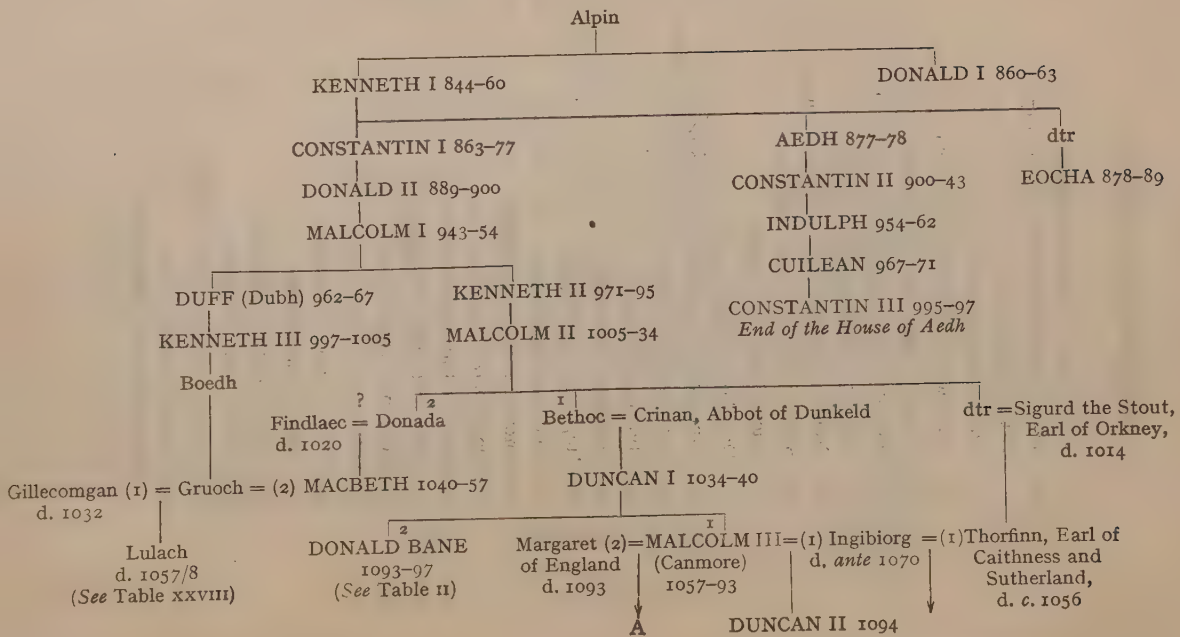
Double dates, *e.g.* 1370/1, record an event that happened between January 1 and March 24 inclusive of the first, civil and legal, year (1370) according to the Old, and of the second, historical, year (1371) according to the New Style. The Old Style year began on March 25. The New Style reckoning in Scotland dates from January 1, 1600, in England from January 1, 1753.

In Tables extended over two pages the join is indicated by the letters A and B below and above a short arrow point. The persons named immediately below the arrow point on the lower page are sons or daughters of those named immediately above the arrow point on the upper page.

PEDIGREE TABLES

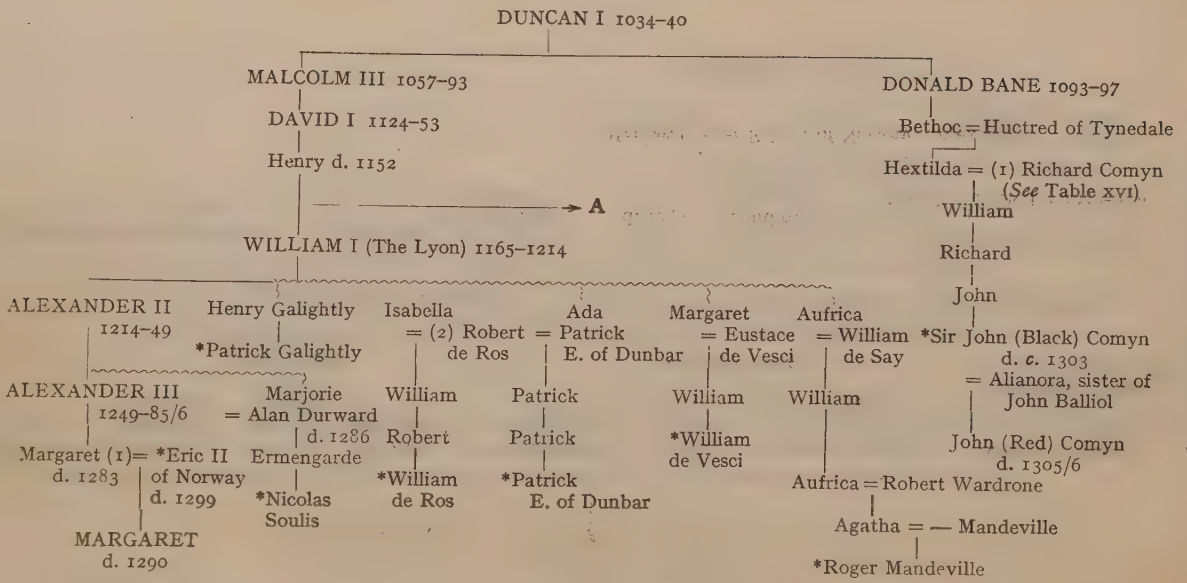
1. The House of Alpin 844–1290.
2. The Contested Succession 1290–1371.
3. Bruce of Carrick.
4. The House of Stewart to 1371.
5. The House of Stewart 1371–1807.
6. Stewart, Hamilton, and Lennox.
7. Stewart, Tudor, and Suffolk.
8. Anglo-Scottish Royal Marriages.
9. Stewart, Valois, Guise, and Bourbon.
10. Stewart Heirs of Line and Law.
11. Ancient Earls of Angus.
12. Douglas of Angus.
13. Campbell of Argyll and Breadalbane.
14. Ancient Earls of Atholl.
15. Murray of Atholl.
16. Comyn of Badenoch.
17. Hepburn of Bothwell.
18. Comyn of Buchan.
19. Ancient Earls of Carrick.
20. Douglas of Douglas.
21. Ancient Earls of Fife.
22. Ancient Lords of Galloway.
23. Gordon of Huntly.
24. Macdonald of the Isles.
25. Ancient Earls of Lennox.
26. Ancient Earls of Mar.
27. Ancient Earls of Menteith.
28. Ancient Earls of Moray.
29. Sinclair of Orkney and Caithness.
30. Ancient Earls of Ross.
31. Ancient Earls of Strathearn.
32. Sutherland of Sutherland.

I. THE HOUSE OF ALPIN 844–1290



A
Edward d. 1093
Edmund Prince of Cumbria
Ethelred Abbot of Dunkeld
E. of Fife
d. ante 1098
(See Table XXI)
EDGAR 1097–1106/7
ALEXANDER I 1106/7–24
DAVID I 1124–53
Henry d. 1152
Matilda = Henry I d. 1118 of England (See Table VIII)
Mary = Eustace d. 1116 of Boulogne
Matilda = Stephen d. 1152 of England
MALCOLM IV 1153–65
WILLIAM I (The Lyon) 1165–1214
David (See Table II)
2
Margaret = Hubert de Burgh d. 1295 d. 1243
3
Isabella = Roger Bigod E. of Norfolk d. 1270
4
Marjorie = Gilbert E. of Pembroke d. 1244 d. 1241
1
ALEXANDER II 1214–49
ALEXANDER III 1249–85/6
Margaret (1) = Eric II of Norway d. 1283 d. 1299
Alexander d. 1283/4
David d. 1281
MARGARET 1285/6–90

II. THE CONTESTED SUCCESSION 1290–1371

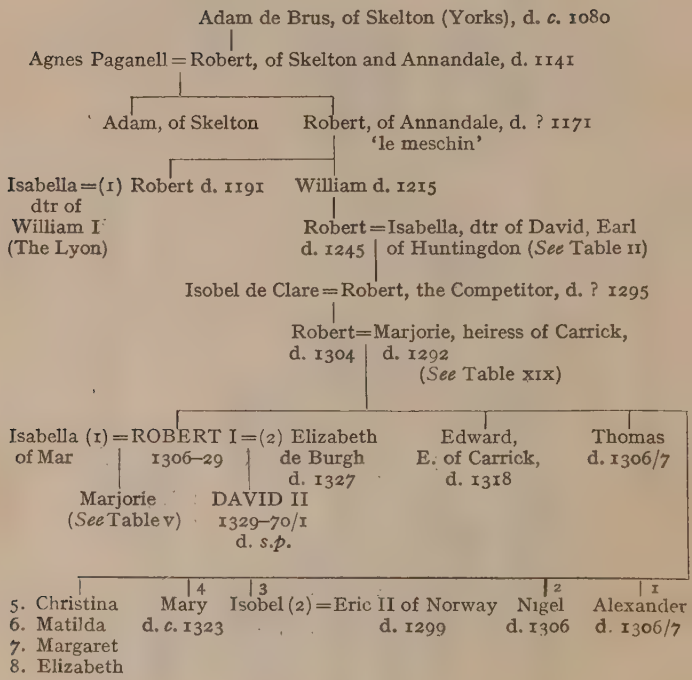


* *An asterisk denotes a Competitor in* 1291

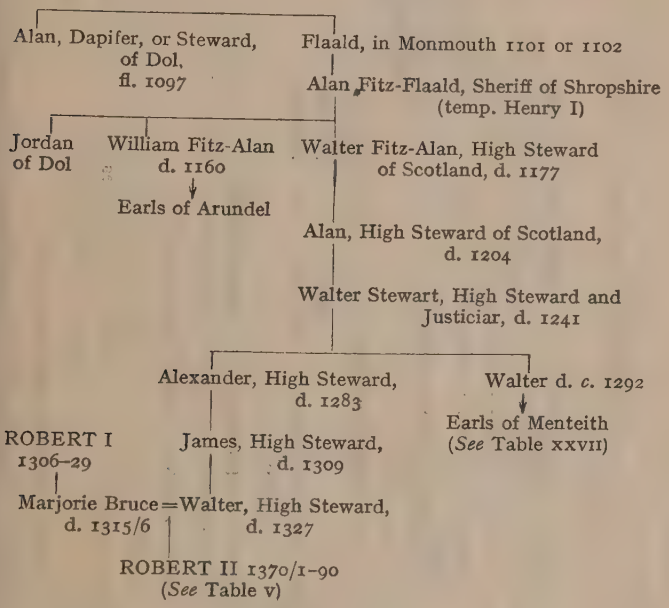
Henry d. 1152
A
David, E. of Huntingdon d. 1219
?
Margaret = Alan of Galloway d. 1234
Devorgilla d. 1289/90
*JOHN BALLIOL 1292–96 d. 1313 (See Table XXII)
EDWARD BALLIOL Cr. 1332 abd. 1356
Isabella = Robert de Brus d. 1245 (See Table III)
*Robert Bruce d. ? 1295
Robert E. of Carrick d. 1304
ROBERT I 1306–29
Marjorie (See Table V)
DAVID II 1329–70/1
Ada = Henry de Hastings
Henry
*John Lord Hastings
Edward d. 1318
Ada = Florent III Count of Holland
Florent IV
Guillaume
*Florent V Count of Holland
Marjorie = John Lindesay
Alicia = Henry Pinkney
Henry
*Robert Pinkney

* *An asterisk denotes a Competitor in* 1291

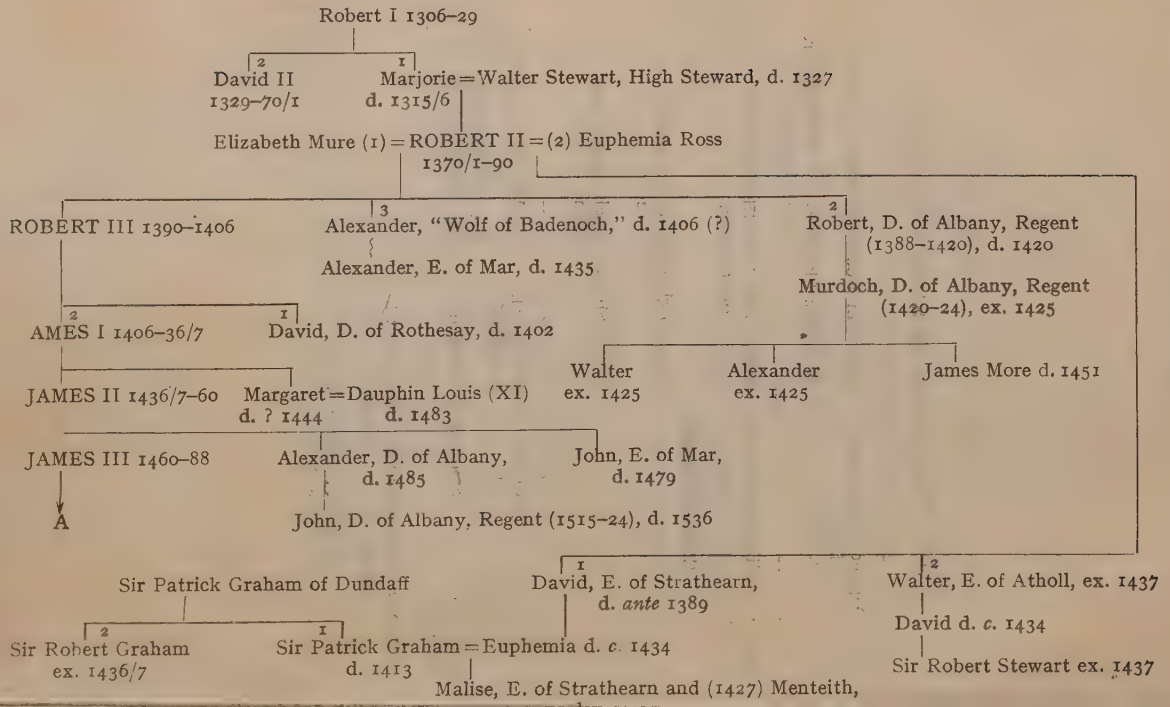
III. BRUCE OF CARRICK

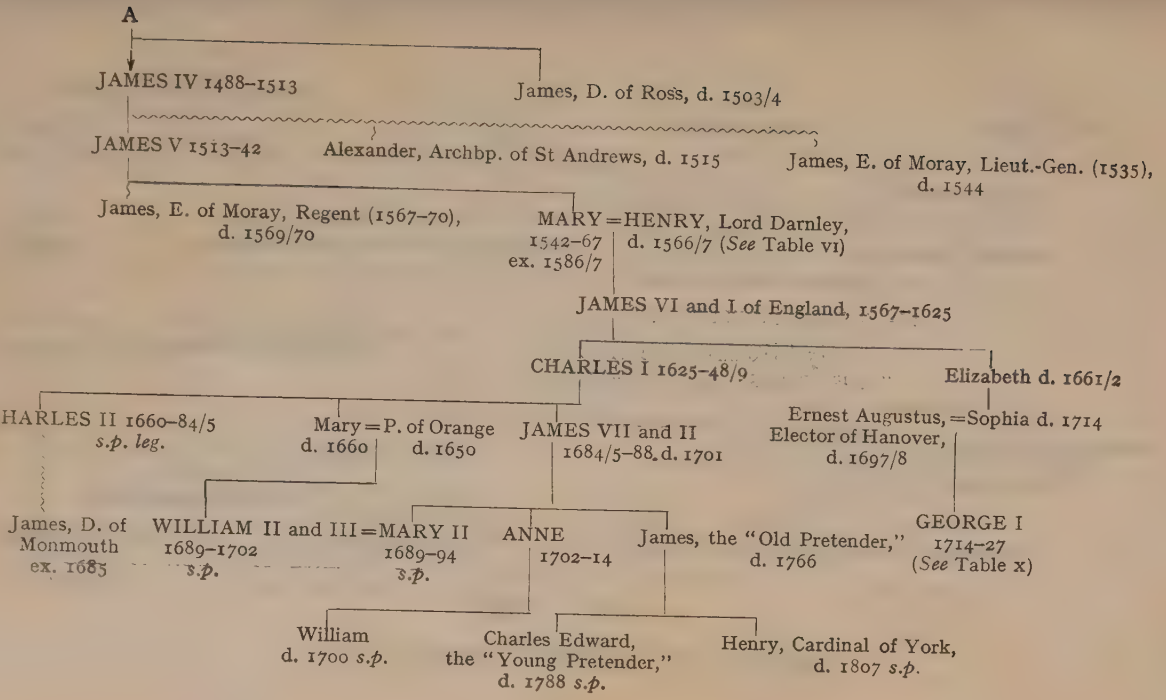

Adam de Brus, of Skelton (Yorks), d. c. 1080
Agnes Paganell = Robert, of Skelton and Annandale, d. 1141
Adam, of Skelton
Robert, of Annandale, d. ? 1171 'le meschin'
Isabella = (1) Robert d. 1191
dtr of William I (The Lyon)
William d. 1215
Robert d. 1245
Isabella, dtr of David, Earl of Huntingdon (See Table II)
Isobel de Clare = Robert, the Competitor, d. ? 1295
Robert d. 1304
Marjorie, heiress of Carrick, d. 1292 (See Table XIX)
Isabella (1) of Mar
ROBERT I 1306–29
(2) Elizabeth de Burgh d. 1327
Edward, E. of Carrick, d. 1318
Thomas d. 1306/7
Marjorie (See Table V)
DAVID II 1329–70/1 d. s.p.
5. Christina
6. Matilda
7. Margaret
8. Elizabeth
4 Mary d. c. 1323
3 Isobel
(2) = Eric II of Norway d. 1299
2 Nigel d. 1306
1 Alexander d. 1306/7

IV. THE HOUSE OF STEWART TO 1371

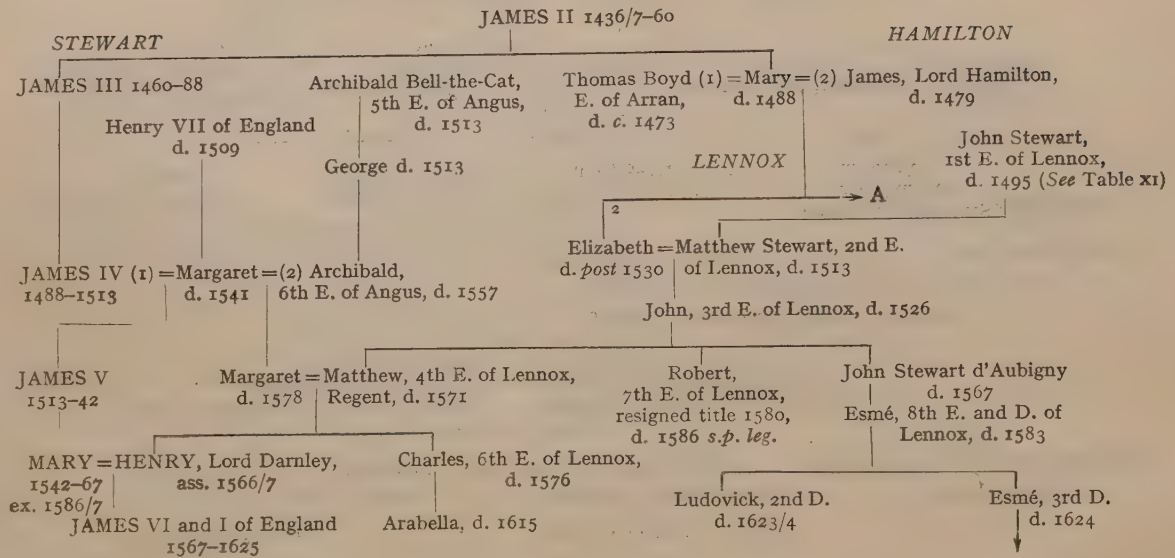

Alan, Dapifer, or Steward, of Dol, fl. 1097
Flaald, in Monmouth 1101 or 1102
Alan Fitz-Flaald, Sheriff of Shropshire (temp. Henry I)
Jordan of Dol
William Fitz-Alan d. 1160
Earls of Arundel
Walter Fitz-Alan, High Steward of Scotland, d. 1177
Alan, High Steward of Scotland, d. 1204
Walter Stewart, High Steward and Justiciar, d. 1241
Alexander, High Steward, d. 1283
Walter d. c. 1292
Earls of Menteith (See Table XXVII)
ROBERT I 1306–29
James, High Steward, d. 1309
Marjorie Bruce
Walter, High Steward, d. 1327
ROBERT II 1370/1–90 (See Table V)

V. THE HOUSE OF STEWART 1371–1807

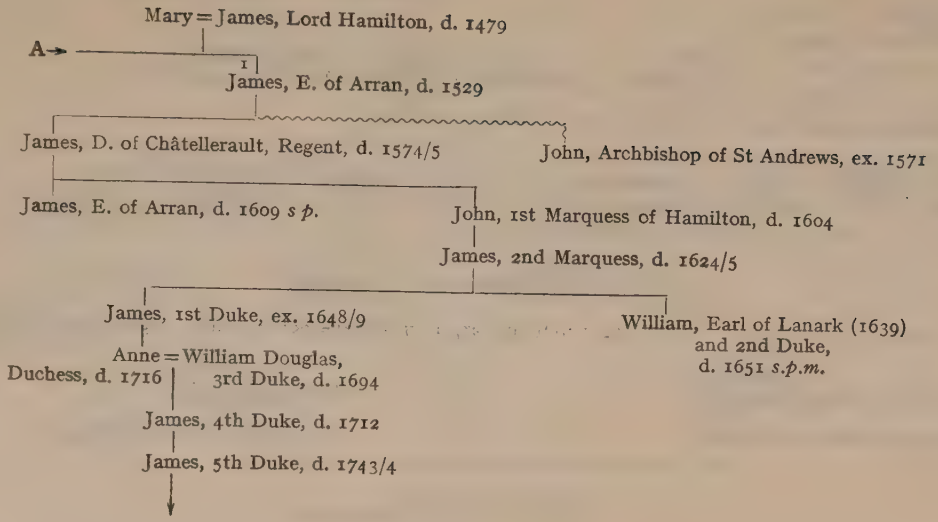



A
JAMES IV 1488–1513
James, D. of Ross, d. 1503/4
JAMES V 1513–42
Alexander, Archbp. of St Andrews, d. 1515
James, E. of Moray, Lieut.-Gen. (1535), d. 1544
James, E. of Moray, Regent (1567–70), d. 1569/70
MARY 1542–67 ex. 1586/7
HENRY, Lord Darnley, d. 1566/7 (See Table VI)
JAMES VI and I of England, 1567–1625
CHARLES I 1625–48/9
Elizabeth d. 1661/2
CHARLES II 1660–84/5 s.p. leg.
Mary d. 1660
P. of Orange d. 1650
JAMES VII and II 1684/5–88 d. 1701
Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover, d. 1697/8
Sophia d. 1714
James, D. of Monmouth ex. 1685
WILLIAM II and III 1689–1702 s.p.
MARY II 1689–94 s.p.
ANNE 1702–14
James, the "Old Pretender," d. 1766
GEORGE I 1714–27 (See Table X)
William d. 1700 s.p.
Charles Edward, the "Young Pretender," d. 1788 s.p.
Henry, Cardinal of York, d. 1807 s.p.

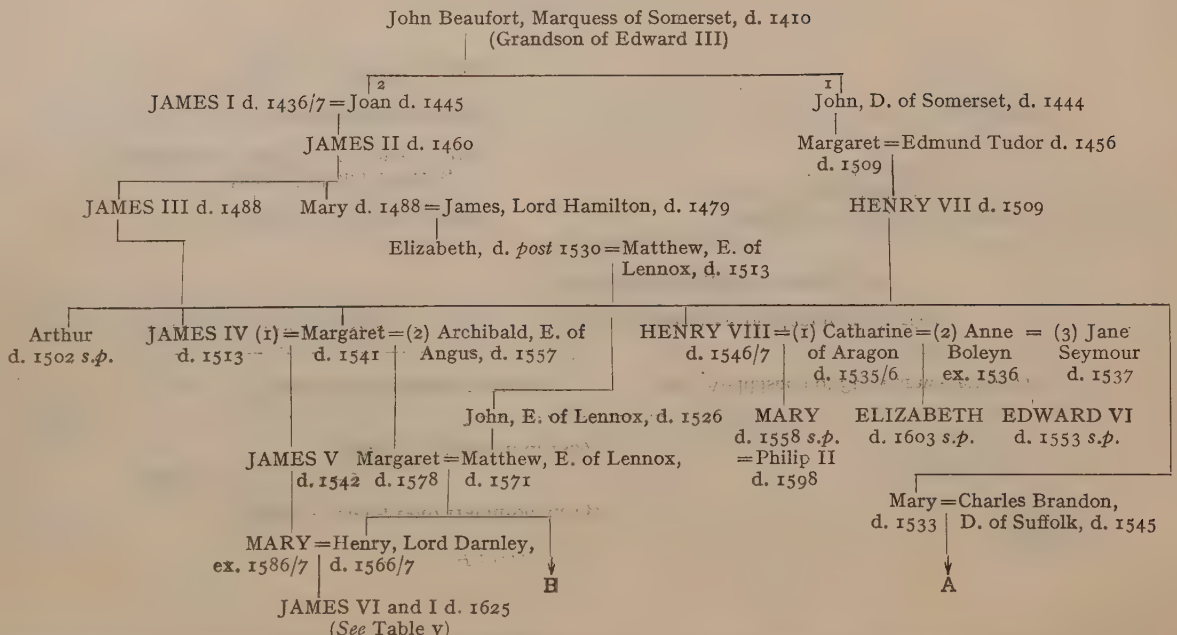
VI. STEWART, HAMILTON, AND LENNOX


JAMES II 1436/7–60
STEWART
HAMILTON
JAMES III 1460–88
Archibald Bell-the-Cat, 5th E. of Angus, d. 1513
Thomas Boyd (1) = Mary = (2) James, Lord Hamilton, d. 1479
E. of Arran, d. c. 1473
d. 1488
Henry VII of England d. 1509
George d. 1513
LENNOX
John Stewart, 1st E. of Lennox, d. 1495 (See Table XI)
A
2
Elizabeth = Matthew Stewart, 2nd E. of Lennox, d. 1513
d. post 1530
JAMES IV (1) = Margaret = (2) Archibald, 6th E. of Angus, d. 1557
1488–1513
d. 1541
John, 3rd E. of Lennox, d. 1526
JAMES V 1513–42
Margaret = Matthew, 4th E. of Lennox, Regent, d. 1571
d. 1578
Robert, 7th E. of Lennox, resigned title 1580, d. 1586 s.p. leg.
John Stewart d'Aubigny d. 1567
Esmé, 8th E. and D. of Lennox, d. 1583
MARY = HENRY, Lord Darnley, ass. 1566/7
1542–67
ex. 1586/7
Charles, 6th E. of Lennox, d. 1576
Ludovick, 2nd D. d. 1623/4
Esmé, 3rd D. d. 1624
JAMES VI and I of England 1567–1625 (See Table V)
Arabella, d. 1615

HAMILTON

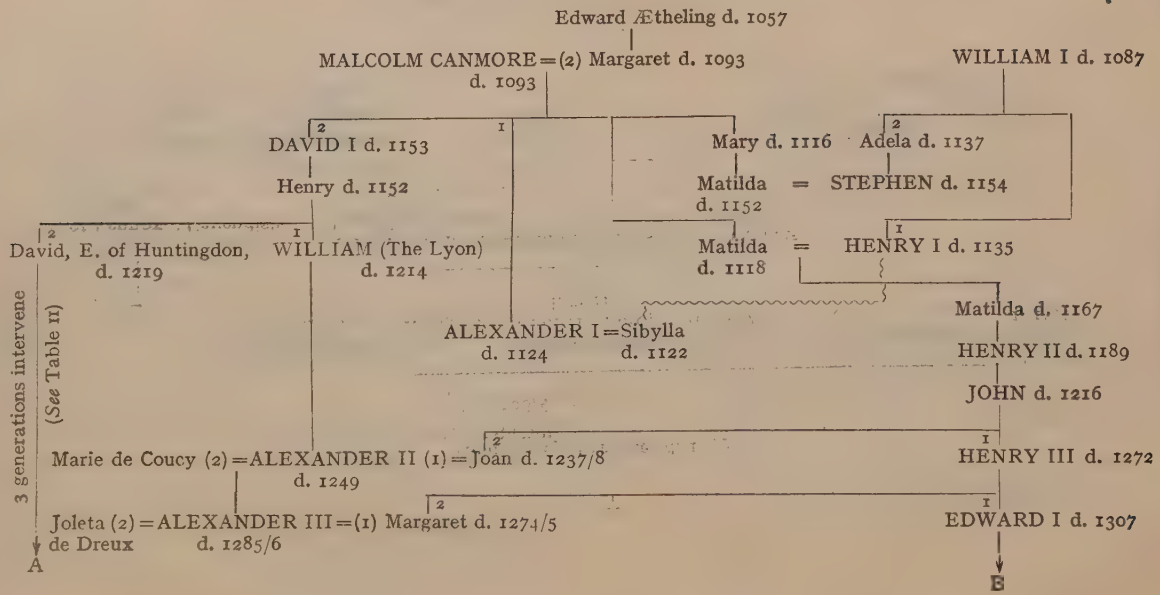

Mary = James, Lord Hamilton, d. 1479
A
1
James, E. of Arran, d. 1529
James, D. of Châtellerault, Regent, d. 1574/5
John, Archbishop of St Andrews, ex. 1571
James, E. of Arran, d. 1609 s.p.
John, 1st Marquess of Hamilton, d. 1604
James, 2nd Marquess, d. 1624/5
James, 1st Duke, ex. 1648/9
William, Earl of Lanark (1639) and 2nd Duke, d. 1651 s.p.m.
Anne = William Douglas, Duchess, d. 1716 | 3rd Duke, d. 1694
James, 4th Duke, d. 1712
James, 5th Duke, d. 1743/4

VII. STEWART, TUDOR, AND SUFFOLK


John Beaufort, Marquess of Somerset, d. 1410
(Grandson of Edward III)
2
JAMES I d. 1436/7 = Joan d. 1445
1
John, D. of Somerset, d. 1444
JAMES II d. 1460
Margaret = Edmund Tudor d. 1456
d. 1509
JAMES III d. 1488
Mary d. 1488 = James, Lord Hamilton, d. 1479
HENRY VII d. 1509
Elizabeth, d. post 1530 = Matthew, E. of Lennox, d. 1513
Arthur d. 1502 s.p.
JAMES IV (1) = Margaret = (2) Archibald, E. of Angus, d. 1557
d. 1513
d. 1541
HENRY VIII = (1) Catharine = (2) Anne = (3) Jane
d. 1546/7
of Aragon d. 1535/6
Boleyn ex. 1536
Seymour d. 1537
John, E. of Lennox, d. 1526
MARY d. 1558 s.p. = Philip II d. 1598
ELIZABETH d. 1603 s.p.
EDWARD VI d. 1553 s.p.
JAMES V d. 1542
Margaret = Matthew, E. of Lennox, d. 1571
d. 1578
Mary = Charles Brandon, d. 1533 | D. of Suffolk, d. 1545
MARY = Henry, Lord Darnley, ex. 1586/7 | d. 1566/7
B
A
JAMES VI and I d. 1625
(See Table v)

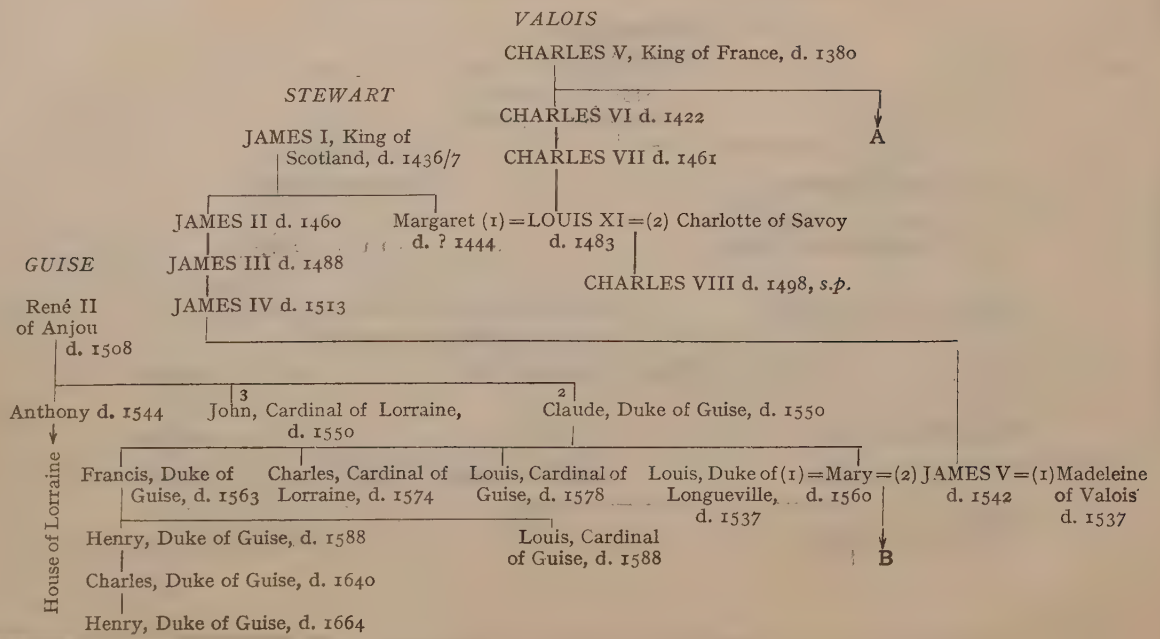
A
Henry Grey = Frances d. 1559
D. of Suffolk,
ex. 1553/4
Guildford Dudley = Jane
ex. 1553/4 ex. 1553/4
Edward Seymour = Catharine
E. of Hertford, d. 1567/8
d. 1621
Thomas Keys = Mary
d. 1578
B
Charles = Elizabeth
E. of Lennox, Cavendish
d. 1576
Edward Seymour = Honora Rogers
Lord Beauchamp, Thomas
d. 1612 d. 1600
2
Arabella = William Seymour,
d. 1615 D. of Somerset,
s.p. d. 1660
1
Edward
d. 1618
Francis, 1st Lord Seymour,
d. 1664

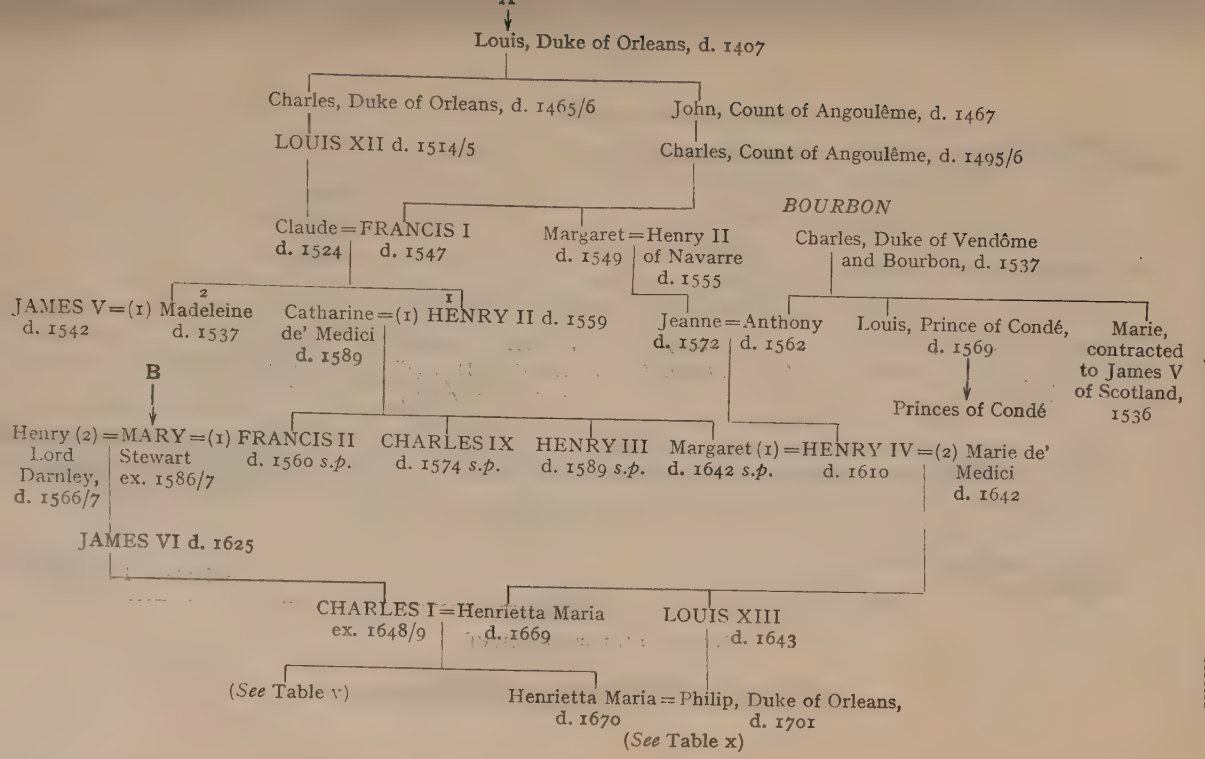
VIII. ANGLO-SCOTTISH ROYAL MARRIAGES



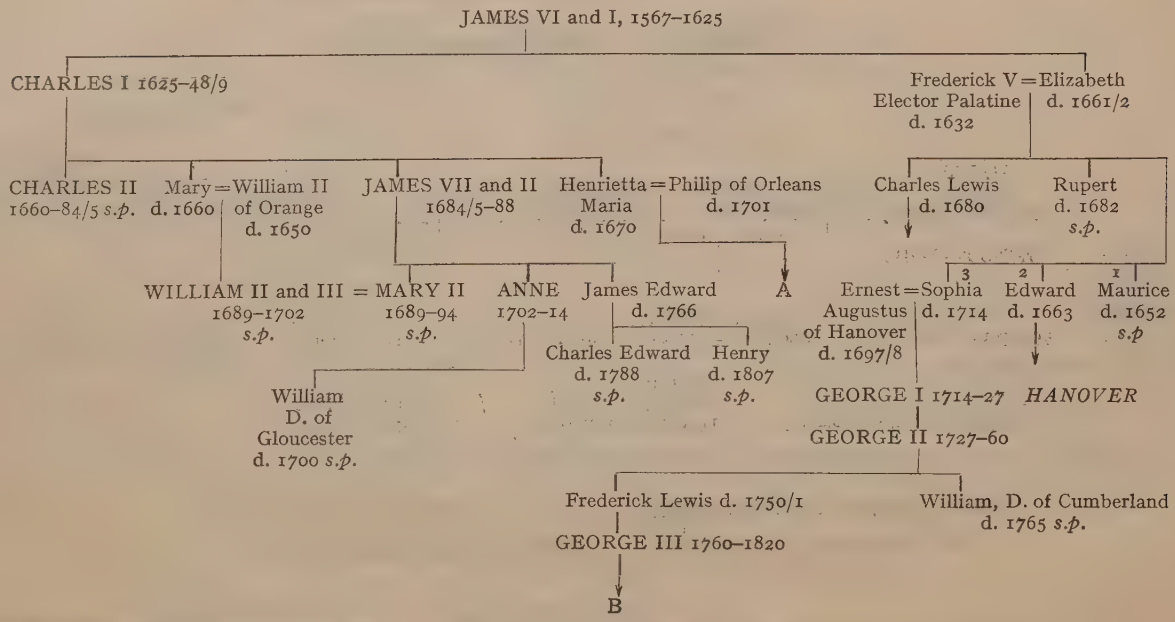
A
ROBERT I d. 1329
Marjorie d. 1315/6
ROBERT II d. 1390
ROBERT III d. 1406
JAMES I (1) = Joan d. 1445 = (2) Sir James Stewart
d. 1436/7
of Lorn
JAMES II d. 1460
JAMES III d. 1488
DAVID II = Joanna d. 1362
d. 1370/1
John Beaufort, E. of Somerset, d. 1410
John, D. of Somerset, d. 1444
Margaret = Edmund Tudor
d. 1509
d. 1456
HENRY VII d. 1509
JAMES IV = Margaret
d. 1513
d. 1541
JAMES V d. 1542
(See Table V)
B
EDWARD II d. 1327
EDWARD III d. 1377
John of Ghent d. 1398/9

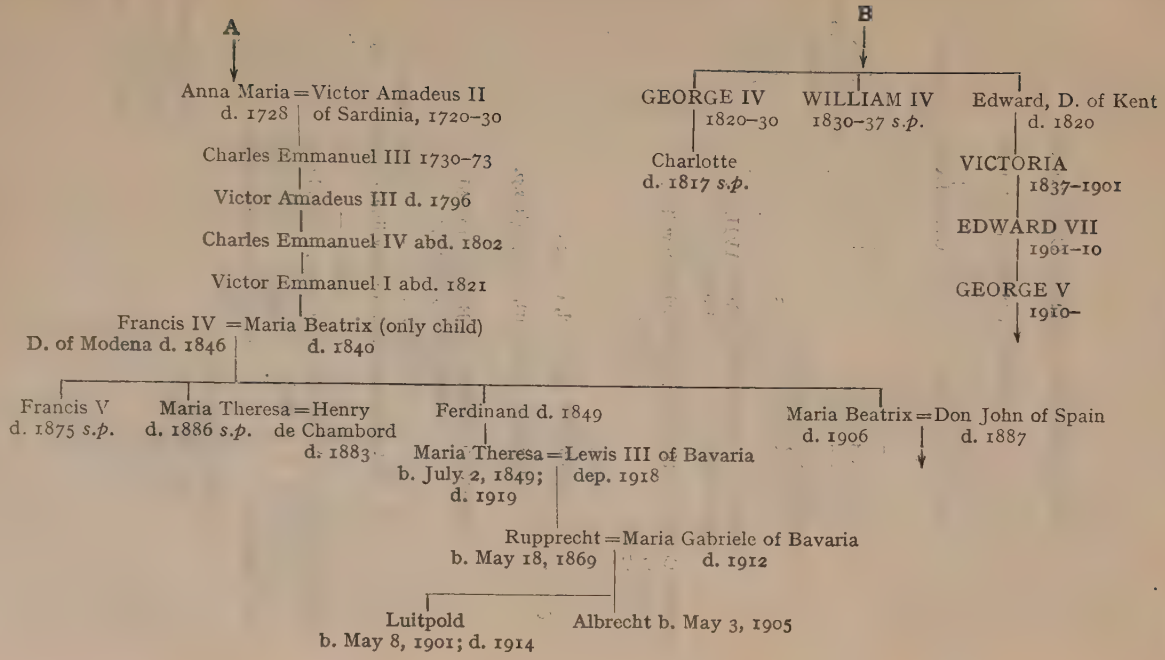
IX. STEWART, VALOIS, GUISE, AND BOURBON


VALOIS
CHARLES V, King of France, d. 1380
STEWART
CHARLES VI d. 1422
A
JAMES I, King of Scotland, d. 1436/7
CHARLES VII d. 1461
JAMES II d. 1460
Margaret (1) = LOUIS XI = (2) Charlotte of Savoy
d. ? 1444
d. 1483
GUISE
JAMES III d. 1488
CHARLES VIII d. 1498, s.p.
René II of Anjou d. 1508
JAMES IV d. 1513
Anthony d. 1544
3
John, Cardinal of Lorraine, d. 1550
2
Claude, Duke of Guise, d. 1550
Francis, Duke of Guise, d. 1563
Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, d. 1574
Louis, Cardinal of Guise, d. 1578
Louis, Duke of Longueville, d. 1537
(1) = Mary = (2) JAMES V = (1) Madeleine of Valois
d. 1560
d. 1542
d. 1537
Henry, Duke of Guise, d. 1588
Louis, Cardinal of Guise, d. 1588
B
Charles, Duke of Guise, d. 1640
Henry, Duke of Guise, d. 1664
House of Lorraine

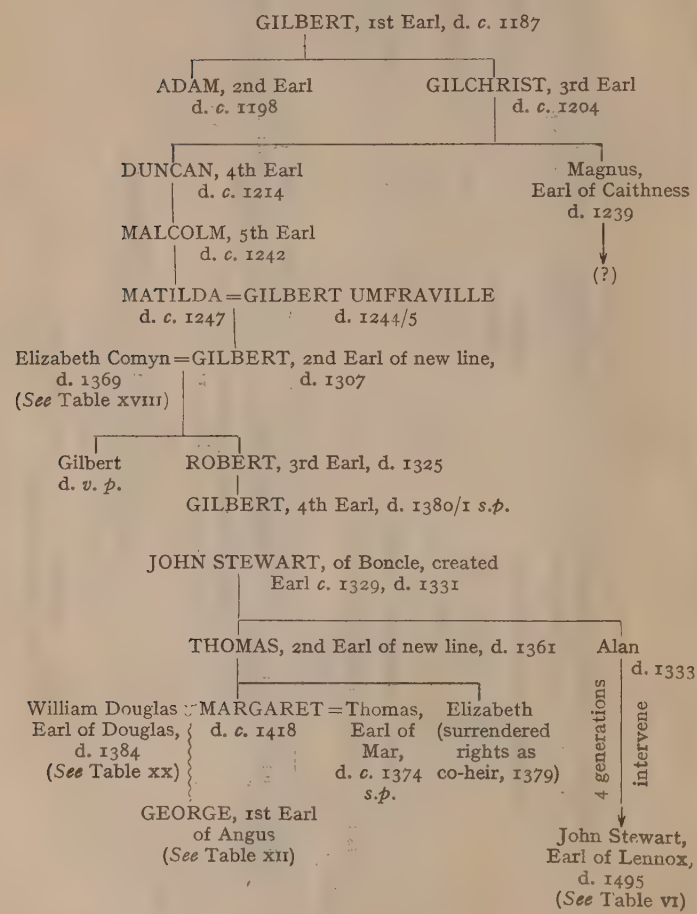

Louis, Duke of Orleans, d. 1407
Charles, Duke of Orleans, d. 1465/6
John, Count of Angoulême, d. 1467
LOUIS XII d. 1514/5
Charles, Count of Angoulême, d. 1495/6
BOURBON
Claude = FRANCIS I
d. 1524 d. 1547
Margaret = Henry II
d. 1549 of Navarre
d. 1555
Charles, Duke of Vendôme
and Bourbon, d. 1537
JAMES V = (1) 2 Madeleine
d. 1542 d. 1537
Catharine = (1) 1 HENRY II d. 1559
de' Medici
d. 1589
Jeanne = Anthony
d. 1572 d. 1562
Louis, Prince of Condé,
d. 1569
Marie,
contracted
to James V
of Scotland,
1536
B
Princes of Condé
Henry (2) = MARY = (1) FRANCIS II
Lord Stewart d. 1560 s.p.
Darnley, ex. 1586/7
d. 1566/7
CHARLES IX
d. 1574 s.p.
HENRY III
d. 1589 s.p.
Margaret (1) = HENRY IV = (2) Marie de'
d. 1642 s.p. d. 1610 Medici
d. 1642
JAMES VI d. 1625
CHARLES I = Henrietta Maria
ex. 1648/9 d. 1669
LOUIS XIII
d. 1643
(See Table v)
Henrietta Maria = Philip, Duke of Orleans,
d. 1670 d. 1701
(See Table x)

X. STEWART HEIRS OF LINE AND LAW

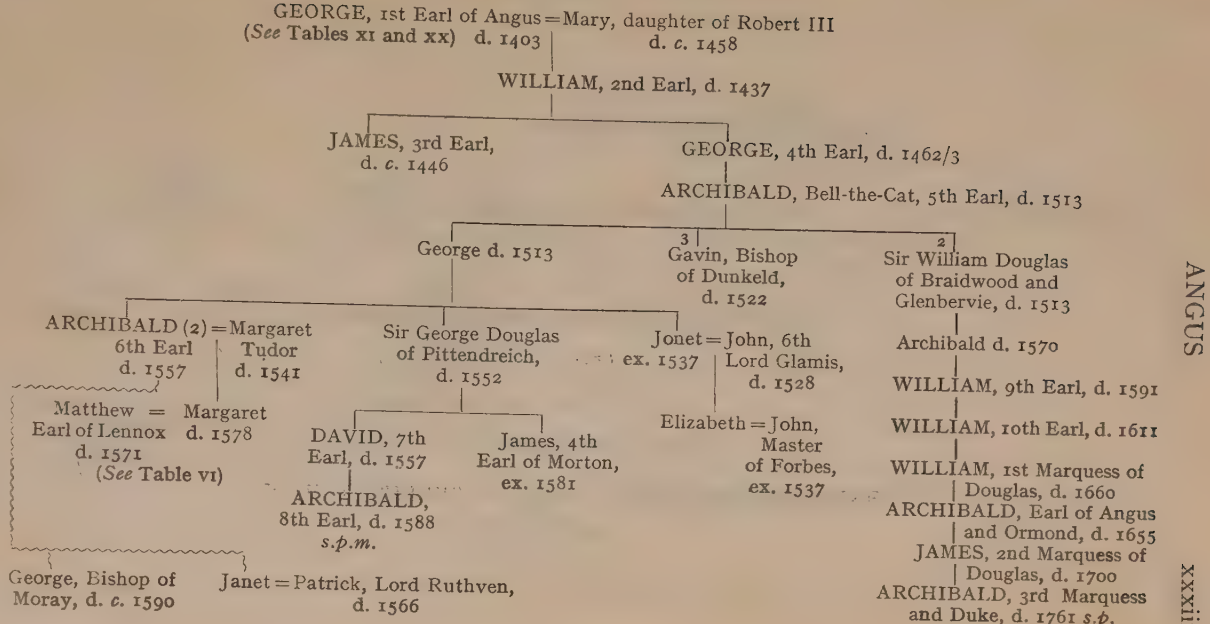



A
Anna Maria = Victor Amadeus II
d. 1728 | of Sardinia, 1720–30
Charles Emmanuel III 1730–73
Victor Amadeus III d. 1796
Charles Emmanuel IV abd. 1802
Victor Emmanuel I abd. 1821
Francis IV = Maria Beatrix (only child)
D. of Modena d. 1846 | d. 1840
Francis V
d. 1875 s.p.
Maria Theresa = Henry
d. 1886 s.p. de Chambord
d. 1883
Ferdinand d. 1849
Maria Theresa = Lewis III of Bavaria
b. July 2, 1849; | dep. 1918
d. 1919
Rupprecht = Maria Gabriele of Bavaria
b. May 18, 1869 | d. 1912
Luitpold
b. May 8, 1901; d. 1914
Albrecht b. May 3, 1905
B
GEORGE IV
1820–30
Charlotte
d. 1817 s.p.
WILLIAM IV
1830–37 s.p.
Edward, D. of Kent
d. 1820
VICTORIA
1837–1901
EDWARD VII
1901–10
GEORGE V
1910–
Maria Beatrix = Don John of Spain
d. 1906 | d. 1887

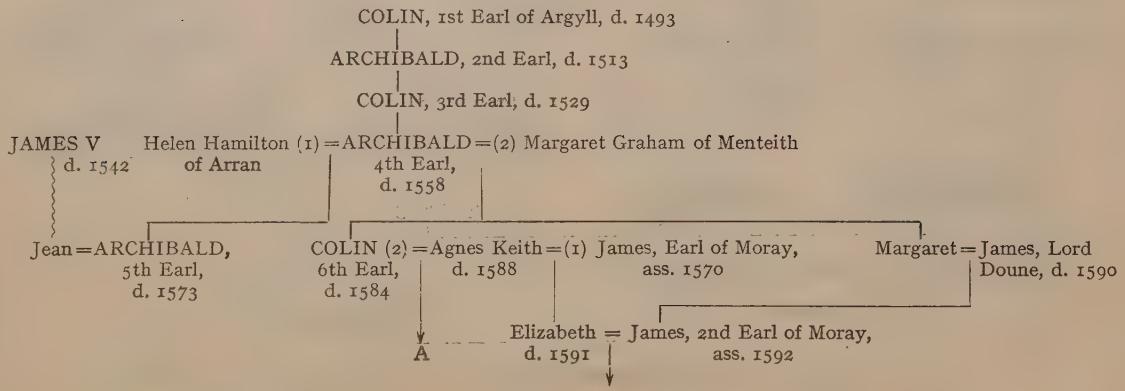
XI. ANCIENT EARLS OF ANGUS

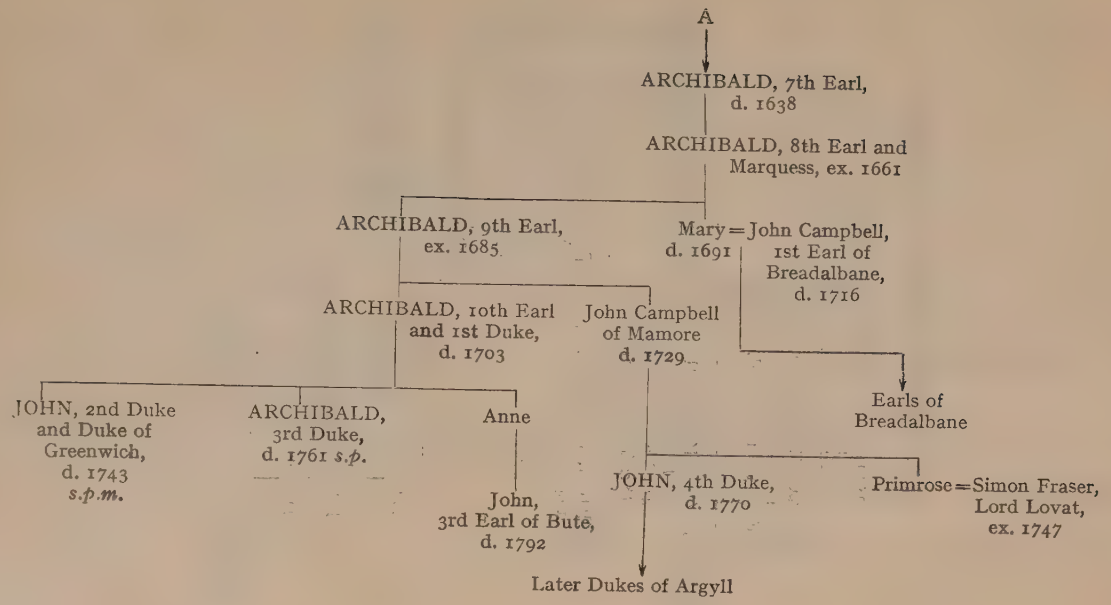


XII. DOUGLAS OF ANGUS

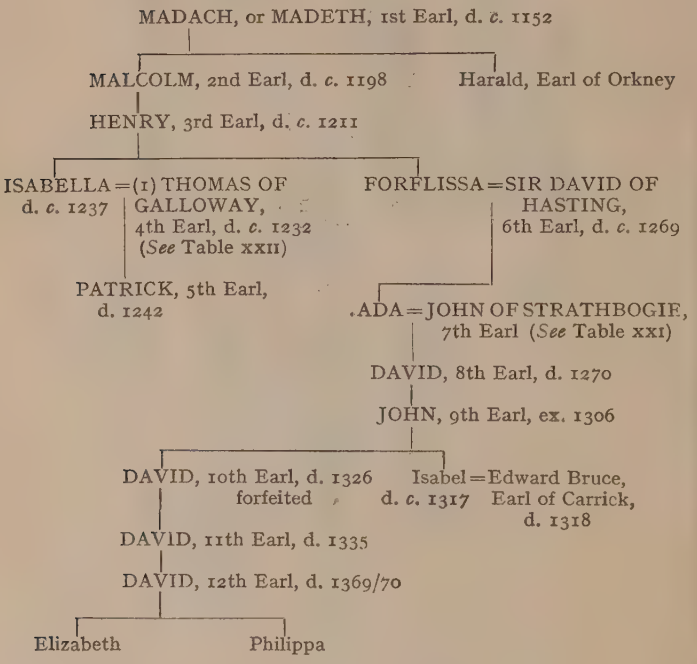

GEORGE, 1st Earl of Angus (See Tables XI and XX) d. 1403
Mary, daughter of Robert III d. c. 1458
WILLIAM, 2nd Earl, d. 1437
JAMES, 3rd Earl, d. c. 1446
GEORGE, 4th Earl, d. 1462/3
ARCHIBALD, Bell-the-Cat, 5th Earl, d. 1513
George d. 1513
3 Gavin, Bishop of Dunkeld, d. 1522
2 Sir William Douglas of Braidwood and Glenbervie, d. 1513
Archibald d. 1570
WILLIAM, 9th Earl, d. 1591
WILLIAM, 10th Earl, d. 1611
WILLIAM, 1st Marquess of Douglas, d. 1660
ARCHIBALD, Earl of Angus and Ormond, d. 1655
JAMES, 2nd Marquess of Douglas, d. 1700
ARCHIBALD, 3rd Marquess and Duke, d. 1761 s.p.
ARCHIBALD (2) 6th Earl d. 1557
Margaret Tudor d. 1541
Matthew Earl of Lennox d. 1571 (See Table VI)
Margaret d. 1578
George, Bishop of Moray, d. c. 1590
Janet
Patrick, Lord Ruthven, d. 1566
Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, d. 1552
DAVID, 7th Earl, d. 1557
ARCHIBALD, 8th Earl, d. 1588 s.p.m.
James, 4th Earl of Morton, ex. 1581
Jonet ex. 1537
John, 6th Lord Glamis, d. 1528
Elizabeth
John, Master of Forbes, ex. 1537

XIII. CAMPBELL OF ARGYLL AND BREADALBANE

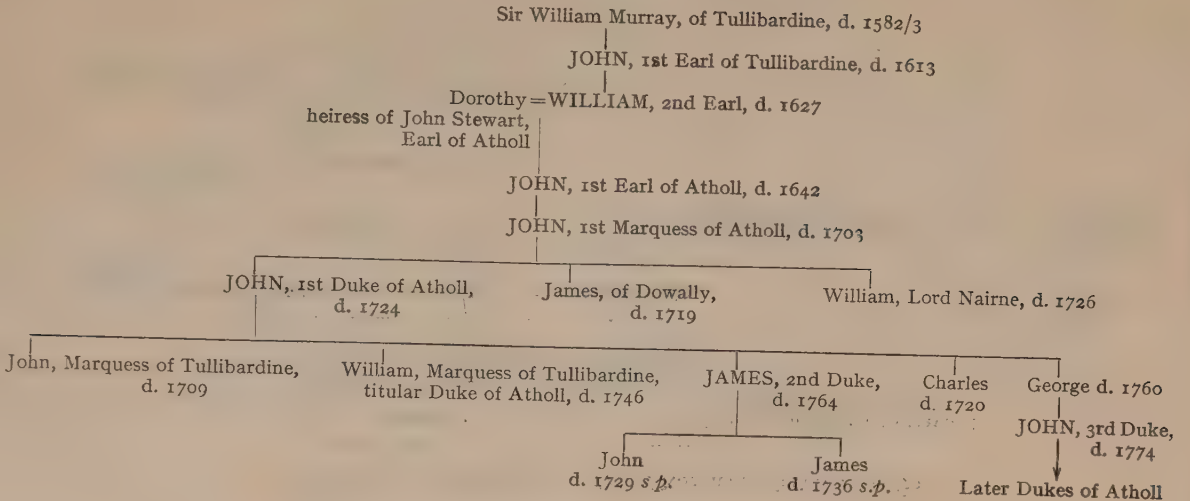

COLIN, 1st Earl of Argyll, d. 1493
ARCHIBALD, 2nd Earl, d. 1513
COLIN, 3rd Earl, d. 1529
JAMES V d. 1542
Helen Hamilton of Arran (1) = ARCHIBALD 4th Earl, d. 1558 = (2) Margaret Graham of Menteith
Jean = ARCHIBALD, 5th Earl, d. 1573
COLIN (2) 6th Earl, d. 1584 = Agnes Keith d. 1588 = (1) James, Earl of Moray, ass. 1570
Margaret = James, Lord Doune, d. 1590
A
Elizabeth d. 1591 = James, 2nd Earl of Moray, ass. 1592


A
ARCHIBALD, 7th Earl, d. 1638
ARCHIBALD, 8th Earl and Marquess, ex. 1661
ARCHIBALD, 9th Earl, ex. 1685
Mary = John Campbell, 1st Earl of Breadalbane, d. 1716
d. 1691
ARCHIBALD, 10th Earl and 1st Duke, d. 1703
John Campbell of Mamore d. 1729
JOHN, 2nd Duke and Duke of Greenwich, d. 1743 s.p.m.
ARCHIBALD, 3rd Duke, d. 1761 s.p.
Anne
Earls of Breadalbane
JOHN, 4th Duke, d. 1770
Primrose = Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, ex. 1747
John, 3rd Earl of Bute, d. 1792
Later Dukes of Argyll

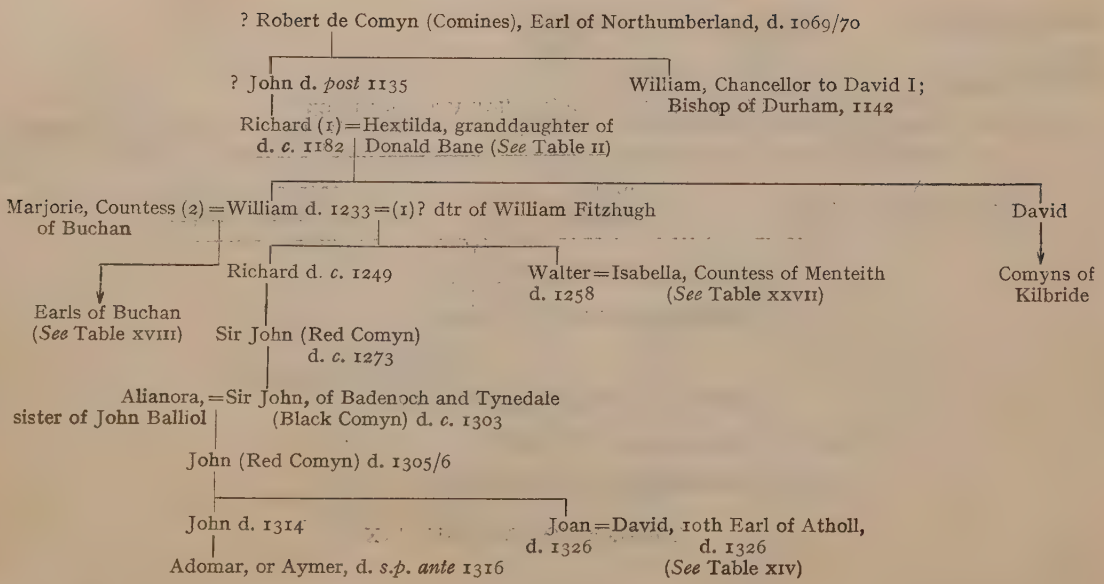
XIV. ANCIENT EARLS OF ATHOLL


MADACH, or MADETH, 1st Earl, d. c. 1152
MALCOLM, 2nd Earl, d. c. 1198
Harald, Earl of Orkney
HENRY, 3rd Earl, d. c. 1211
ISABELLA d. c. 1237
(1) THOMAS OF GALLOWAY, 4th Earl, d. c. 1232 (See Table XXII)
FORFLISSA
SIR DAVID OF HASTING, 6th Earl, d. c. 1269
PATRICK, 5th Earl, d. 1242
ADA
JOHN OF STRATHBOGIE, 7th Earl (See Table XXI)
DAVID, 8th Earl, d. 1270
JOHN, 9th Earl, ex. 1306
DAVID, 10th Earl, d. 1326 forfeited
Isabel d. c. 1317
Edward Bruce, Earl of Carrick, d. 1318
DAVID, 11th Earl, d. 1335
DAVID, 12th Earl, d. 1369/70
Elizabeth
Philippa

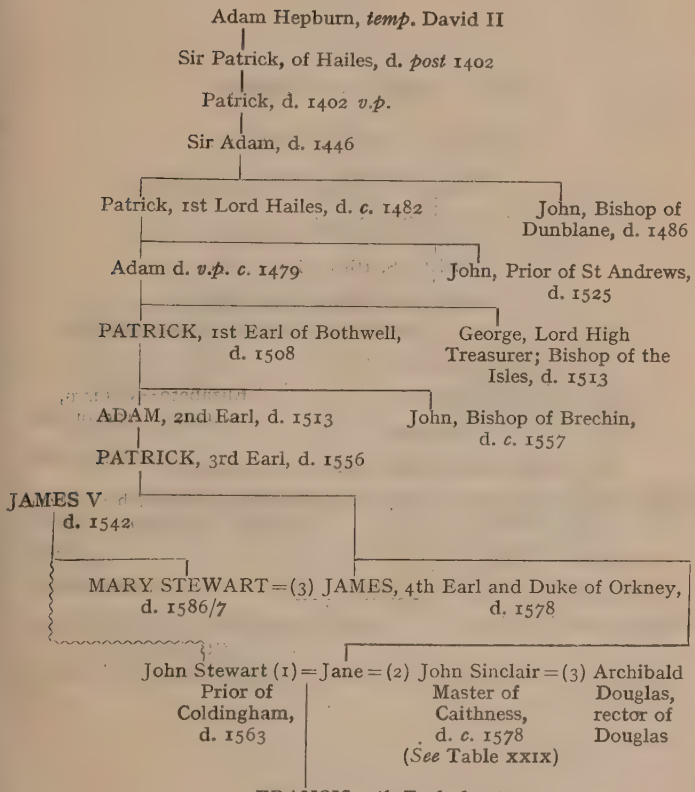
XV. MURRAY OF ATHOLL


Sir William Murray, of Tullibardine, d. 1582/3
JOHN, 1st Earl of Tullibardine, d. 1613
Dorothy = WILLIAM, 2nd Earl, d. 1627
heiress of John Stewart, Earl of Atholl
JOHN, 1st Earl of Atholl, d. 1642
JOHN, 1st Marquess of Atholl, d. 1703
JOHN, 1st Duke of Atholl, d. 1724
James, of Dowally, d. 1719
William, Lord Nairne, d. 1726
John, Marquess of Tullibardine, d. 1709
William, Marquess of Tullibardine, titular Duke of Atholl, d. 1746
JAMES, 2nd Duke, d. 1764
Charles d. 1720
George d. 1760
JOHN, 3rd Duke, d. 1774
John d. 1729 s.p.
James d. 1736 s.p.
Later Dukes of Atholl

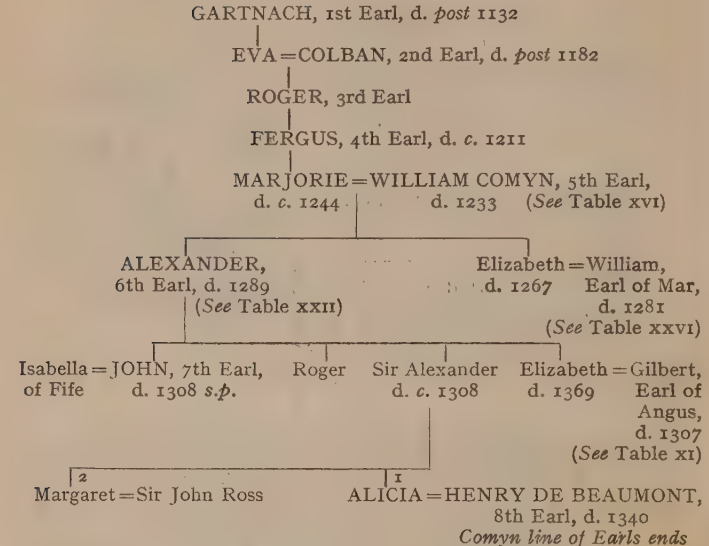
XVI. COMYN OF BADENOCH


? Robert de Comyn (Comines), Earl of Northumberland, d. 1069/70
? John d. post 1135
William, Chancellor to David I; Bishop of Durham, 1142
Richard (1) = Hextilda, granddaughter of Donald Bane (See Table II)
d. c. 1182
Marjorie, Countess (2) of Buchan = William d. 1233 = (1)? dtr of William Fitzhugh
David
Richard d. c. 1249
Walter = Isabella, Countess of Menteith (See Table XXVII)
d. 1258
Comyns of Kilbride
Earls of Buchan (See Table XVIII)
Sir John (Red Comyn) d. c. 1273
Alianora, sister of John Balliol = Sir John, of Badenoch and Tynedale (Black Comyn) d. c. 1303
John (Red Comyn) d. 1305/6
John d. 1314
Joan = David, 10th Earl of Atholl, d. 1326 (See Table XIV)
d. 1326
Adomar, or Aymer, d. s.p. ante 1316

XVII. HEPBURN OF BOTHWELL


Adam Hepburn, temp. David II
Sir Patrick, of Hailes, d. post 1402
Patrick, d. 1402 v.p.
Sir Adam, d. 1446
Patrick, 1st Lord Hailes, d. c. 1482
John, Bishop of Dunblane, d. 1486
Adam d. v.p. c. 1479
John, Prior of St Andrews, d. 1525
PATRICK, 1st Earl of Bothwell, d. 1508
George, Lord High Treasurer; Bishop of the Isles, d. 1513
ADAM, 2nd Earl, d. 1513
John, Bishop of Brechin, d. c. 1557
PATRICK, 3rd Earl, d. 1556
JAMES V d. 1542
MARY STEWART d. 1586/7
(3) JAMES, 4th Earl and Duke of Orkney, d. 1578
John Stewart (1) Prior of Coldingham, d. 1563
Jane
(2) John Sinclair Master of Caithness, d. c. 1578 (See Table XXIX)
(3) Archibald Douglas, rector of Douglas
FRANCIS, 5th Earl, d. 1612

XVIII. COMYN OF BUCHAN


GARTNACH, 1st Earl, d. *post* 1132
EVA = COLBAN, 2nd Earl, d. *post* 1182
ROGER, 3rd Earl
FERGUS, 4th Earl, d. *c.* 1211
MARJORIE = WILLIAM COMYN, 5th Earl, d. *c.* 1244 d. 1233 (*See* Table XVI)
ALEXANDER, 6th Earl, d. 1289 (*See* Table XXII)
Elizabeth = William, d. 1267 Earl of Mar, d. 1281 (*See* Table XXVI)
Isabella = JOHN, 7th Earl, of Fife d. 1308 *s.p.*
Roger
Sir Alexander d. *c.* 1308
Elizabeth = Gilbert, d. 1369 Earl of Angus, d. 1307 (*See* Table XI)
2
Margaret = Sir John Ross
1
ALICIA = HENRY DE BEAUMONT, 8th Earl, d. 1340
Comyn line of Earls ends

XIX. ANCIENT EARLS OF CARRICK

Fergus, Lord of Galloway, d. 1161

Uchtred, d. 1174
(*See* Table XXII)

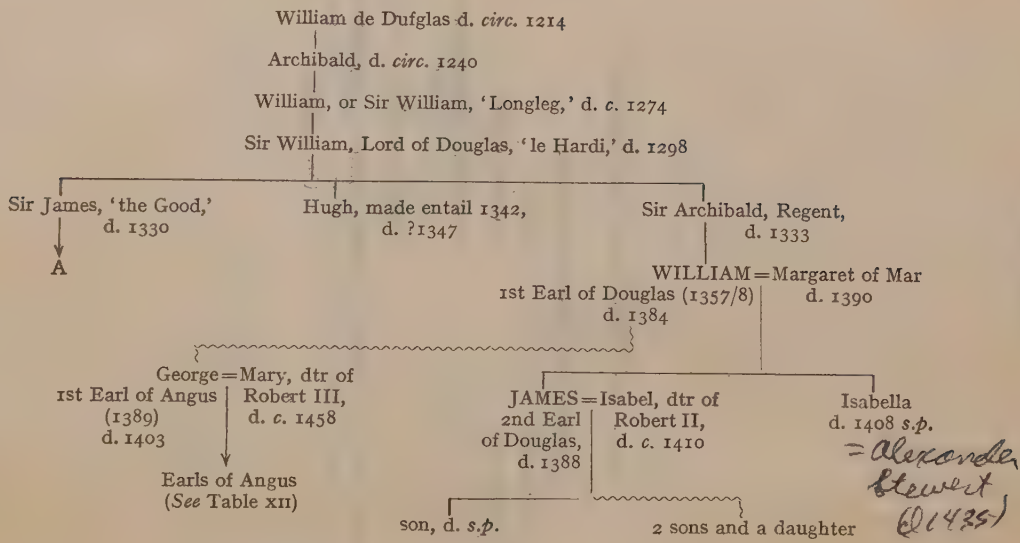
Gilbert, d. 1185

DUNCAN, 1st Earl of Carrick, d. 1250

NEIL, 2nd Earl, d. 1256

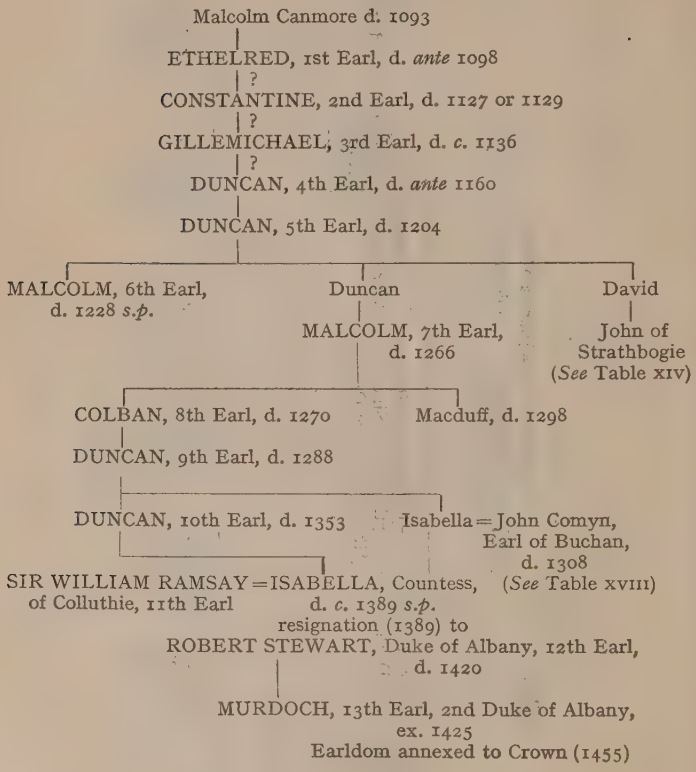
ADAM DE KILCONCATH (1) = MARJORIE = (2) ROBERT BRUCE,
3rd Earl, d. 1270 d. 1292 d. 1304
(*See* Tables III, V)

XX. DOUGLAS OF DOUGLAS

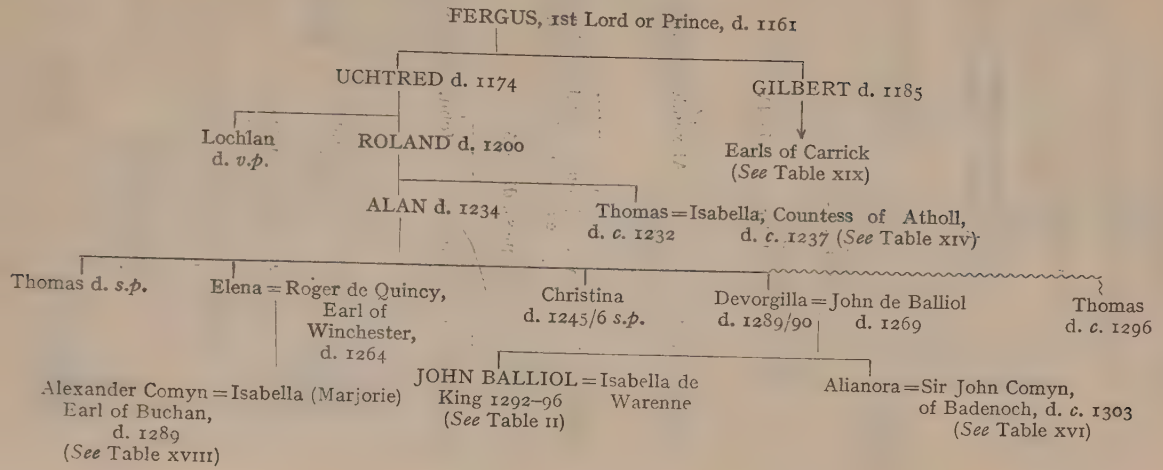

William de Dufglas d. *circ.* 1214
Archibald, d. *circ.* 1240
William, or Sir William, 'Longleg,' d. *c.* 1274
Sir William, Lord of Douglas, 'le Hardi,' d. 1298
Sir James, 'the Good,' d. 1330
A
Hugh, made entail 1342, d. ?1347
Sir Archibald, Regent, d. 1333
WILLIAM = Margaret of Mar
1st Earl of Douglas (1357/8) d. 1384
d. 1390
George = Mary, dtr of Robert III,
1st Earl of Angus (1389) d. 1403
d. *c.* 1458
Earls of Angus (*See* Table XII)
JAMES = Isabel, dtr of Robert II,
2nd Earl of Douglas, d. 1388
d. *c.* 1410
Isabella d. 1408 *s.p.*
= Alexander Stewart (d 1435)
son, d. *s.p.*
2 sons and a daughter

A
William d. 1333
ARCHIBALD = Joanna Moray
3rd Earl, 'the Grim,' d. c. 1409
Lord of Galloway,
d. 1400
ARCHIBALD = Margaret, dtr of Robert (1) = JAMES = (2) Beatrix Sinclair,
4th Earl, 'Tyneman' Duke of Touraine, d. 1424
dtr of Robert III, d. c. 1456
D. of Albany
7th Earl, 'the Gross,' d. 1443
of Orkney, d. c. 1463
ARCHIBALD, 5th Earl, d. 1439
Mary = David, Prince of Scotland, d. 1402
d. c. 1420
Sir William = Egidia, dtr of Robert II
d. 1392
WILLIAM, 6th Earl, ex. 1440
David ex. 1440
Margaret = WILLIAM, 'Fair Maid of Galloway,' d. c. 1476
8th Earl, ass. 1452 s.p.
JAMES = Fair Maid
9th Earl, of Galloway
attainted d. c. 1476
1455
d. 1488 s.p.
Archibald, E. of Moray, d. 1455
Hugh, E. of Ormond, ex. 1455
John of Balvany ex. 1463

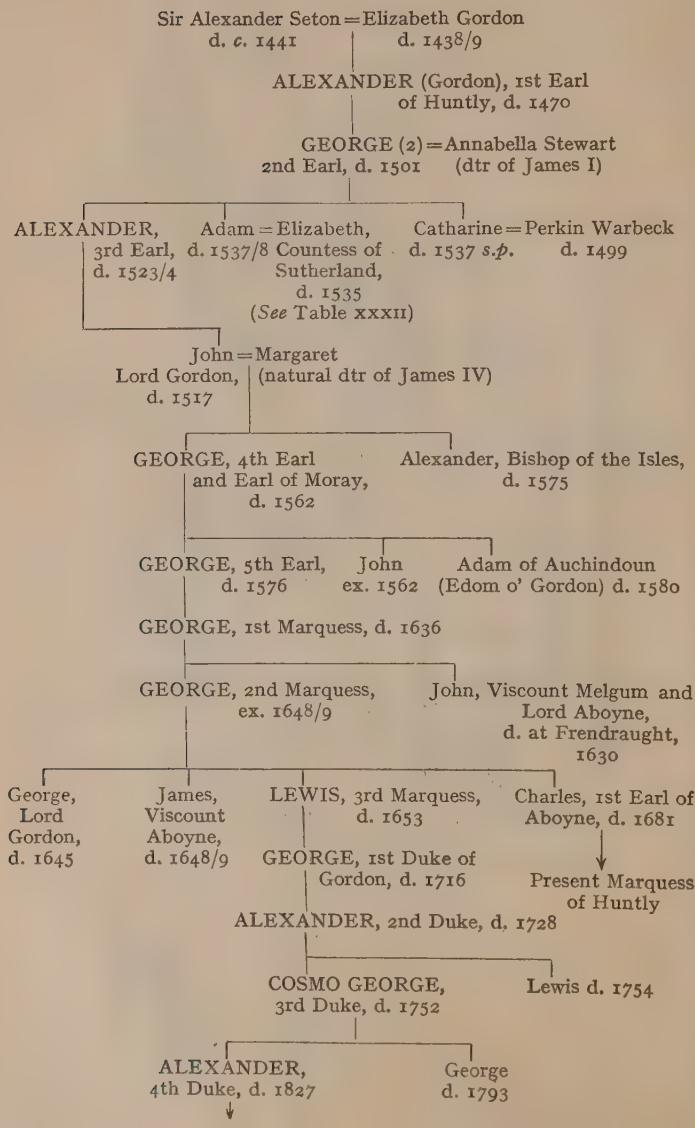
XXI. ANCIENT EARLS OF FIFE


Malcolm Canmore d. 1093
ETHELRED, 1st Earl, d. *ante* 1098
?
CONSTANTINE, 2nd Earl, d. 1127 or 1129
?
GILLEMICHAEL, 3rd Earl, d. *c.* 1136
?
DUNCAN, 4th Earl, d. *ante* 1160
DUNCAN, 5th Earl, d. 1204
MALCOLM, 6th Earl, d. 1228 *s.p.*
Duncan
David
MALCOLM, 7th Earl, d. 1266
John of Strathbogie (*See* Table XIV)
COLBAN, 8th Earl, d. 1270
Macduff, d. 1298
DUNCAN, 9th Earl, d. 1288
DUNCAN, 10th Earl, d. 1353
Isabella = John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, d. 1308 (*See* Table XVIII)
SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY of Colluthie, 11th Earl = ISABELLA, Countess, d. *c.* 1389 *s.p.*
resignation (1389) to
ROBERT STEWART, Duke of Albany, 12th Earl, d. 1420
MURDOCH, 13th Earl, 2nd Duke of Albany, ex. 1425
Earldom annexed to Crown (1455)

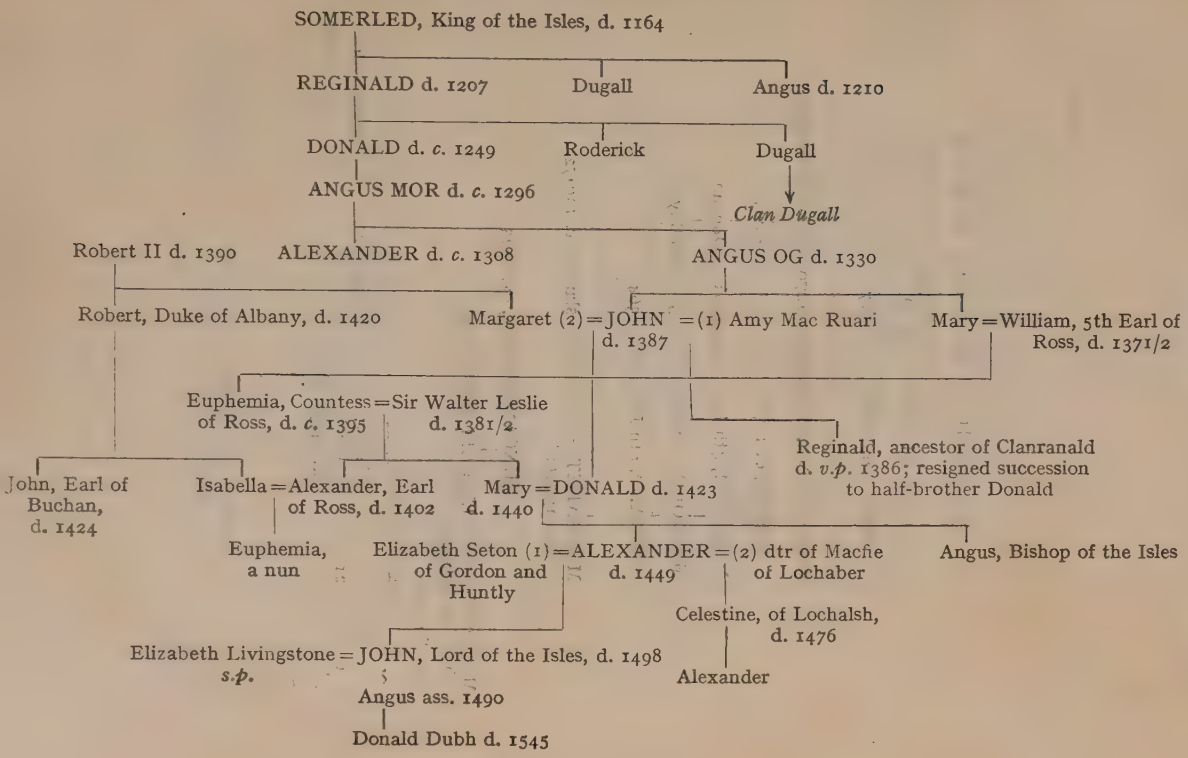
XXII. ANCIENT LORDS OF GALLOWAY


FERGUS, 1st Lord or Prince, d. 1161
UCHTRED d. 1174
GILBERT d. 1185
Lochlan d. v.p.
ROLAND d. 1200
Earls of Carrick (See Table XIX)
ALAN d. 1234
Thomas d. c. 1232
Isabella, Countess of Atholl, d. c. 1237 (See Table XIV)
Thomas d. s.p.
Elena
Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, d. 1264
Christina d. 1245/6 s.p.
Devorgilla
John de Balliol d. 1269
Thomas d. c. 1296
Alexander Comyn Earl of Buchan, d. 1289 (See Table XVIII)
Isabella (Marjorie)
JOHN BALLIOL King 1292–96 (See Table II)
Isabella de Warenne
Alianora
Sir John Comyn, of Badenoch, d. c. 1303 (See Table XVI)

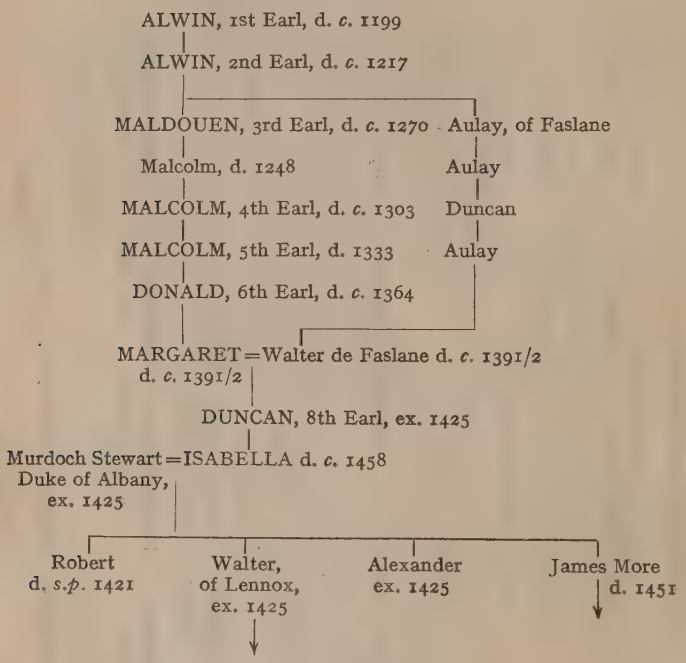
XXIII. GORDON OF HUNTLY


Sir Alexander Seton = Elizabeth Gordon
d. c. 1441 d. 1438/9
ALEXANDER (Gordon), 1st Earl of Huntly, d. 1470
GEORGE (2) = Annabella Stewart
2nd Earl, d. 1501 (dtr of James I)
ALEXANDER, 3rd Earl, d. 1523/4
Adam = Elizabeth, d. 1537/8 Countess of Sutherland, d. 1535 (See Table XXXII)
Catharine = Perkin Warbeck
d. 1537 s.p. d. 1499
John = Margaret
Lord Gordon, d. 1517 (natural dtr of James IV)
GEORGE, 4th Earl and Earl of Moray, d. 1562
Alexander, Bishop of the Isles, d. 1575
GEORGE, 5th Earl, d. 1576
John ex. 1562
Adam of Auchindoun (Edom o' Gordon) d. 1580
GEORGE, 1st Marquess, d. 1636
GEORGE, 2nd Marquess, ex. 1648/9
John, Viscount Melgum and Lord Aboyne, d. at Frendraught, 1630
George, Lord Gordon, d. 1645
James, Viscount Aboyne, d. 1648/9
LEWIS, 3rd Marquess, d. 1653
Charles, 1st Earl of Aboyne, d. 1681
GEORGE, 1st Duke of Gordon, d. 1716
Present Marquess of Huntly
ALEXANDER, 2nd Duke, d. 1728
COSMO GEORGE, 3rd Duke, d. 1752
Lewis d. 1754
ALEXANDER, 4th Duke, d. 1827
George d. 1793

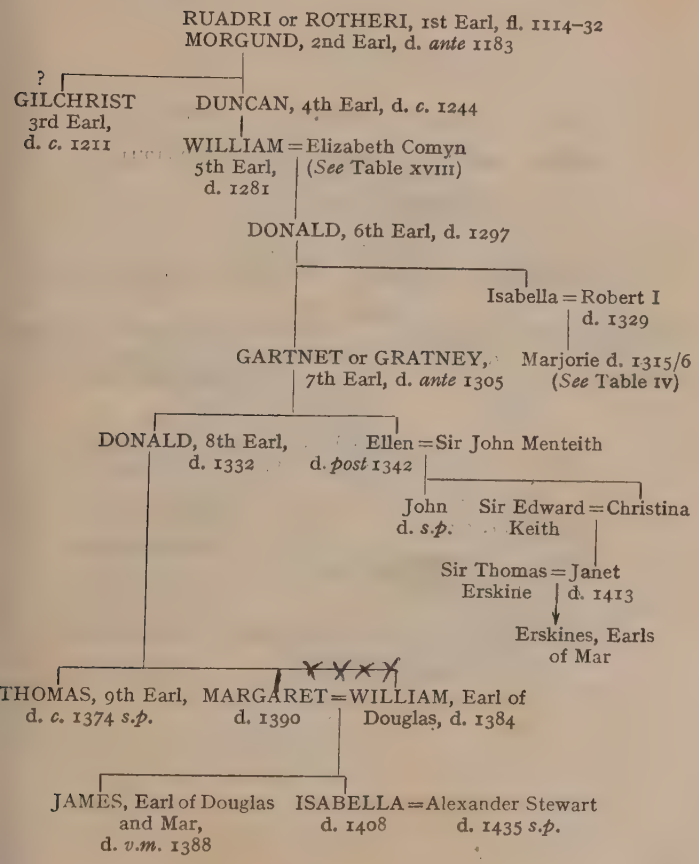
XXIV. MACDONALD OF THE ISLES


SOMERLED, King of the Isles, d. 1164
REGINALD d. 1207
Dugall
Angus d. 1210
DONALD d. c. 1249
Roderick
Dugall
ANGUS MOR d. c. 1296
Clan Dugall
Robert II d. 1390
ALEXANDER d. c. 1308
ANGUS OG d. 1330
Robert, Duke of Albany, d. 1420
Margaret (2) = JOHN d. 1387 = (1) Amy Mac Ruari
Mary = William, 5th Earl of Ross, d. 1371/2
Euphemia, Countess of Ross, d. c. 1395
= Sir Walter Leslie d. 1381/2
Reginald, ancestor of Clanranald d. v.p. 1386; resigned succession to half-brother Donald
John, Earl of Buchan, d. 1424
Isabella = Alexander, Earl of Ross, d. 1402
Mary = DONALD d. 1423
d. 1440
Euphemia, a nun
Elizabeth Seton (1) = ALEXANDER = (2) dtr of Macfie of Lochaber
of Gordon and Huntly
d. 1449
Angus, Bishop of the Isles
Celestine, of Lochalsh, d. 1476
Elizabeth Livingstone = JOHN, Lord of the Isles, d. 1498
s.p.
Alexander
Angus ass. 1490
Donald Dubh d. 1545

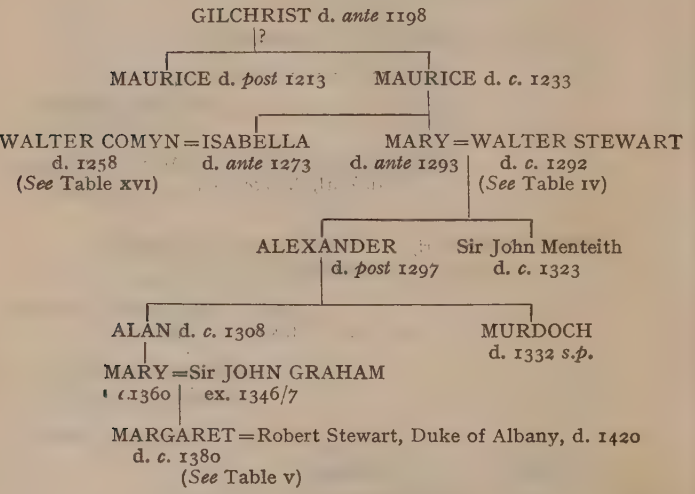
XXV. ANCIENT EARLS OF LENNOX



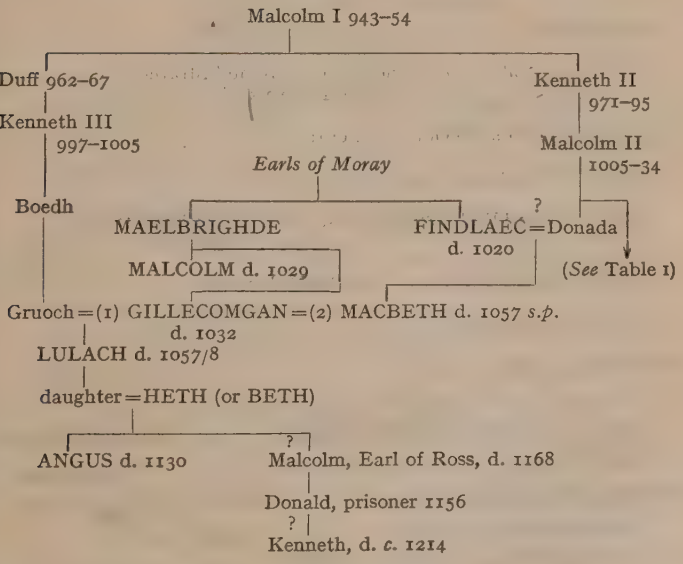
XXVI. ANCIENT EARLS OF MAR


RUADRI or ROTHERI, 1st Earl, fl. 1114–32
MORGUND, 2nd Earl, d. ante 1183
?
GILCHRIST 3rd Earl, d. c. 1211
DUNCAN, 4th Earl, d. c. 1244
WILLIAM = Elizabeth Comyn 5th Earl, d. 1281 (See Table XVIII)
DONALD, 6th Earl, d. 1297
Isabella = Robert I d. 1329
GARTNET or GRATNEY, 7th Earl, d. ante 1305
Marjorie d. 1315/6 (See Table IV)
DONALD, 8th Earl, d. 1332
Ellen = Sir John Menteith d. post 1342
John d. s.p.
Sir Edward Keith = Christina
Sir Thomas Erskine = Janet d. 1413
Erskines, Earls of Mar
THOMAS, 9th Earl, d. c. 1374 s.p.
MARGARET d. 1390
WILLIAM, Earl of Douglas, d. 1384
JAMES, Earl of Douglas and Mar, d. v.m. 1388
ISABELLA d. 1408
Alexander Stewart d. 1435 s.p.

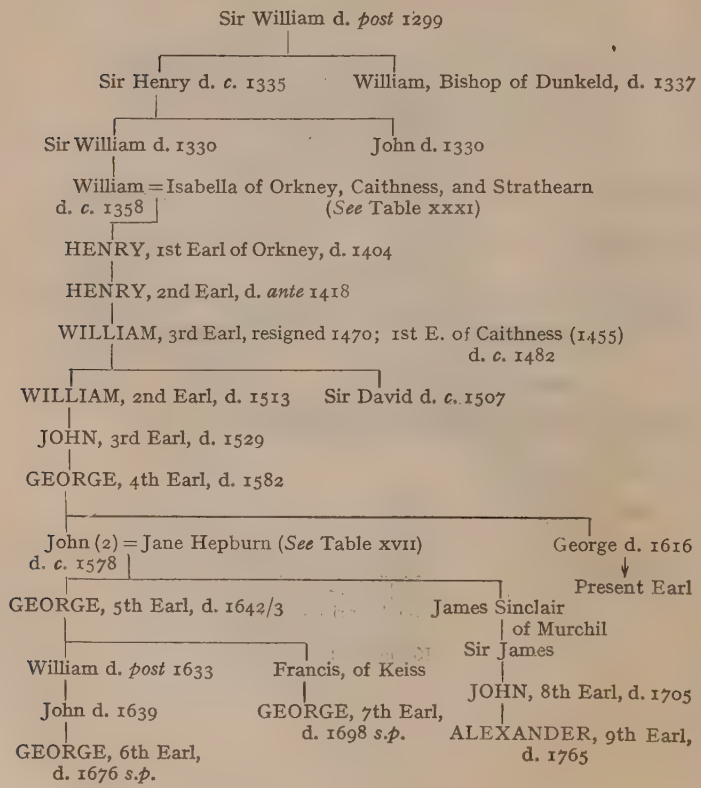
XXVII. ANCIENT EARLS OF MENTEITH



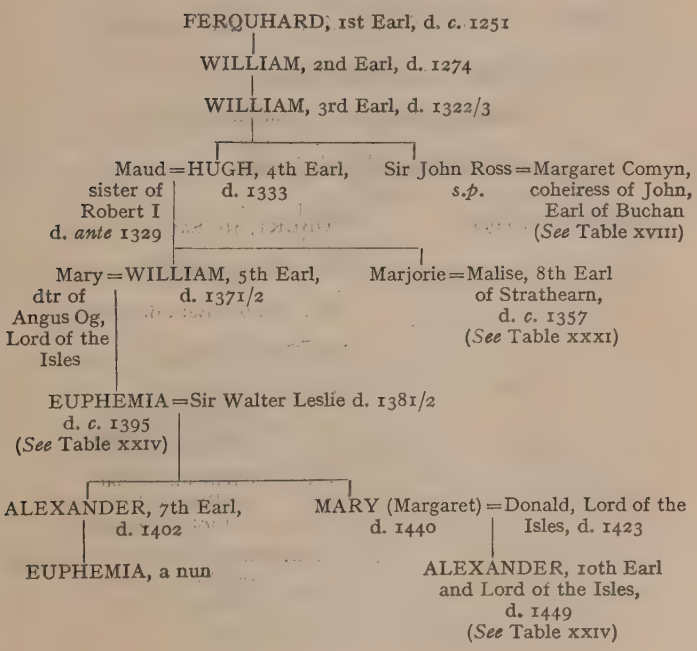
XXVIII. ANCIENT EARLS OF MORAY



XXIX. SINCLAIR OF ORKNEY AND CAITHNESS


Sir William d. post 1299
Sir Henry d. c. 1335
William, Bishop of Dunkeld, d. 1337
Sir William d. 1330
John d. 1330
William = Isabella of Orkney, Caithness, and Strathearn
d. c. 1358 (See Table XXXI)
HENRY, 1st Earl of Orkney, d. 1404
HENRY, 2nd Earl, d. ante 1418
WILLIAM, 3rd Earl, resigned 1470; 1st E. of Caithness (1455)
d. c. 1482
WILLIAM, 2nd Earl, d. 1513
Sir David d. c. 1507
JOHN, 3rd Earl, d. 1529
GEORGE, 4th Earl, d. 1582
John (2) = Jane Hepburn (See Table XVII)
d. c. 1578
George d. 1616
Present Earl
GEORGE, 5th Earl, d. 1642/3
James Sinclair
of Murchil
Sir James
William d. post 1633
Francis, of Keiss
JOHN, 8th Earl, d. 1705
John d. 1639
GEORGE, 7th Earl,
d. 1698 s.p.
ALEXANDER, 9th Earl,
d. 1765
GEORGE, 6th Earl,
d. 1676 s.p.

XXX. ANCIENT EARLS OF ROSS


FERQUHARD, 1st Earl, d. c. 1251
WILLIAM, 2nd Earl, d. 1274
WILLIAM, 3rd Earl, d. 1322/3
Maud, sister of Robert I, d. ante 1329
HUGH, 4th Earl, d. 1333
Sir John Ross, s.p.
Margaret Comyn, coheiress of John, Earl of Buchan (See Table XVIII)
Mary, dtr of Angus Og, Lord of the Isles
WILLIAM, 5th Earl, d. 1371/2
Marjorie
Malise, 8th Earl of Strathearn, d. c. 1357 (See Table XXXI)
EUPHEMIA, d. c. 1395 (See Table XXIV)
Sir Walter Leslie d. 1381/2
ALEXANDER, 7th Earl, d. 1402
EUPHEMIA, a nun
MARY (Margaret), d. 1440
Donald, Lord of the Isles, d. 1423
ALEXANDER, 10th Earl and Lord of the Isles, d. 1449 (See Table XXIV)

XXXI. ANCIENT EARLS OF STRATHEARN

MALISE, 1st Earl, d. *post.* 1141

FERQUHARD (Ferteth), 2nd Earl, d. 1171

GILBERT, 3rd Earl, d. 1223

Gilchrist d. *c.* 1198

ROBERT, 4th Earl, d. *c.* 1244

MALISE, 5th Earl, d. *c.* 1271

MALISE, 6th Earl, d. 1312/3

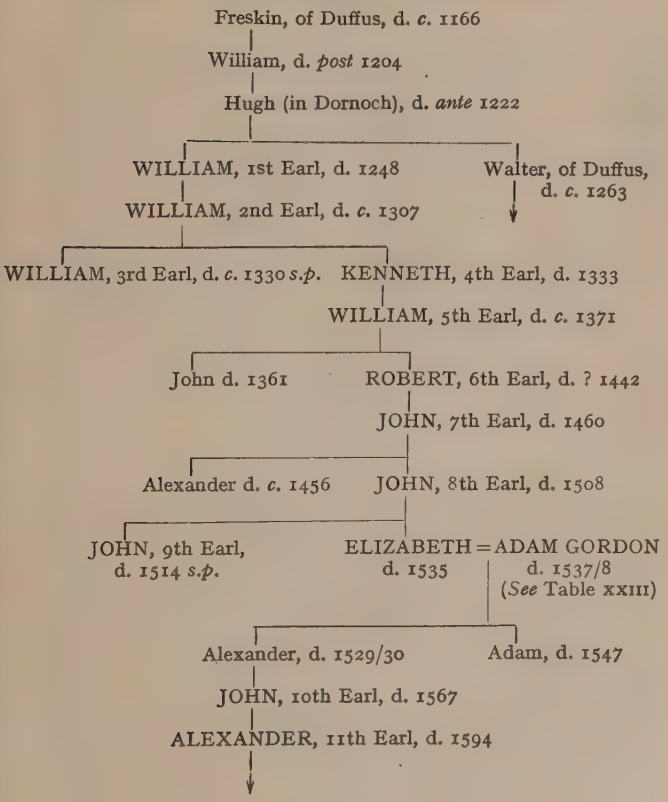
MALISE, 7th Earl, d. *c.* 1329

MALISE, 8th Earl, d. *c.* 1357
Earl of Caithness
(*See* Table xxx)

Isabella = William Sinclair,
of Roslin, d. *c.* 1358
(*See* Table xxix)

Earldom of Strathearn conferred
on Robert II's son
(*See* Table v)

XXXII. SUTHERLAND OF SUTHERLAND


Freskin, of Duffus, d. c. 1166
William, d. post 1204
Hugh (in Dornoch), d. ante 1222
WILLIAM, 1st Earl, d. 1248
Walter, of Duffus, d. c. 1263
WILLIAM, 2nd Earl, d. c. 1307
WILLIAM, 3rd Earl, d. c. 1330 s.p.
KENNETH, 4th Earl, d. 1333
WILLIAM, 5th Earl, d. c. 1371
John d. 1361
ROBERT, 6th Earl, d. ? 1442
JOHN, 7th Earl, d. 1460
Alexander d. c. 1456
JOHN, 8th Earl, d. 1508
JOHN, 9th Earl, d. 1514 s.p.
ELIZABETH = ADAM GORDON
d. 1535
d. 1537/8
(See Table XXIII)
Alexander, d. 1529/30
Adam, d. 1547
JOHN, 10th Earl, d. 1567
ALEXANDER, 11th Earl, d. 1594

CHAPTER I

THE ROMAN EPISODE

WITH misleading clarity, Hector Boece, one of Scotland's earliest historians, tells of her origins, name, and race. He recalls Gathelus, son of Cecrops of Athens, a man of wayward courses, who, being disinclined to suffer 'the correctioun of friendis,' fled to Egypt where Pharaoh, 'scurge of the pepil of Israel,' was then reigning. Welcomed 'plesandly' by him, Gathelus performed valiant deeds of war, received the command of the Egyptian army, and married Pharaoh's daughter Scota, having with her a dowry of lands won 'be force of battall fra the pepyll of Israel.' Scota's father briefly survived the union. Her brother 'Bochoris Pharo,' refusing to release Israel, drew upon Egypt 'uncouth plagis' and warning of greater and imminent inflictions. Eager to escape from these horrors, Gathelus assembled his fellow exiles from Greece, friends and servants, and, with his wife Scota, set out upon an Odyssey whose unmapped goal was Scotland. Passing the Straits of Gibraltar he came to 'ane part of Spanye callit than Lusican, quhilk wes eftir, be his arriving thair, callit Portyngall, that is to say, the Port of Gathele.' Gathelus, already 'sowpit [worn] be lang travell,' overcame the aborigines and won from them lands 'callit now Gallicia.' He settled there, named his heterogeneous following Scots in gallant compliment to his wife, builded himself a city, and ruled his subjects, 'sittand in a chiar of merbyll' possessed of 'sic weird that it maid every land quhair it wes found native to Scottis':

> The Scottis sall bruike that realme as native ground,
> Geif weirdis faill nocht, quhair evir this chiar is found.

Years passed, his people increased 'with mair multitude than mycht be sufficiently nurist,' and Gathelus ordained

a second Exodus. His sons Hiber and Hemecus were sent out 'to spy gif ony landis war within the Occeane.' Five days' sail brought them to an island in the west to which Hiber gave his name, Hibernia, whose people, belying their subsequent character, suffered themselves to be 'plesandly subdewit.' Leaving his fellow navigator Hemecus to rule them, Hiber returned to Spain to report his discovery, found Gathelus dead, and so increased his father's power in the peninsula that after him it was called Iberia. From him descended Simon Brec who succeeded Hemecus as king in Ireland. Two hundred years later this wandering race passed on to Scotland. Rothesay had its name from its Scottish conqueror. Ardgaell or Argyll dutifully recalled Gathelus, and the Hebrides the insatiable Hiber. Two more centuries passed in which the Scots possessed unchallenged the country whose first settlers they were. At length the last infusion of racial ingredients appeared. There came out of Denmark 'a banist pepyll named Pichtis' seeking a dwelling place. France, Britain, Ireland in turn spurned and inhibited them from landing. Scotland, less resolute or more gracious, welcomed the newcomers, who showed themselves 'ane civill pepyl, richt ingenious and crafty baith in weir and peace.' Their invitation to the Scots 'to have thair dochteris in mariage,' as in the Roman legend, completed the Boecian chain of origins. Fordun tells the same story, more or less. To their readers it was as credible as modern deductions from comparative philology. The land was Scotland, and lo! Scota. They knew themselves as Gaels, and aptly Gathelus. Correctly they divined that Ireland housed their forbears before Scotland received them. The convenient Hiber personified the tradition.

Boece's integrity as a historian is here an irrelevant topic. He popularized a fabulous history of Scotland, anticipating Bacon's injunction, 'He that undertaketh the story of a time, specially of any length, cannot but meet with many blanks and spaces which he must be forced to

fill up out of his own wit and conjecture.' The rejection of his elaborate fable throws the subject, in some measure, back into the region of 'unsatisfactory conjecture' of which Boswell complained. Scientific history tells a story which lacks Boece's engaging symmetry. It reveals a human occupation, enormously prolonged, by nameless denizens whose wanderings to their Land of Promise are unrecorded. The patient antiquary, probing the soil, has brought to light utensils, weapons, ornaments of the Stone Age, succeeded in turn by relics of the Bronze and Iron civilizations. They tell a story common to Europe in prehistoric times, of savage races hard put to it for defence against more savage beasts of prey, ignorant of agriculture, sheltering in natural caves, inadequately armed with rude arrow-heads of flint, bone harpoons, and roughly shaped stone hammers. Scotland yields few traces of these earliest nomads. We conjecture their supersession by a Neolithic race, of the Mediterranean type, better armed and more civilized, builders of houses, cultivators of the soil, clever hunters and fishers, not without rudiments of artistic culture, armed with polished axes of stone and quartz, cunning in boat craft and the fishing of shallow waters, who had their day, passed across the stage, and vanished. With them closed an era. Primitive man makes his first raid upon the big secrets of nature. He fuses copper and tin and fashions bronze, a metal harder than either of its components. He forges swords, daggers, shields, spear-heads, sickles, even razors and trumpets. He adorns his women with beautiful decoration, bracelets, neck-rings, ear-rings, mirrors even, of gold. His tempered sword gives him superiority over his predecessor, till in his turn he yields to a newcomer better armed than himself. For the Age of Iron supplanted the Age of Bronze. When Rome's ambition raised the curtain upon historic Britain, Caledonia housed a population of Goidels or Gaels, a people of Aryan origin, and Picts, a mysterious race whose origin eludes us, as in Jonathan Oldbuck and Sir Arthur Wardour it excited heated controversy, of whom

we cannot say surely whether they were akin to the Gaelic pioneers or alien to them. Centuries after Rome's legions abandoned these islands their kingdom, by what processes exactly we cannot tell, was merged into a wider monarchy which bore the name Scotland, and their distinctive language was lost in the Scottish speech to-day called Gaelic.

Meanwhile, Rome's long Empire rose, waned, and set for ever. In her remote origins an insignificant fort upon the hills overlooking Tiber, she embarked in B.C. 343 upon a militant course which in less than a century made her undisputed mistress of the Italian peninsula. With its acquisition she faced a crisis in her development. As a land-state, without over-sea colonies or sea-borne commerce, she had no need to maintain a navy. But in B.C. 264 she involved herself in a life and death struggle with Carthage, a Phoenician colony grown wealthy and independent of its mother Tyre, who stretched greedy hands across the narrow waters of the Mediterranean, ruled Corsica, Sardinia, and a great part of Sicily as well, and to any maritime state would have proved a foe of metal. Rome was without experience of naval warfare and lacked the material to wage it. Yet, with confidence, the Prussians of the ancient world launched their challenge, built ships to pursue it, and in the span of four generations beat Carthage to her knees. Her city was destroyed in B.C. 146 and mistress-ship of the western Mediterranean passed to the victor. Rome stood thus early on the trail that beckoned to Britain and beyond. Less than one hundred years later, after carrying Rome's frontiers to the Rhine, Julius Caesar gazed over the Straits of Dover. His scientific habit of curiosity and close ties of affinity between the Gallic tribes and their British neighbours prompted him to cross them. In B.C. 55 and again in 54 he campaigned on British soil. But the island's conquest was not achieved. All but one hundred years—a 'century of suspense' Mr Hodgkin names the interval—passed before Caesar's collateral descendant

ordered a more persistent effort. In A.D. 43 the Emperor Claudius campaigned in Essex and won from his Senators the appellation 'Britannicus.' Thenceforward the tide of invasion moved slowly but unrepelled northward. Yorkshire was added to the Empire and Eburácum (York), its sometime capital, was founded. In A.D. 79 Vespasian's *legatus* Gnaeus Julius Agricola subdued Northumberland, home of the Brigantes, and by A.D. 81 reached and fortified the narrow isthmus of Clyde and Forth. Scotland at length obstructed the path of Rome's expanding rule.

It is not easy to picture Scotland as the Romans found it. Almost the whole country was impenetrable jungle of oak and pine, home of the elk, boar, and great red deer. Bogs, lakes, lagoons, and treacherous mosses covered great stretches of country. Sparse signs of agricultural activity were patent and the sites of modern cities either lay waste or sheltered the rude hovels of a race of sturdy physique, stout limbed, tawny haired, as Tacitus describes them in the first book written about Scotland. Their weapons were large iron claymores, inconveniently weighty for close fighting and lacking the sharp edge of the short, pointed *gladius* of the Roman legionary, iron-headed spears, and battle-axes. Bronze-studded shields protected their bodies, which they clothed in hides or other material brightly coloured. A brave and warlike people, the Caledonians, as Rome, contemptuous of racial complexities, called them collectively, were the sum of many petty clans, whose lack of political cohesion and unified command promised easy victory to the newcomers.

With the arrival of Agricola upon its borders the fortunes of Scotland pass into the region of recorded fact. His activities inspired the pen of his son-in-law, Cornelius Tacitus, whose pages provokingly fail to clarify Scotland's earliest historical experience. In the summer of A.D. 80 Agricola advanced northward, 'ravaging the land,' says Tacitus in stereotyped formula, towards a tidal estuary called Tanaus, which may have been one of the two Tynes or possibly Tweed. Certainly Agricola

advanced by the east and not by the alternative route through Cumberland. It is established also that, in the following year 81, he reached and fortified the narrow neck of land between Forth and Clyde. Before carrying his arms against the clans beyond, Agricola turned to the west, doubtless to relieve pressure on his flank. In 82 Ireland floats momentarily into view and Agricola supposed, as Hiber before him, the inhabitants ready to be 'plesandly subdewit.' Roman keels cruised the Kyles and Mull of Kintyre, and even attempted a periplus. At length, in 83, Agricola pushed northward and entered

> Caledonia stern and wild,
> Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
> Land of the mountain and the flood.

The legions were seized with fear. But Agricola scorned retreat. His line of march and the sites of his camps are hidden, but stiff fighting took place towards Tay before winter called him back to the fortified Forth-Clyde isthmus. In 84 his advance was resumed and Scotland's earliest hero, Calgácus, appears. Tacitus puts a spirited war-speech into his mouth, of which a pointed epigram has lived: 'they make a solitude and call it peace.' Like Boudicca, a quarter of a century earlier, Calgácus directed a concerted effort to rescue his people from Rome's clutches and summoned old and young to a supreme endeavour. At Mons Graupius—a name whose misreading produced the modern form Grampian—the first recorded battle on Scottish soil was fought, an engagement hotly contested, a Roman victory dearly bought. Almost on the morrow of it Agricola was recalled by Domitian, his jealous master. He had carried Rome's power effectually to the Forth and Clyde. Beyond it lay a mystery unpenetrated, a people unsubdued.

With Agricola departed his policy of conquest, and the literary history of Roman Britain, so auspiciously begun, comes to an end. During three centuries the record of events is deciphered by the patient archaeo-

logist. For Agricola's activity Rome substituted a policy of non-expansion and a frontier system which preferred the erection of impregnable artificial defences wherever Nature's barriers were inadequate. In Britain the new policy was inaugurated by the Emperor Hadrian, who visited the island about A.D. 120 in tireless exploration of the distant provinces over which he ruled. At his orders eighty Roman miles of solid masonry were drawn across Northumberland and Cumberland from Wallsend to Bowness. At a height of seventeen and from six to eight feet wide Hadrian's Wall marched undeviatingly over the bleak moorland, a rampart that proved no obstacle to its assailants. Constantly the North Britons pierced its defences and raided the province it so ineffectually protected till, twenty years later (? A.D. 140), Antoninus Pius resumed Agricola's discarded adventure and dispatched Lollius Urbicus to demonstrate Roman power beyond Hadrian's fortification. His activity is written in the Antonine Vallum built along the course of Agricola's earlier defences between Forth and Clyde. From Carriden on the Forth westward to Old Kilpatrick on the Clyde he raised a monument, the wonder of later generations, who named it Grahame's, or Grime's, Dyke, a Devil's handiwork beyond the accomplishment of mortals. On a foundation of stone twelve feet of turf sods were neatly laid, tapering somewhat from a width of fourteen feet at bottom. Parts stand to this day. To the north of the Vallum a deep fosse offered an obstacle to assailants. To the south of it a military road permitted rapid move ment of its garrison to a menaced spot.

The northern Vallum proved as ineffective as Hadrian's to defend the Romanized population. Fifty years later (*circ.* 190) it was abandoned, wrecked and dismantled, it may be, by its retreating garrison. We hear of a new tribe, the Meatae, dwelling between the two Walls, a post of danger, which, perhaps, trained them to a high pitch of military daring and efficiency. Scanty references by contemporary Romans suggest the Caledonian frontier in

a blaze of war, while excavations along Hadrian's Wall plainly tell of sudden onsets, bloody warfare, destruction, burning. For the third time, Rome was called to vindicate her authority. In 208 the Emperor Severus led a great army into Caledonia. A man of sixty, racked with gout, unable to walk or ride, attended by quarrelsome sons whose ambitions menaced their father's life, the old campaigner was borne heavily in a litter in the track of the legions. With Roman thoroughness he felled forests, drained marshes, and built roads for the army's progress along an unrecorded route. Roman camps at Ardoch in Perthshire, Raedykes, Normandykes on the Dee, and a large one at Fyvie, support the tradition that the veteran did not pause until he looked upon the Moray Firth. No battle was fought. Wise in experience, the Caledonians preferred to harass their enemy's march through difficult country, and inflicted upon him losses which have been overstated, probably, at 50,000 dead. Upon his return he repaired Hadrian's Wall, a labour which confessed the futility of his arduous campaign. In 211 the Meatae and Caledonians, Lowlanders and Highlanders, again rose in arms. Severus was organizing a new expedition against them when death removed him.

During the next half century the Roman Empire seemed on the verge of dissolution, and in the region between the British Walls its authority collapsed. Early in the fourth century (306), in an Imperial proclamation, we hear for the first time of the Picts. Associated with them in fierce raids upon the cowering provincials were Scots from Ireland, Attacotti, 'a right valiant people,' and Saxons from beyond the North Sea. In 368 Theodosius, father of the Emperor of that name, was dispatched by the Emperor Valentinian to rescue the unhappy province from their assaults. He repelled the audacious Picts, restored Imperial authority between the two Walls, and seemingly named the region Valentia in honour of his master. But threatened catastrophe was only temporarily averted. Rome already was fighting for her existence in

Italy and fell, in 410, to Alaric's victorious Goths. Already the legionaries had been recalled from Britain (? 407), leaving the island to fight its battles alone. Before the end of the century the Dalriad Scots from Ireland settled in Argyll, and men of English stock fared from over sea to the Kentish coast. From the two events North and South Britain took their diverging courses and from the newcomers received their name.

For more than three hundred years the Romans had visited North Britain and for intermittent periods held no inconsiderable part of it. Their departure was the exodus of a garrison merely and did not, as in South Britain, proclaim the collapse of an exotic civilization. It is doubtful whether a single Scottish town can trace its ancestry to Roman foundation. Antiquities betokening Roman occupation have been found in many localities, and excavations at Newstead, near Melrose, reveal the polished economy of a considerable station. But the population of North Britain was never Romanized, never adopted the Roman dress, never spoke the Latin tongue, nor lived as the Romans lived. The theory of Roman continuity which vexes the early history of Saxon England has no place among Scotland's problems. Yet her contact with the masters of the ancient world must have influenced her somewhat. Their civilization was too impressive, their might too tremendous, to pass without exciting awe and imitation. Moreover, invasion from without has ever proved a potent stimulator of patriotic impulse. Caledonia's clans must have been moved to closer consciousness of common interests, and the complexity of her tribal geography may well have been simplified, by need to combine against a common danger. Nor must it be forgotten that St Ninian (*circ.* 397), Scotland's earliest evangelist, owed his Christianity to Rome, and imparted it to the Picts of Galloway under her protection.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATIONS

THE departure of the Romans, like their advent, cannot be placed among the determining facts of Scotland's experience. Neither did their culture survive, nor were present as yet upon the soil of the future kingdom all the racial ingredients of which it is compounded. The centuries that followed, and especially the sixth, assembled these elements, won them to Christianity, and reduced them to a monarchy. The momentous epoch opens on the morrow of Rome's evacuation and ends in 1018. Its significance is phrased in a sentence: it achieved the making of Scotland and prepared the rivalry between Celt and intrusive Saxon, Rob Roy and Nicol Jarvie—as Mr Lang figures the protagonists—out of which an ordered kingdom emerged.

Events in Scotland are veiled from us for a full century and a half after Rome's submission to Alaric. When the curtain rises we observe a country whose geographical complexities had been remarkably simplified in the interval. Claudius Ptolemy's map of Caledonia represents a contorted peninsula supporting seventeen petty principalities. In their place the sixth century produced four kingdoms, each ruled by its own monarch and confined within frontiers more or less respected. The largest of them in area, that of the Picts, stretched from the Forth and Clyde to the Pentland Firth. Its people spoke the language of the Goidels, and though the conclusion is not established, have been dubbed Goidels themselves, akin to the Celts of Ireland and the Isle of Man. The ridge of the Grampians cut them into two divisions: the South Picts occupied the modern counties of Fife, Perth, Forfar,

Kincardine: the North Picts the region beyond. When they enter upon the stage of history both sections were subject to the same Ardrigh, or monarch, whose seat was on the Ness. Sub-kings ruled the provinces, of which seven seems to have been the formal number: Angus, Atholl, Fife, Lennox, Mar, Menteith, and Moray preserve the names. The kingdom was the first to disappear in the process of absorption which produced a united state. It survived till 844 when Kenneth MacAlpin linked it and Scottish Dalriada in permanent union whose facile accomplishment bespeaks the partners akin.

The British, Welsh-speaking, Celts of Strathclyde formed the second kingdom. Like its eastern neighbour, English Lothian, it came into being during the advance of the Angles across the island in the fifth and sixth centuries. Their conquest, ruthlessly pursued, drove back the Romanized Celts to the coast from Land's End to Solway Firth and introduced a refugee population of Brythonic (Welsh-speaking) Celts into the region between Solway Firth and Clyde, separated from their kindred in Cumbria by a narrow arm of the sea and akin to the Scots of Ireland and Argyllshire. All were of Celtic stock. But the Britons were Welsh-speakers, the Scots used a Goidelic or Gaelic tongue, a fundamental distinction. Settled along the Clyde from the Derwent northward to Alclyde, afterwards called Dumbarton (Fortress of the Britons), the British Celts formed a kingdom which acquired the name Strathclyde. Two events contributed to detach it from English Cumbria, to which it was akin racially, and made it gravitate towards Scotland. Near the end of the sixth century (573) the Strathclyde Britons transferred their capital from Carlisle to Alclyde. Forty years later (613), by his victory at Chester, Æthelfrith, king of English Bernicia, implacable enemy of British folk, cut the Welsh-speaking Celts to the west of him in twain, and by the act decreed Strathclyde's gravitation to the Scottish system. Within it, upon the modern counties of Wigton and Kirkcudbright, a branch of the Pictish stock maintained itself

stubbornly; it provided a division of the host at the Battle of the Standard in 1138, and continued to speak Gaelic until after the union of the crowns of England and Scotland in 1603.

The third of the kingdoms was English, the only one of the four not of Celtic origin. Its founder was Ida who, in 547, became king of Bernicia between Forth and Tweed. His rule extended over the Scottish counties of Roxburgh, Berwick, Haddington and Lothian, and to one of his line Scotland's capital owes its name, Edwin's Burgh. Not until 1018 was this rich region detached from England to Scotland's permanent possession, an event of momentous import to her subsequent development.

The fourth kingdom, Dalriada, was founded by the Scots, who took the designation to their Scottish home from Ireland, whence they came. Late in the fifth or early in the sixth century a band of Scottish emigrants led by Fergus Mor and his brothers settled in Argyllshire and founded the kingdom, which at its largest extent included Argyllshire and the islands of Islay and Jura. At first fortune fared ill with the newcomers, who failed to show a united front or to withstand the enmity of the Picts until St Columba came from Ireland to their deliverance in 563.

Thus the Scottish nation is compounded of many racial elements once separate—Scoto-Irish, Picts, Goidelic Celts, Brythonic (Cymric) Celts, English, and, in the islands north and west, Danes and Norsemen, whose arrival was the event of a period we have not yet reached. In the main, persistent and relentless fighting hammered them into one. But other processes were at work, and, among them, of especial efficacy, was their profession of a common faith in Christ. The Scots were Christians since the time of Patrick, and on that account, and as interlopers, were obnoxious to their Pictish neighbours. In 560 the Pictish King Brude inflicted on them a crushing defeat under which they were still staggering when Columba and twelve companions landed on Iona. He was

a man in middle life, of royal descent, a stout fighter, of high repute in counsel, learned, pious, and a busy founder of monastic societies in Ireland. The causes that drew him to Scotland are not stated by Adamnan, his biographer. Tradition alleges that he had been expelled from Ireland in disgrace, excommunicated as a mischief maker. More probably he came to rescue his kinsmen from their late disaster and to convert their Pictish foe. Iona, whence the Gospel message was carried throughout Scotland and thence to distant fields, was the scene of his earliest labours. He designed it to become a centre of monastic life such as already he had planted widely in Ireland. Within a high turf wall he reared a church, small and rudely built of wattle and clay. Round it he raised the simple huts or cells of the monks, some of them novices in training, others performing the daily offices, and others toiling on the land at labours the needs of the brethren ordained.

For two years Columba worked on Iona, establishing his Rule and preaching among the Picts. In 565 he sought King Brude in his palace on the Ness. His reception was ungracious, and the gates were close locked against him. At the Sign of the Cross they flew open and admitted the Saint to the astonished king. Brude was stubborn: if we trust Adamnan, not until Columba routed the Pictish magicians in thaumaturgic contests did he surrender to a God demonstrably more powerful than his own; ethical considerations improbably weighed in the decision. Brude declared himself a Christian, approached the font, and drew his people in dutiful imitation of his choice. The conversion of the Picts may fairly be held the governing fact in early Scottish history. Neither ethical nor political standards were forthwith raised. But aspirations were quickened, closer relations were formed with Irish culture, and developments were put in train which in time evolved a consolidated kingdom and a united people.

Columba's success in rehabilitating Dalriada yields in importance only to his conversion of the Picts. In a

'book of glass' he is said to have singled out Aidan, who was not the rightful heir, to sit, like David, on the Scottish throne. Aidan justified his choice; for though he was decisively beaten by Æthelfrith of Bernicia at Degsastan —probably Dawstane near Jedburgh—in 603, he compacted his kingdom and restored to its monarch the authority the defeat of 560 had shattered. He succeeded too, though the credit was Columba's, in breaking the bond of allegiance which to this point made Dalriada dependent on Ireland. At a synod held at Drumceatt in 575 the Ardrigh waived his superiority and recognized Aidan as the first independent king of Scottish Scots. Æthelfrith of Bernicia subsequently overthrew him so decisively that for a century no King of Scots carried arms into England. But he gave help to the Strathclyde Britons against their English neighbours and drove the latter from the counties of Stirling and Linlithgow (Mannan or Manau).

The Britons of Strathclyde found an apostle in St Kentigern, better known as St Mungo. Of him we have no account so trustworthy as that which makes St Columba a historical figure. Mungo is said to have been recalled from Wales by a Cumbrian king ten years after Columba's settlement on Iona. Subsequently he worked in Aberdeenshire, where St Machar also was active. The prefix *Kil* in the place-names of Scotland indicates localities where these early missionaries established their cells.

The conversion of Strathclyde, nominal though it seems to have been, left only Bernicia among the four kingdoms uninstructed in the Faith. The slow triumph of Christianity there is a narrative proper to the history of England. But it was from Iona that first tidings of the Gospel were borne thither. In 615, some twenty years after Columba's death, there entered Iona, seeking sanctuary, a pagan band of Bernician exiles driven before the sword of Edwin of Yorkshire. Among them was the Bernician prince Oswald. He and his company submitted to be baptized and as a Christian Oswald grew to manhood. Twenty years

later, Edwin having fallen in battle, Oswald returned to Bernicia in 634 as king. His first act summoned from Iona missionaries to convert his people. In 635 the saintly Aidan settled at Lindisfarne, where for sixteen years he directed Christian enterprise throughout Northumbria, teaching, Bede tells us, 'none otherwise than as he lived among his friends.'

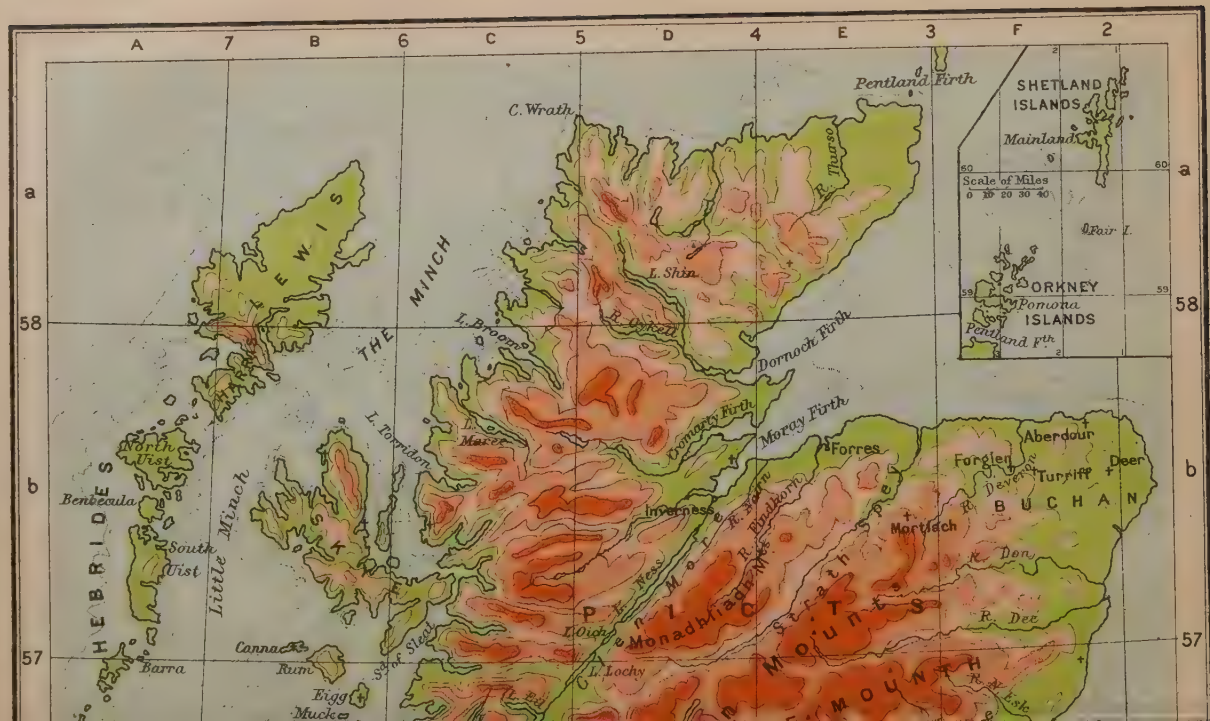
Iona, however, was no longer the only evangelical centre in Britain. In 597, a generation after Columba's arrival from Ireland, St Augustine landed in Kent, to enter the lists in Rome's name for the salvation of a country her legions abandoned near two centuries before. Differences of rite and organization divided the Churches of Rome and Iona which in large measure were due to Ireland's aloofness from the continental current during the preceding generations. The Scots, observing a Calendar Rome had discarded, kept the Feast of Easter on a different calculation. Their Church also permitted rites which orthodox Romans denounced as 'barbarous.' Their clergy were tonsured from ear to ear, not upon the circular summit of the cranium. Yet, as a missionary body, both in Britain and Europe, the Irish Church was more successful than Rome and as an evangelizing agency did its best work. On the other hand, neither its clergy nor its laity were skilled, as those of Rome were, in the essential art of organization. Another weakness was its isolation. The Churches of Italy, France and Germany were linked with Rome, capital of the old world. To have surrendered to Iona the spiritual governance of England and Scotland would have cut both kingdoms from an organization and ideals as essential to their political as to their ethical growth. Oswald's successor Oswy forbade that contingency. At Whitby Synod, in 664, he decreed the expulsion of the Scottish missionaries from Northumbria and adopted the Roman obedience. 'I tell you, you fight against the whole world' was the taunt that won him to the Church of St Peter.

Rome's victory at Whitby is an event not less impor-

tant in Scotland's history than the coming of Columba one hundred years earlier. The Celtic Church had grown out of and adjusted itself to the tribal polity of its people. The Roman Church had behind it the imposing traditions of the Empire, adapted itself from the first to the Empire's institutions, and in its territorial dioceses provided a contribution to the building of an organized political system which the monastic polity of Iona could not afford. The latter fostered a tribal system which needed to be discarded before a progressive society could emerge. It is improbable that these reflexions weighed with Oswy at Whitby. The unchallenged authority of St Peter, holder of the keys of life and death, the poverty of the Irish Church in apostolic tradition, and the power of a see which ruled Christendom from the capital of Augustus, were practical considerations which expelled Aidan's Church from Northumbria and later (710) moved Nectan, king of the Picts, to conform to Roman usage. Within ten years thereafter Iona itself submitted to the rival order and, with the apparent exception of Strathclyde, the whole of future Scotland ranged itself under Rome's banner. The decision opened a new world of ideas and endeavour. Yet, though it exercised little influence upon the nation's development, the Celtic Church was deeply cherished by the people. Even in the eleventh century St Margaret of Scotland was compelled to institute vigorous reformation of obstinate Celtic usages, and down to the fourteenth the Keledei (Culdees), Friends of God, perpetuated some of its characteristics.

When we turn from the fruition of Christian unity to the slower process of political consolidation the story becomes, in the main, one of drum and trumpet. The supremacy of Northumbria, which ordained the retreat of the Scottish Church from England, threatened the political integrity of the country beyond Forth and Clyde. King Oswy's victory over heathen Penda of Mercia at Winwaed, in 655, announced him as the arch-king of Britain. He is said to have subdued the Picts, or 'the

MAP 1



A
7
B
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2
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58
57
C. Wrath
Pentland Firth
SHETLAND ISLANDS
Mainland
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40
Fair I.
ORKNEY ISLANDS
Pomona
Pentland Fth
R. Thurso
L. Shin
R. Oykell
L. Broom
THE MINCH
LEWIS
HARRIS
Dornoch Firth
Cromarty Firth
Moray Firth
L. Torridon
L. Maree
Forres
Aberdour
Forglen
Turriff
Deer
R. Deveron
BUCHAN
Inverness
R. Nairn
R. Findhorn
Mortlach
R. Don
R. Dee
R. N. Esk
North Uist
Benbecula
South Uist
HEBRIDES
Little Minch
SKYE
Barra
Canna
Rum
Eigg
Muck
Sd. of Sleat
L. Ness
L. Oich
L. Lochy
Monadhliadh Mts.
Strath Spey
Mounts
MOUNTH

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greatest part of them,' and his power may have extended along the east coast to Cromarty Firth. For thirty years the Picts submitted or made unavailing effort to recover freedom, till, in 686, Ecgfrith, Oswy's successor, leading a great host into Pictland, was miserably defeated and slain at Dunnichen (Nectansmere) in Forfarshire. The event is memorable. It withdrew from central Scotland a foreign power capable of checking the nascent kingdom's growth. Pict and Scot, Gael and Briton were left, not undisturbed, to work out the difficult process of consolidation.

Following their victory at Nectansmere the Picts established a wide supremacy which embraced Dalriada and Strathclyde. The former appears to have suffered in the first part of the eighth century a recurrence of the civil dissensions Columba formerly composed, so that under King Angus MacFergus (731–61) the Picts came near to anticipating the achievement of Kenneth MacAlpin a century later. His successors either had not his ability or lacked his vigour. Bernicia remained outside the limits of the future kingdom, and before the end of the eighth century (794) Norsemen from Scandinavia made their first appearance in the Western Isles, detaching from Scotland a part of her geographical self which was not won back until the middle of the thirteenth century (1266). In 802 they sacked Iona. The whole western coast, as well as Caithness and Sutherland, became the home of an increasing Scandinavian population which cut off the Scots of Argyllshire (Dalriada) from their Irish kinsmen. Iona lost its ecclesiastical primacy, and Constantin, king of the Picts (d. 820), transferred the religious capital to Dunkeld.

The settlement and depredations of the pagan Norsemen were the direct and immediate cause of the permanent union of Dalriada and Pictland. In 844 Kenneth MacAlpin, king of Dalriada, united the two kingdoms in a partnership never broken thereafter. The circumstances of the momentous event are not clearly deciphered. By paternal descent the new sovereign was a Scot. On the spindle side

he was a Pict, and since by Pictish law the crown descended through the mother, Kenneth's claim was good to both realms. But other causes contributed to make permanent the union achieved in his person. The two kingdoms had already been united. During the preceding half-century a Pictish or Scottish king had passed from one to the other, and on occasion reigned over both. In Iona, and latterly in Dunkeld, they owned the same ecclesiastical capital. In blood probably and in language certainly they were akin, and the futile rivalries of three centuries may have suggested union as the better course. That the dangers newly threatened by the Norsemen weighed cannot be doubted, though Kenneth probably won the crown either by taking advantage of a Norse irruption into Pictland or in actual collusion with it. That the union endured is the strongest proof that circumstances were ripe for its accomplishment. Its achievement reduced the four kingdoms to three. In less than two centuries the three were compressed into one and, excepting the Norse regions, Scotland was geographically complete.

The accession of a Scottish monarch was followed within half a century by a change of style in the kingdom's name. By the beginning of the tenth century it was called Alban, after Albanacht, the mythical son of Brude. Alban comprised only one geographical division of modern Scotland, a region poor in soil, formed of hard and ancient rocks, and deluged by rains from the Atlantic. Between it and the southern hill system extending from Dunbar to the Rhinns of Galloway lies the central Scottish plain, running from Dumbarton to Stonehaven in one direction, from Girvan to Dunbar in another, richer in soil and more open to commerce than the high lands which flank it north and south. Here the national life of Scotland was offered room to develop, and its acquisition was the chief ambition of Alban's rulers. No positive limit to their expansion was presented by physical conditions. The decline of Northumbria after the battle of Nectansmere

(685) could suggest that kingdom's southern boundary, the Humber and Mersey, as the frontier to which Alban might aspire. If a Roman landmark seemed authoritative, the Empire's effective frontier had not passed the Wall of Hadrian.

The essential fact in the history of Alban after 844 is a dogged effort to advance its southern frontier to the farthest limit, a determination which challenged the growing English monarchy, whose ambition gazed northward as that of Alban aimed southward. Hence at this stage the long rivalry of North and South, England and Scotland, begins. A king of Alban and his kinsman of Strathclyde succumbed to Æthelstan at Brunanburh, in 937. Thirteen years earlier (924) the same king of Alban (Constantin II) entered into a relationship with Alfred the Great's son Edward upon which English lawyers of a later generation founded England's claim to Scotland's vassalage. His successor, Malcolm I, made ambiguous partnership with Edmund of England (945) in his zeal to acquire Cumberland. Whether he accepted it as a fief of the English crown is a controversial topic. Vassal or merely 'fellow-worker' (ally), Malcolm's intention to thrust Alban as far as he could into England is apparent. A generation later his son Kenneth II is declared to have received the Lothians from Edgar of England as vassal from suzerain. The event gains in importance from the fact that already, about 962, Dunedin or Edinburgh had passed into permanent possession of the Scots, with the region between the Pentlands and the Forth. From that vantage ground they viewed and coveted the rich corn-lands of Bernicia, the granary of the North. Some sixty years later (1018) Malcolm II won them at Carham from King Cnut. The date is doubly memorable. In the same year the king of Strathclyde died. For a century the British kingdom had been ruled by cadets of the Alban house of Alpin. In 1018 the line expired and Malcolm's grandson, Shakespeare's 'gentle Duncan,' took the throne. In 1034, when he succeeded his grandfather, the union of the four kingdoms was com-

pleted. Scotland—the name has its modern significance from Malcolm's reign—was made.

Six centuries had passed since Rome's power faded eastward and their achievement repeated her experience. Not even her might availed to compress the island into a single political system. And out of the turmoil of warring races which succeeded her ordered rule another dualism was fashioned. Two supremacies divided the island, whose frontier in 1018 was determined by Nature's conditions. It rested along a line where population was sparse, where the high pastures of the Cheviots stretch from sea to sea, leaving narrow gateways east and west and a natural boundary in the broad waters of Tweed. The frontier gave Scotland the broad corn-lands between Forth and Tweed, a district English in blood and speech, detached to her from its natural allegiance. The consequences of its transference were not immediately apparent. But the event is among the determining facts of Scottish history. The Lothians represented English culture within a kingdom otherwise Celtic. The subsequent history of Scotland is the record of that culture's intrusive triumph.

CHAPTER III

A FEUDAL KINGDOM

DUNCAN I's accession in 1034 brought together the four kingdoms in a union never broken thereafter. But it would be easy to exaggerate the completeness of their fusion. He ruled discordant systems which exhibited neither symmetry of custom nor uniformity of race. The Isles and the North gave him no obedience. England was soon to fall to a Norman adventurer who, not content to be heir of the English house of Cerdic, aimed at submitting Scotland to the feudal obligations of a dependent fief. But the most urgent problem that faced Duncan's successors was, to reconcile civil dissension and harmonize Celtic Scotland with the English partner the event of 1018 introduced. For two hundred years scarcely a king received the Crown who did not face the anger of his Celtic subjects at his preference for Lothian and transfer of the kingdom's centre from Alban to the Forth. Duncan succumbed to Macbeth in 1040 in that quarrel, and in Moray, Macbeth's earldom, a line of Celtic pretenders persisted who were not extinguished till the reign of Alexander III, the first of Canmore's line whom the true Scots took to their hearts.

Hence, the two hundred and fifty years between Duncan's accession and Alexander III's death were a period of welding and consolidation. In 1286 Scotland's ethnic composition was complete, a groundwork of national sentiment had been laid, the monarch's rule was effective, and his kingdom possessed institutions which afforded strength to fulfil its purposes. In the process its Celtic polity was abandoned. The shifting of the seat of government from the distant Ness to Scone and Dun-

fermline, and again southward to Edinburgh, signified deliberate intention to settle the united kingdom upon foundations the older Alban had not known. The making of Scotland was the achievement of her Celtic kings. Her moulding was the task of an English stock. From Duncan's accession to Alexander III's death we follow the processes which gave Scotland the stability and institutions she lacked. For the first ninety years (1034–1124) Celt and Teuton, Scot and Englishman, contended for the kingdom's mastery. With David I's accession in 1124 it passed conclusively under Anglo-Norman governance, discarded its Celtic polity, and entered the society of European kingdoms equipped like them with the apparatus of a feudal state.

Of these processes the reign of Malcolm Canmore (1057–93) was the starting-point. A lad of tender years when Macbeth slew his father in 1040, Malcolm sheltered at the English Court of Edward the Confessor, grew to manhood in England, spoke the English tongue, preferred the refinement of a court more polite and efficient than Scotland could afford, and by English help was restored to his throne upon the death of Duncan's 'butcher and his fiend-like queen' in 1057. Nine years later Norman William's advent to the English throne (1066) immediately affected his personal fortunes and more deliberately those of his kingdom. About 1068 the English Prince Edgar and his sister Margaret, fleeing from the Conqueror, besought Malcolm's hospitality. Soon—the date is not ascertained—he married the maiden. Projects of high policy weighed with all the parties to the match. Edgar secured an ally against his Norman supplanter. Malcolm, whose father had camped his host round the Castle rock at Durham, and himself had already raided Northumberland along a path to be well worn by his successors, received a wife who gave him plausible pretext to pursue an adventure which promised to augment his kingdom with an increment of English lands. Margaret invested her queenhood with the responsibility of a mission. As maiden her gaze had fixed

upon the cloister for comfort of her soul. As queen she toiled to introduce the culture of her English race. Upon her husband her influence was almost unbounded: of the six sons she bore him not one received a Celtic name.

Malcolm's marriage instantly and necessarily embroiled him with Norman England. In 1070 he carried fire and sword into Yorkshire, whose recovery from the Conqueror his brother-in-law had (1069) failed to achieve. Invasion provoked counter-invasion. In 1072 William marched unresisted to the Tay and at Abernethy made Malcolm his vassal, whether for his kingdom, for the non-Celtic divisions of it, or merely for a gift of manors in England, is debated. Whatever its nature, the obligation sat lightly upon Malcolm. Seven years later (1079), enticed by William's absence in Normandy, he again rode over familiar ground, burning and ravaging between Tyne and Tweed, unheeding his wife's plea for her countrymen. Next year (1080) William requited him: his son Robert entered Scotland, but marched out again 'with nothing accomplished.' For, as in 1072, Malcolm refused battle and Robert, staying his southward march, raised a new fortress (Newcastle) on the Tyne to bolt the door against Malcolm's ingress. Its Keep already looked across the Tyne when, in 1091, Malcolm again invaded England. Rufus, the new king, hastened from Normandy to meet the crisis. In 1092 he entered Lothian, where Malcolm renewed the conditions of Abernethy. Next year Rufus re-fortified Carlisle, which the Norsemen had razed two centuries before, to match Newcastle as a sentry. The event completed the Norman conquest of English territory and thwarted Malcolm, who had hoped to make Cumberland his own. In dudgeon he sought Rufus, lying sick at Gloucester. Rufus denied him audience and referred his vassal to his peers. Malcolm made bold defiance and before the year was out crossed Tweed for the last time with an army at his back. Before the autumn he lay dead at Alnwick (1093). His eldest son Edward fell in the fight. Another, Edgar, faring homeward with news of the

double tragedy, found his mother upon her deathbed. She heard the tale and died.

Malcolm's warfare added nothing to his kingdom but transformed its composition. A generation after his death a monkish annalist, writing in his cell at Durham, declared the population of northern England so diminished by Scottish harrying that scarce a village, and even a cottage, north of Tweed was without its captives of English race. The statement is upon a note of exaggeration. But it is not in dispute that Malcolm's reign augmented Scotland's sparse population considerably, whether by English exiles fleeing before the Norman to a neighbour whose queen was of their stock, or by English captives of her lord. The bulk of this immigrant population was drawn to the Lothians, where it settled among its own race. Northward of the Forth other influences expanded English culture and English speech without disturbing the racial preponderance of the Celt. A growing commerce built the towns upon the east coast and English merchants spread English culture along the seaboard.

In any circumstances the texture of Scotland's Celtic state must have been profoundly affected by English immigration. The consequences were more immediate and deep-reaching because for a quarter of a century Malcolm's English queen was the unflagging agent of English culture. Margaret's influence was direct and subtle. Her Life, written with an unrestricted disposition to uncritical eulogy by her confessor Turgot at her daughter's desire, depicts a saintly, earnest woman, of strong character, who dominated her husband and his court. Ignorant of Gaelic she summoned and admonished councils of clergy upon the error of their ways, Malcolm himself being her interpreter. She read aloud to her unlettered husband, who bound her books in rare covers studded with jewels of price. She emptied his privy purse and distributed generous alms among the poor. In its appointments, dress, tone, the court responded to her example.

Especially upon the Church she left her mark. It was trebly obnoxious to her. In its rites it remained aloof from Western Christendom, though nominally submissive to the primacy of Rome. Its organization presented neither the precision nor the efficiency to which England had attained. Its ritual perpetuated the use of Gaelic, whose substitution for Latin Margaret viewed with horror. She dared to challenge prejudices deep rooted in her people, and though her hopes were delayed in their accomplishment, she laid sure foundations upon which her sons builded. On five points wherein Scotland stood apart from Latin Europe her persistency carried instant reform. She caused observance of Lent to begin on Ash Wednesday and not, as heretofore, on the Monday thereafter. She bade all receive the Eucharist on Easter Day. She reformed the ritual of the Mass and purged it of 'barbarous' practices—perhaps the use of the vernacular or survival of Irish custom in the form of the sacramental wafer. She established Sunday's stricter observance as the Lord's Day. She suppressed irregular degrees of matrimony, forbidding a man to marry his sister-in-law or his stepmother. Thus she completed the work Nectan had begun three centuries before, and brought the Scottish Church, the nation's most potent civilizing agent, into touch with Roman Christendom. Appropriately, the year of her death was also that of the last Culdee Bishop of St Andrews, the single diocesan beyond the Forth.

Changes so drastic challenged resistance. For four critical years Margaret's work was in jeopardy, and Celtic Scotland beyond the Forth threatened withdrawal from the English lands to which it was tied since 1018. Hardly had Margaret yielded her last breath before the dead Malcolm's brother, Donald Bane, beleaguered Edinburgh Castle, where his nephews watched their mother's bier. Under cover of mist they carried her body to her Church at Dunfermline and scattered in fear of their lives. As in 1040 under Macbeth so now in Donald Bane the Celtic law of Tanistry, or alternate succession of collateral males

of the royal house, fought for recognition, and hatred of the English rallied the Highlands. Donald fulfilled the hopes that set him briefly on the throne by driving the English from positions to which the late reign had advanced them. William Rufus, informed of these happenings, spied an opening to reassert Malcolm's repudiated homage. He held as hostage Duncan, Malcolm's son by his first, Norse, wife. Long residence in England made him virtually a Norman knight, who gladly promised fealty for an unexpected throne. In 1094 he overthrew his uncle. Six months later Celtic irreconcilables of the Mearns restored Donald, who acted in collusion with Edmund, Margaret's eldest surviving son, proposing to revert to the custom of an earlier time and hold Alban apart from the British and English lands added in 1018. Edmund agreed to a division which left him in Strathclyde, and opportunely treachery removed Duncan from his path. The processes in train since 1018 seemed permanently checked till, in 1097, Margaret's son Edgar appeared. Rufus supported him with an army, seeing profit in his success. Edmund and Donald Bane were overthrown and Edgar reigned for ten years over a united kingdom. For the last time Celtic Scotland had organized an effective revolution. Celtic pretenders and Celtic risings vexed the sovereign for a century and a half. But Donald Bane was the last king of Celtic birth. After him no Celt by paternal and maternal descent sat upon Scotland's throne.

Edgar's reign (1097–1107) resumed the process of anglicization interrupted by his parents' deaths. He owed his throne to William Rufus and, there is reason to believe, acknowledged him his suzerain. With Rufus' successor, Henry I, his relations were intimate. He gave him his sister Edith (Matilda) in marriage and gained a powerful ally should his Celtic subjects oppose his authority. His measures for the devolution of his crown, and his care to address his people as 'Scots and Englishmen' reveal the persisting problem of two races imperfectly assimilated. His sympathies were English. Englishmen

formed his court, Edinburgh replaced Malcolm's Dunfermline as his capital, and adventurous knights of Norman lineage found a Scottish Eldorado. As in Malcolm's day the note of the reign is its English sympathies and connections, though the ambition to attach English lands was for the moment abated. Secure in the friendship of his neighbour, Edgar's reign was undisturbed. The only troubler of his peace, Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, in 1102 subdued the Isle of Man and, in a memorable transaction, received from Edgar recognition of his ownership of those Western Isles 'between which and the mainland a helmed ship can pass.' Not until 1266 were the islands recovered. Thus was Iona lightly sacrificed by a king who looked on that holy spot with little reverence. The Isles had ever been a nominal part of the kingdom, and their loss Edgar probably accounted worth assured possession of the mainland.

In his measures for the devolution of the crown also he displayed readiness to look facts squarely in the face. The events that followed his father's death showed Celtic Scotland stubbornly opposed to forcible conversion to Englishry. The Lothians, however, were indisputably English: their subjection to a Celtic polity would be patently retrograde. To treat both as separate systems promised to avoid a challenge from either. Hence Edgar, who had no son, proposed his brother Alexander for the throne as king, and their younger brother David as *comes* or Count in Strathclyde and Lothian. It is improbable that he offered David actual sovereignty, and Alexander permitted his younger brother's countship only because he feared to provoke the Anglo-Norman sentiment that backed him. The dual system obviated an open challenge to either racial element and evaded also England's claims to feudal superiority founded on the relations of the two kingdoms during two centuries of contact. On Strathclyde and Lothian the claims were not lightly founded. So long as David held those districts they could be admitted without diminishing the dignity of Alexander, the legal sovereign.

For seventeen years (1107–24) Scotland was ruled from two centres. Edinburgh was Alexander's capital, Invergowrie his 'hame.' David's charters do not guide us to the locality of his seat. He founded the Bishopric of Glasgow as his ecclesiastical centre and his charters show him surrounded by men of Anglo-Norman birth, Lindsays, Bruces, Fitz-Alans, and others who played notable parts in Scotland's later history. Alexander, like his predecessor, was English at heart and did nothing to provoke England. Henry I, his brother-in-law, gave him his natural daughter Sibylla in marriage. The men of the Mearns and Moray rose against him as they had done against his half-brother Duncan's Norman following. But his father's warlike spirit rested on Alexander, who punished them sorely and earned the name 'The Fierce' for his severity. Herein and otherwise his reign anticipated his successor. He was a devout patron of the Church, recognizing, as did the other sovereigns of his family, its civilizing function and the political value of its friendship. The bishoprics of Dunkeld and Moray call him their founder, and at Scone, Inchcolm, and elsewhere he settled and filled Augustinian monasteries with English monks.

A notable event of Alexander's reign proves that he held Culdee traditions lightly, and that, saving the independence of his Church, he looked to England to form it. Since 1093 the Bishopric of St Andrews, sole see north of Forth, lay vacant. One of Alexander's earliest acts appointed to it Turgot, his mother's English confessor and biographer. By whom might he be consecrated? As Prior of Durham Turgot desired the Archbishop of York to lay hands upon him. York claimed jurisdiction over Scotland as Metropolitan, and only with reservation of the rights of St Andrews did Alexander permit the consecration to take place (1109). As bishop, however, Turgot maintained the supremacy of York. Alexander refused to compromise and after a vexed episcopate expelled the bishop to Durham. Turgot died there in 1115. For five years St Andrews remained vacant. Deftly challenging York's asserted supremacy, Alexander then begged the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury to send Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, friend and biographer of St Anselm. Eadmer came unconsecrated, took his pastoral staff from the altar instead of at the king's hand, and asserted Canterbury's supremacy as loudly as Turgot alleged York's. He too was driven to England. Till his death in 1123 St Andrews remained without a diocesan. Robert, Prior of Alexander's new foundation at Scone, was then promoted and received consecration from the Archbishop of York, without prejudice to the rights of St Andrews. With his coming Culdee rule in St Andrews ended: it was succeeded by a foundation of Augustinian Canons.

Alexander died in 1124 and left no child. That fact, and the fortunate circumstance that his brother and successor David was a statesman of rare ability, closed the division decreed by Edgar in 1107. Had it continued, Lothian and Strathclyde must have gravitated towards their English neighbour. It was the task of David as sole king to consolidate permanently the two systems above and below the Forth. Towards that achievement Alexander contributed. His reign is notable in the transition from Celtic to feudal forms of Church organization. Monastic foundations, distinguished from the Culdee system, were established in not inconsiderable numbers, wealthy, influential centres of culture and progress. Everywhere in Western Christendom the Church played a potent part in the elevation of the people to higher ethical and political standards. Before the twelfth century reached its close the process begun by Margaret, continued by Alexander, completed by David, reached fruition in Scotland. In the main features of its constitutional system the Scottish Church, Celtic no longer, conformed to that of England and Western Europe.

The long reign of David I—which spans a generation (1124–53)—determined conclusively and by peaceful agencies the form of Scotland's state and society. Wyntoun styled him 'paragon of all his kin,' a distinction worn worthily by a sovereign who refashioned his

kingdom's backward polity and set it, an equal among equals, upon the page of history. No other reign, save that of Mary Stewart, approaches David's in its vital significance to Scotland's development. Both by drastic amputation cut the kingdom from its past. Both prescribed its future. The problem that faced David was to weld into a unity the diverse peoples that called him lord. His charter of foundation to the Abbey of Melrose in 1144 is addressed to 'the Normans, English, Scots, and Galwegians of the realm.' What a complexity of racial antagonisms is suggested in this summary of the kingdom's aristocracy! David's high statesmanship taught him that only discipline could unite such jarring elements in a bond of common purpose. Norman England offered her experience, and his reign's achievement has been aptly called 'the bloodless Norman Conquest of Scotland.' By peaceful and gradual processes Scotland experienced a transformation which England had undergone under a conqueror's sword. Elsewhere in Europe a feudal polity had been imposed to rivet the subjugation of a conquered people. In Scotland the process was from within. English law and institutions, tempered by Norman genius, gained admittance and gave the realm strength, union, and discipline.

David was the last surviving son of Malcolm III and his English queen. A lad of nine in 1093, he grew to manhood in an English home where, an English writer of that day declares, 'he peeled off the rust of Scottish barbarism'! Close ties bound him to the Anglo-Norman court. In 1100 his host, Henry I, married his sister Edith (Matilda). Two years later a second sister, Mary, married Eustace, Count of Boulogne. Their daughter married Henry's successor, King Stephen. Alexander, David's brother and predecessor, wedded Henry's natural daughter Sibylla. These marriages are indicative of the transformation of Scotland. David's own marriage bound him closely to Norman England and prescribed the policy of his reign. He took to wife Matilda, granddaughter of Siward of Northumbria,

Shakespeare's 'Old Siward,' daughter of Waltheof of Huntingdon. With this comfortable widow he received the Earldom of Huntingdon, life-interest in the Earldom of Northampton, goodly manors in several English counties, and a claim upon the Earldom of Northumbria, which he made the object of his reign to establish, so aptly did it assist the Border policy of his house. He failed to see that his feudal obligations as Earl of Huntingdon promised to compromise his status as King of Scotland and afforded his English relative a dangerous opening to revive the question of homage.

As an English baron David stood pledged in 1127 to acknowledge his niece Matilda successor to Henry I upon the English throne. Eight years later (1135) Henry died. Stephen seized the crown and David faced a dilemma which duty to his niece, but chiefly his own interest, resolved. After nearly fifty years' peaceful interlude Scottish banners again fluttered across the Border and David took the field against Matilda's supplanter. As neither he nor Stephen dared put the issue to an encounter the two kings made a pact at Durham (1136) which confesses David's concentration upon his own purposes. Of Matilda's rights, of Stephen's violated oath, no word was said. Only David insisted, and Stephen conceded, that David's son Henry should, as Stephen's vassal, hold the Earldom of Huntingdon with the castles of Doncaster and Carlisle, so recently built to hold the King of Scots in check. Stephen also gave a contingent promise to recognize young Henry's maternal claim to the Earldom of Northumberland. In 1137 opportunity presented to advance it. As Stephen, absent in Normandy, would not listen to the demand, David's motley host poured down upon the Border counties, early in 1138, and sent out marauding detachments into Yorkshire and Lancashire. 'It is a war of men against beasts' wrote a contemporary Englishman bitterly of David's 'unbreeched Scots.' Near the village of Northallerton the English engaged him in the Battle of the Standard on Cowton Moor. In David's

ranks were Celtic levies from beyond Forth and Galloway, English from Lothian, and 'Frenchmen,' they are called, nobles of Anglo-Norman birth, the new aristocracy David had attracted. Many, possessing lands both in England and Scotland, were unsatisfactory subjects of both. Such were Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Balliol, who, vainly urging David to desist from combat, made their choice and fought against him. The battle was stoutly waged. But his enemy's superior equipment and his people's indiscipline, curse of Scottish warfare, turned the day against David, though Stephen's difficulties prevented him from following up the victory. Hence, in 1139 David a second time made a satisfactory agreement at Durham, which gave little heed to his niece's interests. The coveted Earldom of Northumberland was secured to David's Prince Henry, Stephen retaining Newcastle and Bamborough. Thus the Scottish frontier was carried southward to the Tees as already by the pact of 1136 it advanced to Carlisle and the Eden.

Two years passed before David, moved by a turn of Fortune's wheel, again carried arms across the Border. As before, his interests alone invited him. In 1141 the luckless Matilda, snatching a rare success, made Stephen prisoner at Lincoln. David, whose son was close bound to Stephen's faction, prudently joined his niece, rode with her into London, and nearly paid just penalty for his tardy chivalry. Matilda's cause collapsed as suddenly as it had revived and David barely extricated himself from her defeat at Winchester a few months later. Though Matilda maintained the contest for seven years, David held aloof until 1149, when her son, afterwards Henry II, sought his granduncle and received knighthood at his hands at Carlisle, promising, should the crown become his, to confirm David and his heirs in the lands between Tyne and Tees. Upon that compact David took the field for the last time. The newly knighted Henry rode with him against Stephen, their common foe. Their ally, Randulf Earl of Chester, heavily bribed by Stephen, deserted them,

and David turned homeward without striking a blow. For the rest of his reign the Eden and the Tees constituted his southern frontier. His policy, though successful, lacked chivalry and even honesty; he joined both English camps and was true to neither. Had his only son Prince Henry survived him his self-seeking might have won a permanently advanced frontier. But the prince, 'pride of youths, glory of knights, joy of old men,' died in 1152. His father followed him in less than a year (1153) and Scotland, as often in her later history, passed to a child. She never again held over England the advantage David won for her.

More important than territorial gain was the feudal transformation of Scotland accomplished during David's thirty years of power. Feudalism was a system general throughout Western Europe between the fall of the powerfully organized Roman Empire and the emergence of strong monarchies in England, France, Spain and elsewhere on the eve of the Reformation. It was the practical device of a period in which power at the centre found it difficult to exert itself on the circumference, when the most elementary public services invited provincial rather than national response, when local interests were more vivid than national needs, and local particularism more compelling than national patriotism. Impotent authority searched for a corrective and found it in Feudalism, a medicine more dangerous than the disease it was summoned to cure. The essential feature of Feudalism was the employment of landed property as the basis of contracts in the public interest, land being the sole national capital wherewith to bargain. A modern landlord receives rent in specie. The feudal landlord demanded rent in service. Those who held land of a sovereign were his vassals and their lands constituted a fief. They were bound to aid him against his enemies, attend his court, counsel him on matters of state, contribute to his exchequer recognized 'aids' or taxes on special occasions and for particular purposes. As these obligations rested upon

themselves, so the tenants-in-chief imposed conditions upon their own tenants. Consequently the land supported innumerable contracts between each class and that immediately above it, the series reaching its apex in the king who, as direct lord of the great nobles, his immediate tenants, secured indirectly the service of all ranks below them. In this manner the nation became an organized society whose every grade contributed to the supreme national duty of military service and defence.

It was David's accomplished purpose to surround the King of Scotland with a landed aristocracy charged with the feudal duty to himself which he, as Earl of Huntingdon, owed to the King of England. His early charters, before his accession, show him attended by friends of his English exile; the names of Moreville, Somerville, Umfraville, Lindsay, Bruce, Fitz-Alan, are among them, founders of an Anglo-Norman baronage which proved itself anti-national in the critical days ahead. To them and other 'polished warriors,' as Ailred of Rievaulx calls these Anglo-Norman lords, David made princely gifts of land. Robert de Bruce, ancestor of Robert I, received nearly a quarter of a million acres in Annandale: the northern division of Ayrshire (Cunningham) was granted to de Moreville: the midmost regions of the same county (Kyle), with Renfrewshire, were gifted to Walter Fitz-Alan, ancestor of the Stewart kings. Such grants, generously repeated in other districts to other recipients, established colonies of Anglo-Norman landowners who built their castles, settled amid the new tenants and radiated an alien culture throughout their property. Upon a great estate, such as that gifted to Bruce, the lord's henchmen or bodyguard, and the cadet members of his family, received land upon conditions of feudal service and became the propagators of foreign ideas, customs, and speech on their estates. In time the whole character of rural life was changed. The old inhabitants and their descendants paid their master the flattery of imitation, and when the use of surnames became general, adopted his name. Every part

of the kingdom was not thus transformed. Neither Pictish Galloway nor the Highlands succumbed to this insidious conquest, or at most were superficially affected by it. Not until the eighteenth century, after the abortive rising of 1745, was the process begun in David's reign completed in the Celtic Highlands.

The word 'conquest' may suggest an analogy false to Scotland's experience. Feudalism postulated the land as in the king's gift, capital invested to purchase the orderly performance of public duties, military and civil, without which the State could not function. In England the land passed into the Conqueror's possession by palpable conquest and forfeiture. English proprietors were killed or expelled and a Norman aristocracy took their places. Scotland affords no repetition of the Conqueror's methods. Only in Moray was David able to use revolt to justify confiscation and the settlement of Norman landowners as a garrison of observation. How, then, was a foreign aristocracy holding of the sovereign on conditions of feudal service so widely established? The process is obscure but its outline is clear. It involved a change of land-ownership, necessarily, but did not compel a change of occupier. The Celtic population was not driven from the soil. In the course of generations it learnt to speak the English tongue and adopted the culture of its new landlords. But it continued to plough the furrows its fathers had drawn and to dwell in the hamlets of its forbears. In Celtic Scotland land was not the collective property of the clan but belonged to the close kin of the senior of the family. The mass of the clan were tenant occupiers, not peasant-proprietors, or serfs. Hence the intrusion of a foreign landlord merely substituted one master for another. Even the Celtic landlord was not without compensation for his new position. The newcomer held his domain upon a charter from the king, and the security it conferred upon himself he was ready to extend in a written contract to his tenants, who were glad to obtain fixity of tenure and the protection of a powerful

lord. Before Scotland was summoned to defend her liberties by Edward I, the greater part of the country outside the Highlands was owned by great vassals of the crown fulfilling the obligations feudal law prescribed, and, in their turn, imposing them upon sub-vassals of Celtic stock who had adopted English speech and culture.

David's generosity was not lavished only upon a secular aristocracy. He was, a later king complained, a 'sair sanct for the Crown.' An earlier Scotsman wrote of him:

> He illumynd in his dayis
> His landys wyth kyrkys and with abbayis.

He was a true son of his mother, his hand heavy upon the ancient Celtic Church, whose Culdee foundations at St Andrews and Lochleven disappeared. Lavish grants were made to reinforce the monastic houses Alexander I established. Holyrood, Kelso, Melrose, Kinloss, Jedburgh, Cambuskenneth, Newbattle, Dundrennan, owe their foundation to David's munificence and contributed, as was his purpose, to build the fabric of Anglo-Norman culture in his kingdom. Of the four existing episcopal dioceses he was already founder of one (Glasgow). As king he added five more—Dunblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Ross, Caithness. By the end of his reign, Scotland's mainland was carved into nine dioceses, not counting Galloway, which was under York's English jurisdiction. Each diocese, ruled by its bishop and his cathedral chapter, was divided into parishes served by a priest, for whose support teinds (tithes) were exacted with unpopular regularity. Monasteries had been founded or were in process of foundation in almost every part of the kingdom. Thus the vast wealth and influence of the mediaeval Church were admitted to play their part in David's scheme for the transformation of his backward kingdom. In the Celtic north abbeys and towns were rare, and their absence, along with the inaccessibility of moun-

tainous country, held them aloof from the progressive south.

Without doubt the smoothness with which the transition from a Celtic to a feudal polity was accomplished was due to the fact that, as in England before the Norman Conquest, aboriginal institutions, proving inadequate to the needs of the people, were already shaping themselves towards the forms Feudalism employed. Celtic titles died out, but their supplanters held situations closely analogous to the earlier dignities. The *Mormaer*, once chief of the *mortuath* (aggregate of tribes: province), became an Earl and the *mortuath* an Earldom. The *Toshach* (tribal war leader) was converted into a Thane, and the subordinate *Maer* (or *Maor*) became an official of the Norman manor. The *duine uasal*, in whose veins flowed the pure blood of the tribe which constituted him a freeman of the community, gave place to vassals dependent on a lord by charter or service.

Along with these developments in the social structure of the nation proceeded a transformation of the apparatus of government. Already in the reign of Alexander I a Constable, Justiciary, and Chancellor—feudal dignitaries all of them—made their appearance, the nucleus of a Royal Council which superseded the Celtic Council of Mormaers (seven), if indeed that body ever existed. David added to the feudal hierarchy a Chamberlain, Steward, and Marshal. All of these high offices imitated English use, and were bestowed within the Norman aristocracy: the hereditary Stewardship of the Household and Constableship of the kingdom became hereditary in the families of Fitz-Alan and de Moreville respectively. Like his English brother, the Scottish king granted charters and exercised the administrative functions of his office with the advice and consent of bishops, earls, and barons, his tenants-in-chief. No body resembling Parliament was yet in existence and at no time can it be counted among the factors that moulded the kingdom.

Anglo-Norman law necessarily accompanied an Anglo-

Norman aristocracy. A system of jury trial was probably introduced before David's reign, but under him *jugement del pais* tended completely to supersede ordeal and earlier forms of legal procedure. Later, by the time of Alexander II, the king was wont to delegate his judicial functions to Justiciaries, one for Lothian, one for Galloway (where provincial law continued to run), and two for the regions north of the Forth, taking cognizance particularly of the 'pleas of the crown,' *i.e.* murder, rape, arson and robbery. Thus, to other Anglicizing influences already in operation a legal system was added. Not only in Lothian, but in the Lowlands from the Forth to the Moray Firth Anglo-Norman law won general currency.

The growth of commerce added to the influences which set the Lowlands on a course adrift from the older Scotland behind the Highland line. Before David's reign, federations of towns existed, as in Germany, for the protection of mutual interests. The fourteenth century John of Fordun, an Aberdonian, testifies to the enrichment of the kingdom's eastern ports by the wealth of foreign merchandise which David's ordered rule attracted. Flemish as well as English traders trafficked with Scotland and settled in numbers upon the east coast. Not until the reign of David's grandson, William the Lyon, did Royal Burghs come into existence. But the king was quick to encourage commercial enterprise, and the association of four southern Burghs—Berwick, Roxburgh, Stirling, Edinburgh—developed into the powerful Convention of Royal Burghs which still exists. Already in David's reign they elected their magistrates, held the monopoly of traffic within a prescribed area, and were not hampered by imposts. Though to David cannot be attributed the creation of Scotland's urban life, his recognition of the towns as a counterpoise to the power of a feudal aristocracy makes his reign an epoch in their history.

Thus David's reign opens the second of the two periods, already defined, which accomplished the consolidation of

a kingdom so lately distraught and divided. 'Forgetting their natural roughness,' says his panegyrist and friend Ailred, 'the Scots accepted with patient submission the laws his royal beneficence ordained.' The sentence epitomises his reign. The Scotland of history was irrevocably made and moulded, meet to stand with the other kingdoms of feudal Europe, clogged no longer by the obstinate traditions of its Celtic past.

CHAPTER IV

CONSOLIDATION

BETWEEN the death of David I in 1153 and that of his great-great-grandson in 1286, an interval of one hundred and thirty-three years, only four reigns intervened, all, with one exception, of considerable duration, and the second of them longest of any before the union of the Parliaments in 1707. The fact supports the character of the period. Its trend was one of steady and, on the whole, quiet consolidation. Successfully as David I had impressed himself upon the jarring elements of his kingdom, much remained to accomplish. Of the four kings his successors only the last was not confronted by Celtic disturbance in Moray or Galloway. The Western Isles still held allegiance to Norway and in the hands of a foreign king were a constant menace. Their recovery offered a tangible aim for Scotland's developing national sense to pursue. As to England, the seeds sown by David threatened an evil harvest. Two of the four kings were sons-in-law of the English monarch and their quest of the Northumbrian earldom and Eden frontier afforded England opportunity to assert her unwelcome suzerainty. Probably no event in the period made such appeal to Scottish sentiment as Richard I's recall of the 'grievous yoke and slavery' inflicted by the Lyon's humiliation at Falaise. The War of Independence was not the cradle of a Scottish nation, as it has been represented, but a testing trial which proved a people already welded by common purposes in the generations that preceded it. Under the menace Scotland's horizon lifted towards France. As early as 1170 the 'auld alliance' with the House of Capet was hinted. Both Alexander II and III took their second

wives from France, but not from the royal house, as though to balance their English ties.

David I, dying in 1153, was succeeded by his grandson Malcolm IV, a lad of twelve whose nickname, 'The Maiden,' hints an effeminate appearance belied by his activities. Once before, in 1034, a grandson succeeded to the crown, and now, as then, the Celts of Moray rose to uphold the system of Tanistry which assured an adult to the throne. Their leader was Donald, son of Malcolm MacHeth whom David made prisoner in 1135, great-grandson therefore of Macbeth's step-son Lulach, the Pretender of an earlier reign. In himself Donald was not formidable to the resources the crown controlled. But he had a powerful auxiliary in Somerled, King of the Isles, who snatched at a chance to place a kinsman on the throne. For three years the struggle continued and disturbed Galloway. In 1156 Somerled turned after other booty and Donald joined his father in Roxburgh Castle. For the rest of his reign Malcolm was not challenged by the house of Heth and repeated his father's settlement of dependable vassals in Moray. Somerled remained at large and troublesome till 1164 when he was slain at Renfrew. In the interval Galloway again flared in revolt, and was with effort tamed to subjection (1160). Fergus, its Celtic lord, surrendered his son a hostage and took the cowl in David's foundation of Holyrood. On his own soil the Maiden vindicated his authority amply.

Very different is the English aspect of the reign. Hardly had he triumphed over MacHeth in 1156 before Malcolm crossed the frontier to meet his cousin Henry II, recently (1154) successor to the crown for which his mother and Stephen so long contended. Before his accession he had pledged himself (1149) to Malcolm's grandfather to surrender Northumberland to Scotland. Changed circumstances prompted recall of an inconvenient promise. The sovereigns met at Chester, where Henry demanded surrender of Northumberland and Carlisle, conceding only the Earldom of Huntingdon. Objection was unavailing

and Malcolm lacked the force to retain his grandfather's spoils. At Chester he did homage for the earldom, as his grandfather before him, 'saving all his dignities,' that is, his kingdom. Two years later (1158) he again attended his suzerain at Carlisle, where Henry refused him the knighthood Malcolm's grandfather bestowed on himself in the same city. The ground of refusal is not revealed; possibly because Malcolm had not seen service in his liege's cause. He accompanied Henry to war in Toulouse and at Tours was dubbed knight. If a later Chronicle may be trusted Scotland murmured against the absent king, the first to fight an English quarrel oversea. On his return in 1160 a fruitless attempt was made to kidnap him at Perth. But, as has been shown, his vigour was not abated in Scotland, nor were his relations with England affected. In 1163, Henry summoned him to Woodstock to do homage for Huntingdon to his son young Henry. Two years later (1165) he died prematurely in his twenty-fifth year after a reign whose permanent absorption of turbulent Galloway gives it importance as a contributor to the consolidation of the kingdom.

Ominous of the impending future the crown, for the second time in succession, passed from beneath the king's own roof. Malcolm, dying heirless, was succeeded by his brother William, who had grown to man's estate, but not to prudence. The passionate enterprise of his reign was to recover in England what Malcolm had surrendered and their grandfather had won. With an eye to Henry II's favour, within a few months of his accession, William followed him to France, and showed, says Wyntoun, 'prowes, manhed, and gret dowchtynes.' But he failed to win from Henry more than the Earldom of Huntingdon which Malcolm had held. He did homage for the Honour, and parted on unfriendly terms. Henry fell into such passion with one who spoke well of William 'that he called him traitor, and in violent rage threw off his clothes and the silken coverlet of the bed whereon he sat and chewed straws that he plucked from the mattress thereof!' The

outcome of the disagreement is memorable. In 1168, in collusion with Henry's many enemies, William approached his rival, Louis VII of France. The venturesome act heralded the Ancient League, which so greatly influenced Scottish policy and culture at a later period. No breach with England followed, and at Easter 1170, William, with his brother David, attended Henry at Windsor and, saving his fealty to the elder, did homage to Prince Henry, and received knighthood. Three years later, William bound his fortunes to the king-elect in disastrous association. Proposing to make his kingship real, young Henry conspired with Louis VII and offered Northumberland to William for his alliance. William rose to the bait and led an army over Tweed. In the summer of 1174, while he idly besieged Alnwick Castle, he was ambushed by a band of Yorkshire barons, and carried ignominiously, his legs hobbled under his horse's belly, to Henry II at Northampton. Thence, for security, he was hurried to Falaise, William I's Norman birthplace, where he lay for six months before humiliating terms released him.

The Treaty of Falaise (1174) removed all ambiguity as to Scotland's feudal relations with England. William acknowledged himself liegeman of Henry expressly for Scotland and Galloway. Edinburgh and four castles in the Lothians were delivered to English garrisons: the king's brother David and twenty-one Scottish barons were surrendered as hostages. Upon these crushing terms William had release and at York (1175) did homage to Henry and his heir. For the next fifteen years, till the death of Henry II, Scotland was a vassal fief over which Henry exercised his suzerainty with inexorable punctilio. Several times William was summoned to England, and once to Normandy, on details concerning his dependent kingdom, nor could he deal with Galloway's rebellion against his authority until he had licence from his lord.

The Treaty of Falaise also compromised the Scottish Church and proposed to place it under an English metropolitan. In 1176 William and his bishops were summoned

to Northampton to determine the conditions of their ecclesiastical dependence. As the Archbishops of York and Canterbury both claimed supremacy over the Scottish Church, and the Scottish bishops—the Bishop of Galloway dissenting—as positively denied the authority of either, the Council separated without arriving at a decision. While the conclusion remained in suspense, William involved himself in a quarrel with the Papacy similar in origin to the more familiar contention between John and Innocent III. The question of the age was the asserted supremacy of the Hildebrandine Papacy over the State. In 1179 it reached Scotland. Upon a vacancy in the see of St Andrews the capitular body elected Master John Scot. William preferred his confessor Hugh and had him consecrated in the cathedral of his destined diocese. The Chapter protested to the Pope, who supported and consecrated Master John. William then impounded the revenues of the see. The Pope retaliated (1181) with a sentence of excommunication against the king, of interdict against the kingdom, and appointed the Archbishop of York to enforce the decree. William held his ground till events resolved his difficulties. In rapid succession the Pope and his legate died (1181). William hastened to make peace with the new pontiff, who removed excommunication and interdict, settled Confessor Hugh at St Andrews and consoled Master John with Dunkeld, opportunely bishopless. In 1189, Pope Clement III took the Scottish Church and its nine bishoprics under the immediate authority of the Papal See, whose 'peculiar daughter' he declared that Church to be. At the price of submission to Papal authority, it repudiated English allegiance.

The death of Henry II in 1189, opening a new phase in the relations of England and Scotland, rescinded the humiliating Treaty of 1174. Richard, Henry's successor, bent on winning Jerusalem from the Saracen, had two compelling reasons to purchase Scotland's goodwill: he needed money, and desired assurance that his kingdom would not be raided by an angry neighbour in his absence.

At the price of £100,000 in modern currency he restored the rights surrendered at Falaise, castles in English occupation were evacuated, and William received 'acquittance of all obligations which our good father Henry, King of England, extorted from him in consequence of his captivity; under condition only that he completely and fully perform to us whatever his brother of right performed, or ought of right to have performed, to our predecessors.' The clause is vague; the obligations of Malcolm were and are undecided. But its purpose is clear: William was absolved from Henry II's exaction of homage. Edward I revived a demand for which other alleged precedents could be advanced.

The bargain of 1189 (Treaty of Canterbury) was so far final that for one hundred years England and Scotland were not embroiled; though William still cherished hopes of Northumberland, and England by no means abandoned the prospect of making Scotland dependent. Under Richard's absentee sovereignty England tempted retaliation. But William, whom misfortune made cautious, remained loyal during John's rebellion and on Richard's return from captivity asked a reward. Richard denied him Northumberland (1194) and William offered a price for its surrender. Richard refused to sell the castles with the county, and William would not bargain without them. Next year (1195) he sought his end by other means, asking Northumberland and Carlisle as a marriage portion for his daughter Margaret on her union with Richard's nephew Otto of Saxony, afterwards Otto IV. The proposal prejudiced the rights of an heir to the Scottish crown—William's son Alexander was not born till 1198—and on that ground was abandoned. Margaret found an English husband of less dignity.

The reign of Richard's brother John severely strained the relations of the two kingdoms. Its events clearly indicate John's intention to reinvolve Scotland in feudal dependence and more than once threatened war. William pursued the hope of acquiring Northumberland and on

John's refusal (1199) to restore it was only deterred from using force, says an English chronicler, by divine warning vouchsafed in Canmore's church at Dunfermline. More practical reasons changed his purpose. He again approached France and invited John to give a reasoned answer to the demand. John astutely shelved the matter, and royal meetings in 1204 and 1206 produced no solution. Other causes aggravated a situation already critical. English bishops, fleeing from their excommunicated king, sought William's hospitality, provoking John to threaten invasion. More provocative still was William's demolition of John's new castle at Tweedmouth. John led an army northward and William prepared to withstand him. But a display of English force was sufficient and at Norham (1209) peace was arranged. John abandoned the castle: William promised 15,000 marks for its damaged structure, and undertook to send his daughters Margaret and Isabella to be given in marriage by the English king, whose mind perhaps contemplated a dynastic union. His daughter ultimately married William's heir, whose two sisters were matched in middle life with English commoners, Margaret with Hubert de Burgh, Henry III's powerful minister, and Isabella with Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. On that note of surrender William's relations with England ended. He never saw his daughters again.

It was inevitable that a reign whose English ambitions were so active should provoke the Celtic areas. William's capture at Alnwick (1174) immediately stirred them to revolt. Galloway, lately subdued by Malcolm, flared up at the news and was not reduced until 1185. Ross also gave trouble: in 1181 Donald Bane, or MacWilliam, asserting himself a great-grandson of Malcolm Canmore by his first wife Ingibiorg, rose in revolt, laying waste and burning the countryside and slaying his prisoners. He mastered Ross and Moray until his death, in 1187, gave Scotland peace. In 1211 his son Guthred came from Ireland, invaded Ross, and even aimed at the throne. William, an old man, his son a stripling, appealed to John, whose

English troops eventually (1212) defeated and hanged the pretender. John exacted his price: William permitted him to arrange his son Alexander's marriage 'as though he were his own liege man,' a dangerous approximation to admission of English overlordship.

After a long illness William died, aged 74, in 1214, without having achieved the purpose of his reign. Its activities illustrate the entangling relations with England which the ambitions of Anglo-Norman kings of Scotland excited, and the consequent resentment of their Celtic subjects. Still, the revolution launched by Canmore moved steadily forward. The earliest charters to towns—Perth, Inverness, Ayr, Aberdeen—were of William's granting, though the burghs were not yet a recognized part of the constitution. No permanent Council or Parliament had developed: the king travelled attended by a retinue of barons and churchmen on whose advice he acted. At periods he held a plenary Council (*plena curia*) of his vassals, a body apparently empowered to impose aids. Traces also exist of a code of laws known as 'Assisae Willelmi.' Sheriffs had jurisdiction over 'pleas of the crown,' and baronial courts, both secular and ecclesiastical, existed widely for the repression of crime and inquest of feudal services. Some of the burghs perhaps had limited jurisdiction within their bounds. The Lyon's Scotland already boasted the apparatus of a feudal polity.

William, who

> Past off this warld till his lang hame,
> To the joy of Paradys,

writes Wyntoun confidently, was succeeded by his son Alexander II, a prince in his seventeenth year. His reign and that of his son Alexander III together spanned nearly three-quarters of a century, an interval lauded as Scotland's Golden Age. The phrase was inspired rather by events that followed; for like other Golden Ages it shone in context with an era clearly not so. But its character has a distinction that supports the compliment. It saw

the complete subordination of the kingdom to feudal method. It achieved, excepting the Orkneys, Scotland's expansion to her ultimate geographical frontiers, the final disappearance of MacHeth and MacWilliam pretenders, and the reconciliation of the elements they represented to the apparatus of a feudal State. In it the Scottish Church assured its independence of England and in 1225 obtained the Pope's licence to hold provincial councils, thereby gaining a national organization which permitted it to play an important part in the nation's service. At a time when England was rent by civil war, when Germany wallowed in the chaos of the Great Interregnum, when France was wrestling with England on her own soil, Scotland followed a course which, on the whole, was not broken by disorder. Moreover, throughout the seventy-two years no serious conflict menaced her relations with England, though the fact does not indicate drastic change in their mutual outlook. While Alexander II cherished his father's hopes of Northumberland, the English sovereigns John and Henry III pursued an insidious policy which threatened the independence of their Scottish neighbour. As ever, since Canmore's marriage with his English wife, and in the darker days to come, her relations with England were the central fact in Scotland's history.

The new king threw himself at once into his father's quest. Across the border John was locked in angry bout with his barons and the situation was tempting, as in David's day. A promise of Northumberland from the barons drew Alexander into the fray and over Tweed. Making remarkable recovery John found strength to retaliate, burnt Berwick, and boasted he'd 'hunt the red cub [Alexander] from his lairs.' Evading the challenge, Alexander again entered England, this time in collusion with Louis the Dauphin of France. Again he backed a losing cause. Louis' defeat at Lincoln Fair (1217) left Alexander no course but to make terms with John's successor Henry III and his ally the Pope, who had laid Alexander and his subjects under the Church's ban. At

Berwick (1217) Henry received his homage for the Huntingdon earldom, and matrimonial proposals suggested a basis for permanent peace. Alexander married John's daughter Joan in 1221, and about the same time his sister Margaret, so long a ward of the English court, found a husband in Henry's powerful Justiciar Hubert de Burgh, whom Alexander hoped to find a useful auxiliary. A proposal that Henry should marry Margaret's sister Isabella was resented by the English, the elder being already wife of a commoner.

Until the fall of Hubert de Burgh in 1232 the relations of Alexander and his brother-in-law remained on a pleasant footing, and freed Alexander to accomplish the reduction of Argyll, the principal achievement of his reign. No longer restrained by Hubert's influence, Henry revived the policy of his grandfather and, supported by the Pope, whom John's submission made England's suzerain, reopened the claim to allegiance conceded at Falaise. In 1235, Gregory IX summoned Alexander to renew his father's homage, and on his refusal announced the visit of a Legate to bring him to reason. The king fended off the intruder: 'They be savage and uncivilized men who inhabit my land,' he warned the visitor, 'and thirst for human gore.' Meanwhile it was prudent to make terms with Henry, of whom already he demanded the coveted English counties. A royal meeting at Newcastle was followed in 1237 by another at York at which the stubborn controversy over Northumbria at length was settled. Alexander resigned his hereditary claim to the three northern counties, and received in consideration 200 librates of land in Tynedale at the annual rental of a hunting hawk, with the stipulation that no castle should be built upon them.

Thus an old sore found remedy. But within a twelvemonth the death of Alexander's queen (1238) threatened renewed disagreement with England. Joan died childless, an heir was imperatively needed, and Alexander was still young. He took his second wife from the French house

of de Coucy (1239), and Henry jealously viewed the union of his neighbours. Until Alexander's death the English court saw his actions through a haze of suspicion and the two kingdoms approached the brink of war. In 1242 Walter Bisset, one of Alexander's barons, cavilling at his forfeiture for an alleged act of violence, fled to Henry and called for action. Considerable military preparations were made by both sovereigns, Henry alleging that Alexander, in collusion with France, was comforting his enemies and building castles with sinister purpose. Henry's baronage gave no support; having a quarrel with him, as with his father before him, they were little disposed to weaken a potential ally. Moreover, if the language of a contemporary Englishman is more than the compliment of convention, Alexander was as popular in England as among his own people. In 1244 a new treaty was drawn at Newcastle; the provisions made at York in 1237 were not disturbed, and both sovereigns promised to abstain from alliances menacing the other. For the rest of his reign Alexander was Henry's cordial neighbour.

Within his own kingdom Alexander showed his father's vigour. Hardly was he seated on the throne before Donald MacWilliam, son of his father's enemy, appeared in Moray and was crushed in a swift campaign. Kenneth, last of the Heth pretenders, was with him and shared his fate. In 1222, with the prestige of an English alliance behind him, Alexander accomplished the large exploit of his reign and stamped out disaffection in Argyll, whose Norse neighbourhood so far enabled it to evade subjection to the Scottish crown. A sheriffdom planted there brought the province within the operation of royal writs. In the following year an act of savagery called Alexander to Caithness, whose people, resenting their bishop's importunate demands upon their purses, spitted and roasted him before his kitchen fire. The bishop was avenged, and a flicker of revolt in Moray alone broke the peace of the next ten years. In 1234, circumstances involved Alexander in two campaigns in Galloway. In that year the male line

of the recluse of Holyrood ended on the death of Lord Alan, leaving three daughters his co-heiresses, all of them married to Anglo-Norman lords, one of them John de Balliol, father of the future king. Misliking their ladies' husbands, the Galwegians petitioned the king to forfeit the lordship and assume it himself. Policy and justice forbade Alexander to do so. The Galwegians then set Thomas, a natural brother of the heiresses, at their head and broke into revolt which two arduous campaigns suppressed. For fifteen years peace reigned till Alexander broke it and met his death. His reduction of Argyll accomplished but half of a cherished purpose. The Scottish kings had ever regarded the treaty which divorced the Western Isles from Scotland as a compact to be broken when means allowed. Following his reduction of Argyll, Alexander in formal embassy demanded of Norway restoration of the Islands and offered purchase. Being refused he prepared to win them by force, set sail on the adventure in 1249, and on the voyage fell ill and died.

Alexander III, last king of Canmore's line, came to his throne at the early age of eight. Married as a boy of eleven to Henry III's daughter Margaret (1251) it was not till 1262 that the birth of his child—mother of the Maid of Norway—assured direct continuance of his house. The uncertainty of the succession for that long period tempted ambitious barons and the neighbour kingdom to take their advantage. Crowned at Scone upon the Stone of Destiny, and acclaimed by a Celtic bard as rightful heir of 'Fergus, first King of Scots in Albany,' Alexander, first of his house whom no Heth pretender challenged, found a more dangerous rival near the throne. His tardy birth—he was not born till 1241, after his father had been a quarter of a century upon the throne—had admitted his kinsman Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, grandson of his great uncle David, Earl of Huntingdon, as heir to the crown upon the express nomination of Alexander II in 1238. The birth of Alexander snatched from Bruce the prospect of a crown. But the king's infancy and his own

seniority as eldest male of the royal house kept his ambition alive. Among the nobles a party gave him support. Its leader was Alan Durward, Justiciary of the Kingdom, husband of a natural daughter of the late king. Not being adverse to an admission of dependence on England in return for active help, the faction may be styled anti-national. Opposed to it was a party headed by Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith, head of a powerful feudal connection holding lands in Badenoch, Galloway and Buchan, and boasting royal descent which marked him Bruce's rival. It is possible, but conjectural, that in Comyn's party we have the Heth or 'national' opposition working in the ranks of the feudal aristocracy. If so its hostility to England was as natural as its opposition to Bruce. The relation of these parties to the crown and Henry III of England provides the history of the reign.

Factious strife round the boy-king began at once. Durward's party desired to postpone his coronation till Alexander had been knighted, a proposal inspired by the wish to secure Henry III's daughter and English support as a buttress. Comyn resisted the proposal and prevailed. At Scone Alexander was forthwith crowned and two years later (1251) received from Henry III knighthood and his daughter Margaret to wife. With scanty magnanimity Henry pressed for homage from Scotland. The demand had been foreseen and Alexander schooled to reply. He was, he said, a child uncounselled and without experience: his father was dead and his mother in her native France. 'Be to me father and mother,' he pleaded, 'and strengthen my weakness with protection and counsel.' Henry accepted the responsibility and honourably fulfilled it.

For the next four years the Comyn faction was dominant at Court, while Durward joined Henry in France and won his confidence. In 1255 he returned to Scotland, expelled the Comyns, in collusion with Henry, and seized the youthful king and queen. Henry hurried to Scotland on the heels of the *coup d'état* and at Kelso, acting as 'Principal Counsellor to the illustrious king of Scotland,'

set up a Council of regency to act for seven years pending Alexander's majority. It consisted of Durward and his faction, and though the independence of the kingdom was not directly compromised, offended national sentiment hardly less than the humiliation of 1174. Hence the Kelso settlement was short-lived. The Church, in the Bishop of St Andrews, resisted it: the Queen-Mother Marie returned from France to add her opposition to it. In 1257 the Comyns carried a counter-revolution, procured the excommunication of the regents, seized the king at Kinross, carried him to Stirling, and later (1259) made alliance with the Welsh, then at war with England. In face of this serious menace Henry took steps to restore Durward. But Scotland's demeanour so clearly opposed a disguised English regency that he constituted a new council drawn from the chiefs of both factions, but continued to intrigue for Alexander's release from the coalition. In 1261, under minute safeguards imposed by the regent, Alexander and his queen visited Windsor. There, early in 1262, Margaret, afterwards Queen of Norway, was born. Alexander's minority was at an end.

Of Alexander's quarter of a century of rule one event is chiefly notable. Immediately after his daughter's birth, and upon attaining his majority, he repeated his father's embassy to Haco of Norway demanding the Western Isles and proposing purchase. Haco refused and complained of raids upon the islands from Ross. Next year (1263) he sailed with a mighty fleet to vindicate his authority and entered the Firth of Clyde. Off Arran a heavy storm smote his galleys and drove them, drifting wrecks, upon the mainland near Largs. Here the storm-beaten crews, sturdily opposed, were denied a landing. Others fled to Ormidale. Mustering his shattered Armada, Haco fared homeward and at Orkney died. Alexander pursued his victory and, with a force in which Durward and the Comyns held command, subdued the Western Isles. Three years later (1266), the Hebrides, including the Isle of Man, were ceded to the Scottish crown for 4000 marks and the

payment of 100 marks annual rent in perpetuity. The marriage of the infant Margaret and Eric of Norway (1281) clinched the bargain and foreshadowed the process by which in time the Norse and Celtic populations were assimilated.

The rest of Alexander's reign was peaceable. In 1278 he visited his brother-in-law Edward I and did homage 'saving his kingdom,' the Scottish record runs, though the English version asserts Edward's reservation of his rights as suzerain to such a time as he should choose to discuss them. The events that followed brought that moment inexorably nearer. In 1281 Alexander's younger son David, a boy of eight, died, 'the beginning of Scotland's woe,' writes Fordun truly. By 1284 Alexander's remaining children were removed by death—his elder son Alexander, husband of Margaret of Flanders, in his twentieth year; and his daughter and first-born Margaret, lately (1281) wed to Eric of Norway. Only an infant Maid of Norway, daughter of Eric and Margaret, stood between Canmore's direct line and extinction. Such successive buffetings by Providence moved a contemporary to a lyrical outburst, preserved by Wyntoun:

> Chryst, born into Virgynyte,
> Succoure Scotland, and remede
> That stad is in perplexite.

Early in 1284 Alexander gathered his great vassals in council at Scone. Thirteen earls were present, nearly the whole of their order, Bruce (the Claimant) and his son among them. John Balliol, the future king, was also there along with twenty-four lay barons. The Church was represented by eleven bishops (Argyll was a new foundation) and the outlying Hebrides were summoned. Failing issue to the king the Council, of whose 38 lay members at least 22 were Anglo-Normans, settled the crown upon the infant Maid of Norway. The contingency of her succession was hardly contemplated. Alexander, a hale man of forty-four, married a French wife in 1285 who was

like to give him children. In fact she bore him none. A year later (1286), on a boisterous day of March gusts and snow, Alexander rode from Edinburgh after feast and council to join his queen at Kinghorn across the water. A ferryman, protesting danger, rowed him over to Inverkeithing. Dusk had fallen and the burgesses vainly bade him rest the night. With two guides the king picked his way along the coast. On a high cliff near the town where his wife awaited him his horse stumbled and threw its rider. At the cliff's foot they picked him up, stark dead.

CHAPTER V

THE CONTESTED SUCCESSION

ALEXANDER III's death involved Scotland in a crisis unique in the experience of European monarchies and brought the looming problem of her relations with England to a solution. The War of Independence emphatically asserted the impotence of the more powerful to coerce the weaker kingdom. In some degree Scotland owed deliverance to her physical characteristics. The Welsh fought not less heroically for freedom. But the centre of their resistance was half the mileage of Edinburgh or Stirling from London, and in her frontier Scotland possessed a bulwark strongly designed against invasion, though ineffectual against raids. England's preoccupation in France and the efficacy of the Franco-Scottish alliance as a strategic diversion also were assets of value. But Scotland's surest defence was the spirit of her people, faithfully interpreted by Burns in *Bruce's Address before Bannockburn*. Freeman regarded the War of Independence as a fratricidal contest between the English of Scotland and the stock whence they were drawn. At the other extreme, it has been presented as a Celtic victory in which English Scotland had no lot or part. Both conclusions are on a note of exaggeration. The line of domestic division was social rather than racial. Bruce's and Wallace's Scotland was a feudal kingdom into which Anglo-Norman culture had penetrated everywhere except into the Celtic fastnesses of the west and north. The nobility were either Anglo-Normans or families whose genealogies alone remained Celtic. The actual opposition which the war produced was between the Scottish nobility and the Scottish people. So viewed, it was the effort of a population whose English culture had not

obliterated its national sense parting company with natural leaders and rallying, first under a simple country gentleman, and then under an alien baron whom ambition drove to challenge their enemy and his own. The importance of her victory to Scotland cannot be exaggerated. In material advantage she perhaps was the loser by postponement of an economic union with England until the eighteenth century. But her loss was amply compensated by four centuries of independent life in which to develop her distinctive national character, whose foundations already had been solidly laid before the war burst upon her.

While Alexander's death left his vassals pledged by oaths to the absent Margaret, her subjects observed the crisis with dismay. So far only males had reigned in Scotland. But the new sovereign was a female, an infant, resident in a foreign country lately hostile, and heiress to a foreign throne. In her behalf, a month after the Kinghorn tragedy, the Council constituted a Regency of six Guardians, consisting of William Fraser, Bishop of St Andrews, with the Earls of Fife and Buchan (Alexander Comyn), for the districts north of the Scots Water (the Forth); the Bishop of Glasgow with the High Steward (James Stewart) and Lord of Badenoch (John Comyn) for the region south of it. The predominance of the Comyn faction recalls the situation during Alexander III's minority and was founded on the same circumstances. Robert Bruce, excluded from the Regency, threatened trouble and, in the autumn, with his partisans formed a 'band' for mutual support, 'saving their fealty to the King of England and the person who shall obtain the kingdom of Scotland, being of the blood of Alexander III and according to the ancient customs of the realm.' Now as fifty years before Bruce asserted his position as eldest male of the royal house. The other faction retaliated, the kingdom stood on the brink of civil war, and the Maid's succession in jeopardy.

The crisis called new interests to activity. In an English

marriage Eric of Norway saw the only hope of his daughter's succession. Edward I, who had refrained from intervention to this point, viewed the purpose with favour; a marriage between the Maid and his heir promised to give Scotland quiet and to solve the relationship of the two kingdoms in an agreeable manner. The scheme was wise, and, with precautions, not disagreeable to Scotland. Upon receiving Eric's appeal Edward invited an international conference to Salisbury (1289), where the two episcopal Regents, a testimony to the Church's influence, with the claimant Bruce and John Comyn met English and Norwegian plenipotentiaries. Negotiations proceeded smoothly, application already had been made to the Pope to legalize the marriage of the cousins-german, and his dispensation was desired by all.

In November 1289, the Papal dispensation was announced as on its way to Scotland. The preliminaries were complete and in the following March (1290) the Guardians summoned a Council at Birgham, whose unusually wide composition supported its claim to represent the 'community' or freeholders, as well as the clerical and secular magnates. With careful deliberation it debated the marriage of the queen and approved it subject to provisions which bear witness to its patriotic prejudices and to the wise leading of the Church. The Treaty of Alliance, approved on July 18, 1290, stipulated that union, if it resulted from the match, should be between two independent and freely contracting nations. Scotland's laws, liberties, rights and customs were declared inviolate in perpetuity, saving the rights of the King of England which belonged or ought to belong to him, a qualification illustrating the dangerously vague relationship into which an Anglo-Norman dynasty and baronage had brought the two kingdoms. The power of the English Parliament to legislate for Scottish affairs was expressly denied; a separate Great Seal was prescribed, to remain invariably in the hands of a Scotsman. The competence of Scottish law was safeguarded, and the

summons of Scotsmen to answer outside the kingdom was forbidden. Failing issue to Margaret, Scotland was to revert 'wholly, freely, absolutely, and without any subjection' to the heir at law, with a reservation of English 'rights.'

The scheme, patiently and prudently elaborated, was shattered by a last calamity to Canmore's fated house. In September, 1290, the Maid sailed from Bergen on board a Norwegian vessel, her father having rejected an English ship sent for her conveyance injudiciously cargoed with sweetmeats. Early in October 'a sorrowful rumour that our Lady is dead' was bruited in Scotland. She expired on the voyage and her dead body was borne to the Orkneys. Accusations of foul play were made. Wyntoun even alleges the Maid to have been murdered before she left Norway, a foolish tale. Norway, not less suspicious, believed her to have been kidnapped, and twenty years later a Lübeck woman died at the stake for impersonating the dead princess, whose body long since rested in Norway's soil.

Events move obscurely to the next landmark in the unfolding drama—Edward's assertion of his paramountcy at Norham in May-June 1291. By the death of Margaret he lost the position which licensed him, in terms of the Birgham Treaty, to intervene. But in the interval he was approached by all factions. Bruce, John Balliol, and others now advanced an open candidature. On the earliest rumour of Margaret's death the Bishop of St Andrews, who was acting with John Comyn as interim Governor, urged Edward to show himself on the marches of the kingdom to aid the selection of a King of Scotland 'who will follow your counsel.' John Balliol was named for Edward's consideration, and on the principle of primogeniture was rightly named. Before the end of the year (1290) Edward was also approached by Bruce. The old man had accepted the Maid's succession, supported as it was by his liege of England. Her death released him to reassert his rights under Alexander's nomination in 1238.

Others, styling themselves 'The Seven Earls,' and claiming to speak for the 'community,' alleged a constitutional right, based on the obscure traditions of Celtic Alban, to elect their sovereign, and counselled Edward. They named Bruce heir under the disposition of Alexander II.

It is idle to discover 'no evidence that the Scots as a nation invited the interference of Edward in the affairs of their country.' No institution had yet been constituted to convey an invitation: nor, in Edward's view and that of his petitioners, was the matter one in which popular suffrages were involved. At Salisbury and at Birgham his 'rights' had been reserved. A situation had arisen, not of his moulding, whose solution needed to be determined either by force or law. The first was not in Edward's purpose. The second he was invited to explore both by the constituted Scottish government and by that section of it, the High Steward and (perhaps) the Bishop of Glasgow, now acting in Bruce's interest. On what basis might he intervene? Mediaeval law had not evolved the conception of an impartial arbitrator, nor did Edward propose to act in that character. To be competent to determine the dispute for whose settlement he was invoked he needed to be accorded the status which alone, short of naked force, might authorize him to settle the affairs of a neighbour kingdom. English paramountcy, often asserted, sometimes made good, fostered by the ambitions of Scotland's reigning house for generations, must first be admitted. Edward moved to obtain it.

With meticulous care to lay a preliminary foundation of fact, Edward, having received overtures from the baronial factions in Scotland, ordered (March, 1291) exhaustive search of documents in monastic and other archives for evidence elucidating the past relations of England and Scotland. A good deal of fantastic material was placed at his disposal which satisfied an age unschooled in the historic instinct. So fortified, Edward invited the vassals of the Scottish crown to meet him at Norham on May 10, 1291. Consistent in his intention to avoid

appearance of compulsion, he summoned his own northern barons to attend him on a date three weeks later (June 3) at the same spot. On the opening day of the conference (May 10) Edward demanded recognition of his status as Lord Paramount, exhibited the evidence—the Canterbury Treaty was not disclosed!—relied on to prove acts of homage to England by Scottish kings, and asserted a fixed resolution to establish his undoubted prerogative. The Scottish magnates, requesting time to frame their answer, were granted three weeks. In the interval a protest was lodged by a body of freeholders termed the 'community.' On June 2, when the conference reassembled at Upsettlington, near Norham, Edward's case was conceded. Of the nine claimants so far in the lists, eight were present. Balliol attended on the following day, when the nine, including Bruce, put their seals to this document: 'Forasmuch as the King of England hath evidently showed that the sovereign lordship of Scotland and right to determine our several pretensions belong to him, we, of our own free choice and without compulsion, have therefore agreed to receive his award as our Lord Paramount and bind ourselves to submit to his judgment.' Edward then demanded and received custody of the castles throughout the realm and exacted an oath of fealty from the Guardians, to whose number he added the Bishop of Caithness, an Englishman, as Chancellor.

The legal suit which awarded the crown of Scotland to John Balliol did not terminate until November 1292, and was conducted with a careful regard for form and precedent which supports Edward's designation, 'the English Justinian.' The claimants in all were thirteen, of whom only one, Patrick Galightly, was a Scot by paternal descent. Omitting Eric of Norway, who asserted a right derived from his dead wife, the competitors fall into four categories. Six were descendants of illegitimate children of Alexander II and William the Lyon. Three were legitimate descendants (Balliol, Bruce, and Hastings) of David, Earl of Huntingdon. Two were great-grandsons of

David's sisters. One, John Comyn of Badenoch, Balliol's brother-in-law, descended from Malcolm III's brother, Donald Bane. All rested their claims principally upon relationship, near or remote, to the royal house and were quickly reduced to the three deriving from David of Huntingdon. Certain legitimate competitors advanced other arguments to support their case. Hastings, whose claim could not be preferred to Balliol's or Bruce's, contended that the kingdom was partible and he heir to one-third of it. Bruce latterly adopted the same view to counter Balliol's advantage and relied on his antiquated heirship to Alexander II in 1238. Florent of Holland, whose claim yielded to the heirs of David of Huntingdon, sought to eliminate them by naming David a traitor and asserting his issue disqualified. Balliol and Bruce descended from daughters of David of Huntingdon, Balliol from the elder, Bruce from the younger. Bruce was a degree nearer to the common ancestor. Whether that advantage outweighed Balliol's descent from the elder daughter Edward's suzerainty had to determine. No other claimant could compete with these two in descent, possessions, or influence. Bruce had long enjoyed the English interest. Balliol, through his sister's marriage with John Comyn, who was not a serious competitor, had the support of the Menteith-Buchan faction.

The procedure by which Edward determined the most famous suit of the Middle Ages was carefully considered. He adopted a *Centumvirale Judicium* (centumviral enquiry), a process of unknown antiquity even in Cicero's day, revived for the occasion under the direction and at the suggestion of officials skilled in the traditions of Roman Law and in the service of the English Court. In the practice of England, France, and Scotland herself, the king administered justice through 'auditors,' to whom the cause was unfolded and whose finding expressed his judgment (*judicium*). The originality of the Court constituted to determine the Scottish succession is in the fact that the number of 'auditors,' namely 105 (including the

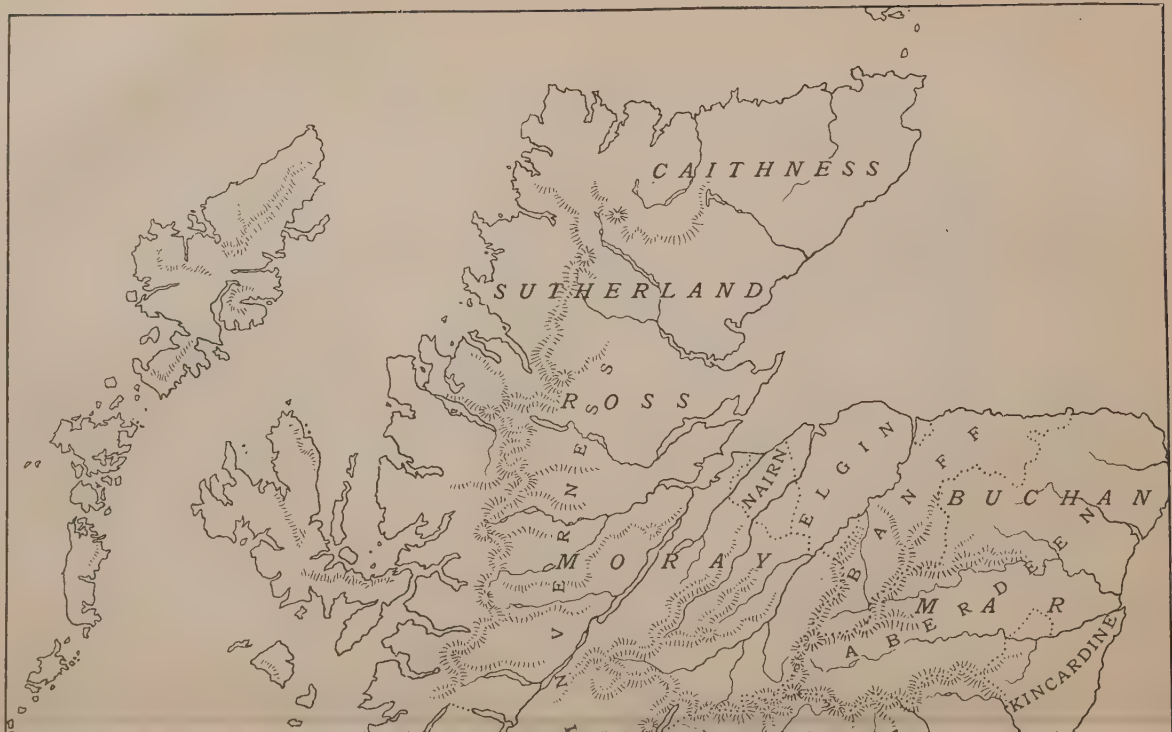
Lord Paramount), corresponded with the membership of the ancient Roman court of *Centumviri*, which had as its peculiar function the decision of questions involving rights of property and hereditary succession, matters closely cognate to the subject Edward as Lord Paramount was charged to determine.

With the approval of the claimants, Edward, on June 3, 1291, issued from Norham an order for the appointment of 'auditors' and named the next day but one for their nomination. On June 5, Bruce and others put in forty 'auditors,' Balliol, Comyn and others a similar number, and Edward himself twenty-four, a total of 105, including the king. Two months later (August 3, 1291) the Court of 'auditors' sat at Berwick to receive statements from the claimants to the realm and adjourned until June 2, 1292. On reassembling the issue was reduced to the pleadings of Bruce and Balliol, and after further adjournment, Edward put a question to distinguish the merits of the two. He drew a unanimous answer, that Balliol, though of remoter degree than Bruce, was to be preferred as descending from the first-born daughter of Huntingdon. After further questions to the 80 Scottish 'auditors' to test the allegation that the kingdom was partible, Edward, on November 17, 1292, in full Parliament in the hall of Berwick Castle, awarded the kingdom whole and undivided to John Balliol, to whom a precept was issued on November 19. Next day he swore fealty to his suzerain and on the last day of the month was crowned at Scone.

Edward's *judicium* was in accordance with modern interpretation of primogeniture and helped to establish it. Scotland gained by it an indifferent king and in Edward a suzerain resolved to exact the last ounce of obligation Balliol's homage entitled him to demand. The new king, a man of forty-three at his accession, represented a family of Anglo-Norman descent domiciled in Galloway since the reign of David I. His feeble character is not in doubt: 'Toom Tabard' his subjects dubbed him derisively: 'a simple creature' an English contemporary described him.

At once (January 1293) he permitted cancellation of the Treaty of Birgham and its safeguarding of Scottish autonomy. Edward dealt with him in a manner provocative, contemptuous and inconsiderate. Balliol had not been a month upon the throne before he was summoned to London by Alexander III's wine merchant on an unpaid account. In the following year he was condemned in damages upon a judgment given by him affecting the Earldom of Fife. In 1294 he was called to London to receive instructions for providing Edward with aid in his impending campaign in Gascony. Whatever the limits of his own complacence, Balliol was aware that his people would not fight an English quarrel in France. Edward's hands were already full with his warfare there and in Wales and the moment seemed opportune to withstand him. In 1295 Balliol concluded a defensive alliance with France which for the next three hundred years powerfully influenced Scotland's fortunes. In October he denounced his homage and threw down the gage to his superior.

The first blows in the War of Independence were struck in the spring of 1296. Scottish raids upon Northumberland and Cumberland were requited upon the people of Berwick by Edward with savage brutality. A month later Balliol fought his last battle at Dunbar, and in July (1296), after Edward had advanced to Elgin, exacting homage as he went, Balliol made his submission at Stracathro, near Brechin, and closed his uneasy reign. It was not in Edward's mind to set up another king. The Scottish nobles held no scruples in submitting to him, and before he left Scotland the Ragman Roll recorded two thousand earls, barons, ecclesiastics, freeholders, and others, the Bruces among them, who pledged him their fealty. Leaving English garrisons to maintain his authority and a triumvirate of Englishmen to execute it—John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, as Governor; Hugh de Cressingham as Treasurer; and William Ormesby as Justiciar—Edward turned his back on a country apparently subdued. He took with him the Stone of Destiny from Scone and three


CAITHNESS
SUTHERLAND
ROSS
INVERNESS
NAIRN
MORAY
ELGIN
BANFF
BUCHAN
ABERDEEN
KINCARDINE

PERTH
STRATHEARN
FIFE
KINROSS
MENTEITH
CLACK MANNAN
ARGYLL
DUMBARTON
STIRLING
LENNOX
LOTHIAN
LANARK
BERWICK
PEEBLES
MARCH
AYR
SELKIRK
ROXBURGH
CARRICK
DUMFRIES
WIGTOWN
SCOTLAND
EARLDOMS AND SHERIFFDOMS
circa 1300
Earldoms in italics, thus—MAR

boxes of Scottish archives. So far as could be judged every avenue to the expression of a national voice in Scotland was closed.

Edward's condemnation lies in the consequences of his policy. He found two neighbour kingdoms upon a footing of friendship long maintained. He bred in the weaker a passionate hostility not wholly mollified after the lapse of six centuries. But it is a superficial exploration of cause and effect which accuses Edward's ambition or savagery of the result, or is sarcastic over his inconsistency to his motto *pactum serva*. It must be accepted that the imposition of the feudal bond was not a mere tilting prize in a spectacular tourney of sovereigns. To enforce it was a matter of high policy; it was designed to control the actions of a state potentially hostile or to establish a buffer system between the suzerain and his enemies. For generations English policy had been growing sensitive to the presence of a strong, unfriendly neighbour across the Channel. The rise of the House of Plantagenet had been accompanied by that of the House of Capet, and a trial of strength between them was imminent. Edward already had sounded an onset and opportunely the broken succession in Scotland afforded him means at least to assure her neutrality. At this crisis the Scottish sovereign joined hands with France against a neighbour with whom he was at peace and whose vassal he had bound himself by oaths to be. With or without provocation Balliol committed an act of war upon England at a moment when the thrust was especially menacing. Edward was neither in advance nor in the rear of the public conscience of his time in his resolution to protect what he conceived to be the interests of his kingdom.

In the moment of Scotland's humiliation the voice of the 'community' found utterance. While the nobility were cowed or bound by oaths, a second Calgacus emerged in the winter of 1296–7. Of William Wallace little is known before his short public career. Four signatories of his name are in the Ragman Roll, all from below Forth and

Clyde, and he is believed to have been of that locality, the younger son of Sir Malcolm Wallace (le Waleys) of Ellerslie near Paisley. Like Bruce after him, Wallace began his public service as a fugitive from justice. Whether he had avenged a murdered wife upon an English official, or was the William Wallace who, during Edward's visit to Perth in August 1296, broke into an ale house and stole beer of three shillings' value, he revealed himself a master of men. In May 1297 he was the leader of a guerilla band, taking advantage of the absence of Warenne, an indolent septuagenarian,

> Like a thirsty wind, to roam about
> Withering the Oppressor.

By the summer he was the champion of a cause with whom even the time-serving Bruce, old Bruce's grandson, afterwards king, ventured association. Wallace was working for Balliol, for whose restoration Bruce and his associates had little desire. Jealousy and dissension did their work and at Irvine, in July 1297, where Wallace's force lay expecting attack, Bruce and others made peace with Edward. Two months later Wallace's victory at Stirling Bridge placed Scotland at his feet; Warenne rode precipitate to Berwick. Cressingham, *pulcher at grossus nimis* —handsome but over-fat—was slain: his tanned skin later fashioned saddle-girths! English rule toppled to the dust and the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick alone survived the ruin. Wallace and his colleague Andrew de Moray—a significant locality—remained masters of the kingdom as 'Generals of the Army of King John.'

History records few instances of so meteoric a rise from insignificance to power, and the achievement records the depth and resolution of popular stirring to which Wallace's obscure personality had given a voice. But his authority was short lived. By the end of the year Edward had placated his fractious baronage. In the summer of 1298 he led a formidable army across the frontier and at Falkirk overthrew Wallace's brief supremacy. The disaster was

fatal to the hero's influence over a jealous following. In 1299 he crossed to France to enlist King Philip's aid and the Pope's sympathy. In his absence others, less single-minded, took his place, Bruce and Red Comyn among them. Bruce once before had joined the patriots and deserted at a critical hour. His reasons for doubling upon a devious course are not obscure: Wallace's disappearance permitted him to lead where he had been reluctant to follow. The hero's failure, moreover, rang the knell of Balliol's hopes and invited Bruce to reassert his grandfather's claim. Edward's disputes with his barons and broil with France made the occasion opportune. But Comyn, Balliol's nephew, had to be reckoned with, and at a meeting of the two men in the summer of 1299 dirks were snatched and Comyn had his rival by the throat, a mishandling which Bruce retaliated in 1306. Before they parted, Bruce, Comyn and the Bishop (William Lamberton) of St Andrews agreed to hold the absent Wallace's post as Guardian, and the surrender of Stirling Castle gave good augury for their government.

Edward's preoccupation enabled the Guardians to maintain a show of independence for a few years longer. No help came from France, whose sovereign seized and imprisoned Wallace, and whose sister's marriage with Edward seduced him from the Scottish cause. Pope Boniface VIII summoned (1300) Edward to desist from attacking a kingdom whose allegiance, he insisted, was due to the Holy See. But his injunction did Scotland disservice by stirring the patriotic purpose of her enemy. Ineffectual campaigns in 1300, 1301, 1302, however, failed to bring Scotland to her knees and Bruce trimmed his course with characteristic versatility. At length, in the summer of 1303, at peace with his barons and France, Edward set out in person to achieve the task and wintered at Dunfermline after an almost unopposed march to the north of Scotland. Bruce and Comyn hastened to renew their broken oaths and Bruce assisted with engines of war against Stirling Castle, whose fall in July 1304 made

Edward master of the kingdom. Wallace's capture and execution in 1305 completed his triumph. With larger vision, posterity has expunged the sentence, recalling

> How Wallace fought for Scotland; left the name
> Of Wallace to be found, like a wild flower,
> All over his dear Country; left the deeds
> Of Wallace, like a family of Ghosts,
> To people the steep rocks and river banks,
> Her natural sanctuaries, with a local soul
> Of independence and stern liberty.

The way was clear to a conclusion. At a Parliament held at Westminster in September 1305, three weeks after Wallace's execution, Edward issued an 'Ordinance for the establishment of the land of Scotland.' Its intention was to bring the kingdom under his direct authority, recognizing its distinctive polity, but abandoning the experiment of a puppet vassal. The scheme was the outcome of joint deliberations between Edward's councillors and ten Scottish delegates, among whom in probability was Bruce, who at the moment was close in his attachment to the victor. The Constitution established Edward's direct lordship over Scotland but confirmed to the kingdom its administrative and legal systems. Edward's nephew, John of Brittany, was named Lieutenant and Warden, supported by a Chancellor, Chamberlain and Controller. For judicial purposes Scotland was split into areas distinguished by their racial and political history, Galloway, Lothian, the Lowlands between the Forth and the Mounth, and the Highlands and Islands, over which judicial commissions were appointed. Hereditary sheriffdoms were continued and sheriffs were nominated for the shires; English and Scots were equally eligible, but the majority appointed were Scots. The 'custom of the Scots and the Welsh,' that is, the laws of the Highlanders and Strathclyde Celts, were abolished, and the codes of Scottish monarchs from David's day were ordered to be corrected on details 'plainly against God and reason.' Scotland's constitutional Council was retained and Edward

seemingly contemplated Scottish representation in the Parliament of England. Due precautions were taken to secure by oaths the loyalty of officials, and the castles were received into English hands. The Ordinance professed a conciliatory spirit wanting in Edward's relations with Balliol, a difference which measures the respect Scotland's resistance had inspired in him. His Lieutenant was empowered to deport peace-breakers summarily, but 'in courteous fashion' and submissive to the advice of the 'good people of Scotland.' Bygones were to remain bygones, and a liberal and efficient government was relied on to bring two systems lately hostile into harmony. But Edward reckoned without the spirit Wallace stirred. Efficient administration was a poor exchange for independence. Within six months the Constitution of 1305 was abandoned and Scotland, under a new leader who expiated an unworthy past, received the crowning mercy of Bannockburn.

CHAPTER VI

THE BRUCES

On a day in February 1306, five months after Edward's establishment of 'our realm of Scotland,' a crime of blood and sacrilege spurred Bruce's devious passage to the throne and opened a new chapter of Scotland's fight for independence. His father's death in 1304 made Bruce head of his house, Lord of Annandale and Earl of Carrick, a man of thirty years, whose career to that point exhibits duplicity unusual even in an age not squeamish. After Wallace's defeat at Falkirk Bruce took his place, with Red Comyn and Lamberton of St Andrews, as trustees of Scotland's cause. But when Edward displayed activity Bruce hastened to join his stronger power. In 1302 he became Edward's Sheriff for Lanarkshire and Governor of Ayr Castle, had his suzerain's summons to attend his campaign in 1303, and after Comyn's surrender in 1304 received Edward's thanks for diligence against the patriotic party. His father's death brought him a fourth time to swear fealty to Edward for his English estates, and thereafter he aided his suzerain's siege of Stirling Castle (1304). In 1305 he was present at one or both Parliaments at Westminster summoned to accomplish the settlement of Scotland, swore a fifth oath of allegiance, and early in 1306 left London ostensibly to assist the newly constituted Scottish executive. To unravel the bloody sequel is difficult. Already in the summer of 1304 Bruce had a secret 'band' with Lamberton for mutual assistance 'against all comers,' which accomplished the bishop's definitive desertion of Balliol and gained the Church's powerful aid to set Bruce on the throne to which his father's death made him heir. Having seduced Lamberton Bruce needed to assure himself of Comyn, who had

a rival claim to advance; he too was of Huntingdon's blood. Contemporary narratives declare that Bruce invited Comyn to meet him at Dumfries, where the Justices held an assize it was seemly for both to attend. The rivals met in the cloister of the Church of the Grey Friars. Bruce revealed his ambition, offered a bribe, and invited Comyn's countenance. Comyn objected his oath to Edward. High words were bandied and blows were struck. Comyn, wounded, sought sanctuary within the church, while Bruce, joining his companions, told the news, 'I doubt I've slain Red Comyn.' 'I'll mak siccar,' said one of them, and did so.

An act which antagonized powerful interests demanding conciliation hardly can have been premeditated. It removed a rival but raised a blood-feud of peculiar bitterness, pitted a powerful faction against Bruce as sovereign, and later aided England's assault upon the throne of his son. Moreover, in an age from which an Emperor's humiliation at Canossa was not remote, to which Innocent's English triumph was almost a recent memory, no aspirant seeking a throne would wantonly add sacrilege to murder and provoke the Church's thunders on his head. Bruce was guilty of both, and incurred sentence of excommunication for 'damnably persevering in iniquity.' His countrymen were not like to look unconcerned upon the death of one who, measured against his slayer, was a patriot, though with a tarnished record of surrender to England and kinship to 'simple' Balliol. All these prejudices Bruce madly dared if Comyn's dirking was not the act of sudden spleen. It is, at any rate, conclusive of the solidarity of the national purpose to which he was about to appeal that a man so blemished by birth, by political record, and by crime should have rallied commons and clergy and live in history as the hero of a nation's Risorgimento.

However unpremeditated the prelude the sequel had been planned. Bruce's bid for the crown was not a challenge for popular support on another issue against

the consequences a sudden act had stirred. His inconstant career, recent accession to his grandfather's rôle as Claimant, his relations with Comyn, all bespeak a man whose eye was on a goal clearly seen. The new Constitution, to which he was sworn, had nerved his purpose; more forcibly than Balliol's abdication, it declared Scotland's thraldom to a foreign rule and promised its challenger national support. His 'band' with Lamberton reveals Bruce already in 1304 contemplating action. Comyn's murder, planned or not, was a detail in a larger design. From the scene of his crime Bruce rode hot foot to Glasgow's six times perjured Bishop to gain absolution for his blood guilt. Thence he passed to Scone with Good Sir James Douglas, his leal man for over twenty years, executor of his last and dearest wish. Before the end of March, six weeks after Comyn's death, Bruce was crowned at Scone. The Stone of Destiny was at Westminster: the crown had gone with Balliol into exile: a simple band of gold replaced it for the ceremony. Duncan, Earl of Fife, who claimed hereditary privilege to encircle the sovereign's head, was Edward's man. His sister, though married to the Earl of Buchan and kin to murdered Comyn, took his place. Bruce was duly crowned. Of all whom the day's anxious ceremony made his lieges two earls, three bishops, and one abbot alone were present. Such was the damping prelude of a reign whose gift to Scotland was independence.

Bruce now faced the superior he had deceived and dared. While Edward, vowing 'to God and the Swans' to avenge Comyn, stripped Bruce of his English honours, sentence of the greater excommunication was passed upon him in the Pope's name from St Paul's Cathedral. In June 1306 Edward's lieutenant, the Earl of Pembroke, surprised and scattered Bruce's slender force at Methven, near Perth, and drove the king to the hills. His brother Nigel, taken at Kildrummy in Aberdeenshire, was executed at Berwick. His queen, daughter and sisters were confined closely. The valiant Countess of Buchan also paid penalty

for her daring, but received honourable entertainment and the services of waiting-women, valets and a page 'sober and not riotous.' Near twenty knights taken at Methven shared Nigel Bruce's fate, and age and infirmities alone prevented Edward from taking the field in person against 'King Hobbe,' so he dubbed King Robert who defied him.

By September Bruce, like Prince Charles in a later adventure, was pushing through the heather westward to the Islands. In February (1307) he was in Arran, facing his earldom and his birthplace, Turnberry Castle. In March, on a chance blaze of heather interpreted as a signal, he landed at Turnberry, attacked the garrison, and with booty flung himself into the fastnesses of Loch Trool. Closely girt he held his own valiantly till Scotland began to stir. The clergy, disregarding the Papal ban, were preaching his cause; an opportune prophecy of Merlin was recalled in his favour. Early in May he dared and confounded his encircling enemies at Loudon Hill. The news called Edward, 'Hammer of the Scots,' to the last effort of his life. On July 3 he mounted horse at Lanercost for the Border. On July 6 he was at Burgh-on-Sands, but moved no farther. On July 7, as they raised him in bed to take his morning meal he fell back dead with Scotland full in view.

Edward's death is the turning-point of Bruce's reign. The new king's worthless character was known, and Scotland breathed fresh hope with the passing of 'Le roi covetous.' By the end of August 1307 the new Edward was out of Scotland and Bruce had the opportunity which doubtless he had foreseen. His first task was to subdue the Comyn faction in the north. In May 1308 he made such havoc upon their lands that 'the herschip [harrying] of Buchan,' says Barbour, was a wonder for fifty years. Success gained adherents and the English cause, unsupported, daily declined. The whole of the north had passed under Bruce's power when, in 1310, the clergy announced at Dundee their acceptance of him as lawful

king. Edward retaliated with a feeble invasion which never passed the Forth. Upon his withdrawal Bruce maintained steady pressure upon remaining English garrisons and even crossed the frontier into Durham (1311). In 1312 the barking of a dog alone saved Berwick. In 1313 Bruce in person headed the assault on Perth. Dumfries was won a few weeks later, and Linlithgow fell in the autumn at the assault of a peasant, who played on the garrison (busy at the corn harvest) the ruse of the Trojan horse. Early in 1314 Roxburgh and Edinburgh were taken and by the spring of the year the English flag flew only above Stirling beyond the Forth.

Stirling, 'like a huge brooch, clasps Highlands and Lowlands together.' Its basaltic rock looks out on a prospect upon which the determining battles of Scotland's history have been fought. Here Wallace vindicated freedom's cause in 1297. Here the weakling James III 'happinit to be slain' in 1488. Here Cromwell manœuvred in 1651. Here Jacobitism met its rebuff in 1715, and here, one supposes, Calgácus faced Rome's legions. From Lent to Midsummer 1313, Edward Bruce, the king's surviving brother, closely girt the fortress and in sporting or chivalrous mood called a truce, stipulating surrender if the garrison was not relieved from England before Midsummer Day 1314. Even the spiritless Edward was moved to effort; for, Stirling lost, Scotland was Bruce's and his father's work effaced. On the eve of Midsummer Day, 1314, Edward came in sight of the beleaguered fortress and on the morrow, at Bannockburn, staked his fortune and lost. If Bruce's victory does not stand among the Marathons of history, it ranks with Courtrai and Morgarten. Had Scotland been defeated the history of Britain must have run another course. As it was, Scotland vindicated her independence, survived to develop her distinctive national life, and was ready at the call to enter as an equal the United Kingdom of a later time.

Bannockburn gave Bruce the heart of his people as no king before him possessed it. 'He, like another Joshua or

Judas Maccabeus,' runs his Council's famous letter to the Pope in 1320, 'having endured toils, misfortune, the extremity of want, and perils oft, hath rescued his people and inheritance out of the hands of their enemy. By the decree of Providence, by the right of legitimate succession which we will ever constantly maintain, and with our own unanimous and convinced assent, he is our Chief and King. In defence of our liberties, by reason of his meriting, and of his rights, to him we do adhere; for at his hand salvation hath been wrought upon us. Should he desert our cause, should he subject us or our realm to England's power, instantly would we cast him forth, our common enemy, subverter of our rights and his own, and choose another to bear rule over us. For, so long as but a hundred of us stand we never will bow down to England. We fight not for glory, pelf, honour, but for liberty, which lacking, no man of virtue may survive.' The proud words reveal Bruce Scotland's master. But a faction remained irreconcilable whom his achievement could not win. Separated by a blood feud founded on Comyn's murder and earlier rivalries of that house, a party among the nobles resented Bruce's elevation over them and staked their hopes on English power and intervention. Bruce struck them with ill-judged severity. Four months after Bannockburn his Council at Cambuskenneth passed sentence of forfeiture on all who denied his authority. Subsequent charters of the reign prove the immense amount of landed property which consequently changed hands, particularly in the north and north-east where the Comyns had prevailed. The 'Disinherited' carried their woes to England and, like the French *émigrés* of the Revolution, set their hopes of restoration on foreign armies, content, like the latest Bourbons, to gain reinstatement in the baggage-waggons of an invading force. On Bruce's son fell the wages of his father's unwisdom, and Bruce himself had a foretaste in the conspiracy of William de Soulis, grandson of the Claimant, who, with others convicted or suspected of collusion with England, was condemned (1320) by a

Council at Scone from whose ferocious severity it has its name, the 'Black Parliament.'

Scotland's independence was won at Bannockburn. But England stubbornly refused to acknowledge a fact which pricked the bubble of Plantagenet Imperialism. The Papacy, relentless, also withheld recognition. Nearly a generation of turmoil lay behind Bannockburn and Scotland was eager for peace. But Bruce set store upon formal admission of his sovereignty. To compel it was the purpose of his remaining years. In the main he sought it by demonstrations of Scottish power on English soil. Sir James Douglas' name became a terror on the Marches, where English mothers rocked their cradles to the crooning song:

> Hush ye, hush ye, little pet ye,
> Hush ye, hush ye, do not fret ye,
> The Black Douglas shall not get ye.

Berwick was recaptured in 1318 after being in English hands for twenty years. Next year an English attempt to recover the town was countered by Douglas and Sir Thomas Randolph, that other paladin of Bruce's company, at Mytton-on-Swale in Yorkshire, where, led by their Archbishop, so many clerks were slain that the mellay passed in England as the 'White Battle,' and in Scotland as the 'Chapter of Mytton.'

To the same end Bruce committed himself in Ireland to a hazardous adventure. An invitation from the Ulster O'Neills to assist them against English oppression attracted him. To strengthen Ireland would weaken England's power to assail his own kingdom, and the O'Neills offered a crown. Bruce as yet was without a legitimate son. Mindful of the conditions that followed Alexander III's death, his Council, early in 1315, prescribed the succession. Failing heirs male of his body, Bruce was to be followed by his brother Edward. Failing Edward and his heirs male, Bruce's daughter Marjorie (wife of Walter Stewart) would succeed. In the event of a minority Randolph, lately created Earl of Moray, was

promised the regency. The prospect of Edward Bruce, heir-presumptive to the Scottish crown, attaching that of Ireland may have stirred the restless ambition of their Norman blood, and promised to raise their house to the side of the Plantagenets. But results did not match anticipation. In 1315 Edward Bruce landed in Ireland, was crowned, and for three years fought an uphill battle till he fell at Dundalk in 1318. Barbour hints that there was not room for two Bruces in Scotland.

Bruce's Irish policy failed, but hinted the consequences of Scotland's implacable enmity to England, where an attack upon Wales was believed to be impending. Hence Edward II sought Papal intervention and Pope John XXII complied. From Avignon in 1317 he addressed 'our well-beloved son Robert Bruce presently governing the realm of Scotland,' proclaimed a truce and bade him observe it under threat of renewed excommunication. Strong in the support of his clergy, at no time tractable to Roman authority, Bruce treated the Pope's communication with amused contumely. The Legatine messengers were dismissed with the reproof that only letters addressed to the King of Scotland would reach their destination. A Minorite Friar who followed in their wake to proclaim the Papal truce had rougher treatment; waylaid, stripped *ad carnem*, his documents abstracted, he was bidden quit the country 'as quick as he might.' The Chapter of Mytton proved more effectual than Papal counsels, and a two years' truce was conceded by Bruce at Christmas 1319. Bruce's success was disagreeable to John XXII, whose summons to him to appear at Avignon was answered by the famous letter from Arbroath (1320) already quoted. Its tone impressed the Pope, who now addressed the English Court, directing Edward to seek a lasting peace. Edward preferred a last appeal to force. In 1322 he swept the Lothians and burnt Dryburgh Abbey to the ground. Bruce followed his retreat and at Biland inflicted so sharp a defeat that, weighted by this new disgrace, Edward sued for peace, admitted Bruce's royal

dignity, and accepted a truce (1323) to endure for thirteen years. Within a twelve-month the Pope also recognized Bruce's royal status, while the birth of the king's son David (1324) promised to prolong his dynasty. The English claim to suzerainty persisted and insistence upon the restoration of Berwick prevented a closer approach to peace. Hence, the first year of Edward III (1327) broke the truce. Faring no better than his father in 1322, he propounded peace on the basis of earlier Plantagenet policy, and invited marriage between the two reigning houses.

The Treaty of Northampton (1328) put the seal upon Bruce's life-work and brought the War of Independence to an end amid angry protest in England, who denounced the 'shameful peace' and attributed it to the treachery of the Queen-Mother. As categorically as the earlier Treaty of Canterbury, it surrendered English claims to suzerainty. Documents, including the Ragman Roll, claiming to establish Scotland's political servitude were to be given up. The Stone of Destiny was retained, in deference, it is said, to the refusal of the Abbot of Westminster to surrender it against the force of popular opinion. With three exceptions Bruce's drastic forfeitures were to stand; hence the 'Disinherited' sore festered to discharge its venom at a later time. The marriage of Prince David (aged four) and Princess Joanna of England (aged six) proposed to clinch the new friendship. It took place two months after the Treaty. Bruce was not present. He had not reached his fifty-sixth year. But the rigour of his reign, says Froissart, left him 'right sore aged and feeble, so greatly charged with the great sickenes' [leprosy], that 'ther was no remedy with hym, but he must nedis leve this transetory lyfe.' He died on June 7, 1329, a man of rare force, sagacity and decision, qualities the lack of which sorely vexed his Stewart successors. Not in the language of exaggeration Barbour lamented

> He that all our comfort was,
> Our wit and all our governing.

Chiefly memorable in another aspect, Bruce's reign is notable also as a landmark in Scotland's constitutional history. In 1326 he summoned to Cambuskenneth a Council which properly may bear the name Parliament for the first time. The king's financial needs and a desire to widen his throne's support induced him to summon, besides his accustomed vassals-in-chief, the burgesses and freeholders of the kingdom. The latter had made their voices heard in 1291. The burgesses apparently were summoned for the first time, and though they are not found regularly in subsequent Parliaments until 1455, their appearance in 1326 connotes Scotland's tentative progress along a path of constitutional development which England had already pursued and was to explore with greater thoroughness.

Randolph, last of the three paladins, who assumed the regency for the five years' old king, faced a menacing situation. By the Treaty of Northampton he stood bound to reinstate three English barons whom Bruce had deprived of their Scottish estates. One of them Randolph was able to restore. The others he refused to satisfy. At the head of the 'Disinherited' was Edward Balliol, eldest son of King John, whom Edward III permitted to return to England from France in 1330, the hope of many whose opposition to Bruce had sacrificed their Scottish estates. Oldest and most experienced of them was Henry de Beaumont, whose wife was niece and heiress of the last Comyn, Earl of Buchan, and claimed that title. His cousin Gilbert Umfraville, also descended from a Comyn heiress, claimed the Earldom of Angus, of which his father had been forfeited. Also in this company of mal contents was the forfeited Earl of Atholl, whom marriage connected with the Comyns of Buchan. Lesser men attached themselves to these leaders, and Edward gave ready countenance upon their first astonishing success.

In August 1332 Balliol and his disinherited band, small in numbers but expert and well equipped, landed in Fife and advanced towards Perth. 'We are sons of the

magnates of the land,' they announced, 'and are come hither with the Lord Edward of Balliol, rightful heir of this realm, to demand the lands which are ours by right.' Randolph was newly dead and his successor, Bruce's kinsman Donald, Earl of Mar, showed small ability. Despising Bruce's cautious 'Testament' he attacked and met death and defeat at Dupplin Moor. Unopposed Balliol occupied Perth and in September was crowned as 'Edward I' at Scone. English Edward at once came into the open and a treaty at Roxburgh in November restored the forfeited suzerainty and Berwick. But Balliol's kingship had a sudden end. On a dark December night the brother of Black Douglas and the son of Randolph sought out the Winter King at Annan, surprised his household, and made him flee precipitately

> On a barme hors wyth leggis bare

while

> all that cumpany
> Dyscumfyt ware all halyly.

Next year Balliol was again on Scottish soil with an English force behind him and England's king in his company. The foolhardiness of the Scots at Dupplin was repeated at Halidon Hill (1333). The boy king David and his queen were shipped to France, while his supplanter again acknowledged Edward III Lord Paramount, ceded Berwick, and, as the price of his assistance, made over to him the shires of ancient Lothian and Balliol's Galloway (1334). Scotland was again at England's feet, the work of Bruce and Wallace undone. The wrongs of the Disinherited had reopened the Scottish question and Edward III sat seemingly as firm as his grandfather. In fact his position was insecure. By rifling Scotland of her fairest provinces he intensified the hatred of a people whom his house had failed to subdue. His puppet king was a shadow, *agnus inter lupos*, like his father, scorned by his people, distrusted by his kingmaker, and vexed by the factious spirit of the returned *émigrés*, whose greedy demands it

was not easy to satisfy. At no time was Balliol really sovereign, though in 1336 Edward paraded the country to Inverness as conqueror. But it was his last stroke in Scotland. In October 1337 he published his claim to the crown of France, an act which proved decisive for Scotland's recovery. How fortunate was the diversion of her persecutor's activities Wyntoun attests:

It wes to Scotland a gud chance
That he set him to werray France;
For had he halely him tane
For to werray Scotland allane
Eftir the gret mischeiffis twa,
Duplyne and Halidon were thai,
Thai suld haif scathit it gretly.
Bot fortoune, thoch scho fald fickylly,
Will nocht at anys all mischeiffis fall.
Forthy scho set thare hartis all
To werray France, that Scottis mycht be
Beleft thus in to gretare lee [happiness].

The tide turned. The patriots rallied under Robert Stewart, the future king. Bruce's tactics were resumed, and gradually the English strengths were recovered. Perth fell in 1339. Edinburgh and Stirling followed, and by 1341 it was deemed safe for David and his queen to return from France. Scotland again had a king of her own choice.

Behind the restored king were the experiences of seven years' sojourn on a foreign soil. He returned, a young man of eighteen, 'young, stout, and jolly,' Wyntoun calls him. But he inherited none of his father's character. His French education, and later his English exile, roused regrets which weighted Mary Stewart at a later time. He loved the splendid pageantry of an age which glitters in Froissart's pages, and held of little account his people or his throne save so far as they could contribute to his fancies. For five years the strife of parties continued, till in 1346 David was ill-guided to attempt in England a diversion in the interests of France, where Edward III

threatened Calais. At Neville's Cross, near Durham, an English host, led by the clergy of the north, faced him. David, deriding an army of 'miserable monks and pig-drivers,' gave battle, was defeated and carried into captivity. For eleven years he remained in England, nor was greatly regretted in Scotland, where his nephew Robert Stewart passably filled his place.

The years of David's captivity were memorable for two events. In 1350 the Black Death laid its grim hand upon Scotland, whose population, immune to this point, had made an oath of 'the foul death of the English.' The plague raged for a full year and carried off a third of the people, a grievous blow to the country's economic development. Four years later the interested friendship of France caused another calamity. Anxious to prevent the conclusion of an agreement between Scotland and England, a considerable French force was dispatched to encourage an attack on France's enemy. In 1355 Berwick was captured and briefly held. Next year Edward retook it, and pushed on to Edinburgh, over a trail of black ruin. The 'Burnt Candlemas' of 1356 lingered long in Scottish memory and was wreaked by Edward upon those he called his subjects. The aged and childless Edward Balliol surrendered his empty title in return for a generous pension. His house troubled Scotland no more.

In October 1357 David gained his liberty. Edward, with the lustre of Poictiers around him, was minded to prosecute the French war to a conclusion, and feared a hostile Scotland upon his flank. But Scotland regained her king upon paralyzing terms. One hundred thousand marks were demanded in ten annual payments, and David's personal extravagance added to the kingdom's burdens. The situation developed to a crisis in 1363, when Robert Stewart and others banded in protest against the king's heedlessness. David had no love for his nephew and heir and put down the movement with decision. The financial situation remained intolerable and David held no scruples as to the conditions on which it might be

ended. Upon a visit to London (1363) he offered acknowledgment of Edward or his son Prince Lionel as heir to Scotland's throne provided the ransom was remitted. The unworthy proposal was rejected peremptorily by David's Parliament (1364):

> Til that said al his legis nay;
> Na thai consent walde be na way
> That ony Inglis mannys son
> In to that honoure sulde be done,
> Or succede to bere the crowne
> Off Scotlande in successione,
> Sen of age and of vertu thar
> The lauchful ayris apperande are.
> Quhen this denyit was uttrely,
> The Kynge was richt wa and angry;
> Bot his yarnynge neuirtheles
> Denyit of al his legis was.

At length in 1369 Edward's relations with France demanded an understanding with Scotland. The annual, and so far infrequently paid, instalments were reduced to 4000 marks and a truce of fourteen years was arranged. David survived the treaty for two years. He died in 1371 leaving his kingdom in debt to England for half the ransom his release had cost. His reign in no aspect was worthy and is significant chiefly as showing the kingdom's tenacity to the traditions of Bruce and Wallace. English armies were again to trample Scottish soil and a King of Scots to find a prison in England. The claim to superiority was not formally abandoned. But it ceased to be an avowed and persistent policy.

Like his father's reign, David's supplies a landmark in the kingdom's constitutional development. The circumstances of the realm afforded Parliament opportunities, of which it took advantage, to assert its powers at the expense of the royal prerogative. A development of far reaching consequence took place in 1367, when so large a number of burgesses presented themselves at Scone that it was resolved to delegate their authority to a Committee

of twelve drawn from the six most prominent burghs: the others returned home to attend to the harvest. This was the origin of the 'Committee of the Articles,' so large a detail in the mechanism of the Scottish Parliament throughout its existence. Convenience chiefly dictated a device which relieved small freeholders of an irksome and costly obligation. But it was purchased at the expense of liberal tendencies which had been better encouraged. From a similar arrangement there developed the Committee for Causes which at a later time grew into the Court of Session or Supreme Court of Justice.

Significant of expanding culture is the fact that in David's reign the first authentic Scottish authors lived. John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, wrote *The Brus*, an epic of David's heroic father. Andrew of Wyntoun, his junior, Canon Regular of St Andrews and Prior of St Serf's, compiled his *Original Chronicle*, a vernacular metrical history from the Creation to the accession of James I. Both were contemporaries of English Chaucer, but their remoteness from his Renaissance spirit measures the relative backwardness of their country and proves its energies absorbed in the sterner tasks which troubled times imposed. David's reign was a testing experience calculated to strengthen rather than refine the national character. Scotland, in Mr Lang's words, 'was tried by a recreant king, by internal disunion, the fruit of Bruce's forfeitures, by dynastic jealousies between David and his heir, by grinding poverty, plague, famine and taxation. Before her was displayed the lure of prosperity and peace. For these she had but to sell her birthright of freedom. But emboldened first by the son of Wallace's friend, Moray, and the heroic sister of Bruce, and the blood of Randolph in Black Agnes of Dunbar, Scotland desperately resisted threats, declined seductions, and was relieved, in her darkest hour, by the uprising of France against the inordinate aggressions of England. The Ancient League, with all its disappointments and disasters, was the salvation of France and of Scotland. For the rest,

between the death of the Maid of Norway and the Reformation, the History of Scotland is inspired by but one national idea, Independence, resistance to England.' After Neville's Cross (1346) Scottish soil and Scottish strengths (Annandale, Berwick, Roxburgh, Lochmaben) were in possession of the 'auld enemy.' She was not expelled for over a hundred years and for their capture and retention incessant border warfare vexed the fortunes of two kingdoms.

CHAPTER VII

THE EARLY STEWARTS

> Quhen that oure King Davy was dede,
> His sister sone in till his stede,
> Schir Robert Stewart, wes made king.

ROBERT II, first of a line of kings who reigned, and sometimes ruled, for more than three hundred years, came of a house whose tragic record, Voltaire thought, almost provoked credulous belief in fatality. James I, long a prisoner in England, was done to death in a vault. James II died in his thirtieth year, slain by a splinter of one of his cannon. James III 'happinit to be slain,' a euphemism for murder. James IV fell at Flodden, the flower of Scotland with him:

> Beside Branxton in a brook breathless they lie,
> Gaping against the moon.

James V, the Red Tod, young in years, died broken in heart and old in disappointment. His lass, Mary Stewart, fell by the axe. Her grandson Charles I made the same end. Makers of pedigrees, postulating a Celtic cradle for so inveterate a disposition to tragedy, have gratified their taste for origins by tracing the Stewarts to Banquo or discovering appropriate kinship with Kenneth MacAlpin. In truth, the Stewarts were of Breton stock, sometime of Dol de Bretagne, emigrants to Wales, and thence to Scotland under the patronage of David I. Walter, first of the Scottish line, received great estates in Kyle and Renfrew, made his principal residence at Renfrew, founded Paisley Abbey, the burial place of the family, and died in 1177. Robert II was sixth in descent from him. From Walter I to Walter III, who mated with the Bruce's daughter, every generation held the office of High Steward, and the title became the family name.

The period of the early Stewarts—Robert II, his son Robert III, and the Albany Regency (1371–1424)—is a confused record of rampant turbulence. Underneath a stream of progress flowed quietly, but history's written page tells of rebellions, of bitter blood feuds, burnings and slayings, of Border raids and invasions. Scotland, backed by the Ancient League, faced England's intermittent hostility. But the danger to her ordered state was not external merely. As in England, in France, in Germany, the monarchy fought a threat of feudal anarchy. Lacking great possessions the Stewarts, at the outset, were hard put to it to hold their own. Happily the contest was neither protracted, as that between the Burgundians and Armagnacs in France, nor did it constrain the sovereign between rival baronial camps, as the English Wars of the Roses did. But it shook the throne and was prolonged under the banner of religion. Flodden, in 1513, closed the struggle's secular stage, permitting the Crown, in Scotland as elsewhere, to found a New Monarchy upon the ruins of feudal arrogance.

The accession of the Stewarts at once evoked a protest from that family which offered the chief menace to their dynasty. William, first Earl of Douglas, is stated to have challenged the throne in virtue of alleged and ill-founded descent from the Comyns and Balliols. His action is difficult to unravel. He had acted with the new sovereign against David in 1363, but immediately thereafter engaged with England to support David's unpatriotic proposals to Parliament in 1364, which menaced the succession of the Steward. The Earl did not carry his protest against Robert II's accession into action. His eldest son, James, received the king's daughter Isabel in marriage, and Douglas himself became Warden of the East Marches, a position of importance in view of England's enmity. A hard fighting race, the Douglases built up there a reputation which overshadowed the Crown:

> So many, so good, as of the Douglases have been,
> Of one sirname in Scotland never yet were seen.

Like Prussia of a later age they fulfilled their *Wacht am Rhein* and looked for reward. Compared with them, in that task, the House of Stewart had little credit.

The outbreak of enmity between the two families was delayed until the reign of James II. But it is necessary to realize the Douglas power when its rival reached the throne. Douglas origins have been explored without bringing to light an earlier ancestor than William of Douglas (de Dufglas) of Douglasdale, near Lanark, who served under the Lord of Galloway in the Lyon's service (1187) against a Celtic pretender in Morayshire. His grandson William 'Longleg' acquired property in Northumberland, and therefore favoured the English party in the disputes which followed Alexander II's death. Longleg was a man of wealth and his son Sir William, known as 'the Hardy,' first of the family gave himself baronial style, as 'Lord of Douglas.' Wide possessions in Dumfries, Wigtown, Ayr, Lanark, as well as outlying estates in Berwick, Fife and Edinburgh, adequately supported the honour. He was the first of his line to raise their banner against England; being of those who said of Balliol 'we will not have this man to reign over us.' He joined Wallace, deserted him at Irvine (1297), and ended his days a prisoner, 'very savage and abusive,' in the Tower of London (1298).

The first Lord of Douglas' son and successor was 'the Good Sir James,' a large boned, swarthy featured man, wise in counsel, terrible in combat, 'Black Douglas' of the Marches. He joined Bruce immediately after Red Comyn's murder in 1306, was the king's faithful henchman throughout his reign, and at his death-bed promised to carry the king's heart to the Holy Land. In 1330 he died in Spain fighting the Moors. His services brought him large reward of lands in Moffatdale, Jedburgh, Ettrick Forest, Lauderdale, Teviotdale, and Eskdale, properties forfeited by the 'Disinherited' who supported the English cause. In the reign of David II the Douglas power increased yet more. Black Douglas' nephew William,

succeeding to the Lordship, threw himself with vigour into the field against England and was created Earl of Douglas in 1358. In 1363 he joined the High Steward (afterwards Robert II) in protest against David's extravagance, and though he challenged his old associate's accession as Robert II in 1371, served him faithfully till his death in 1384. Thus, when the Stewarts began to reign, the House of Douglas, as superior of Annandale and Galloway, was master of South Scotland, held a high record already for patriotic service, and was planted in a region whose proximity to England imposed upon it the brunt of patriotic resistance in the future. Its head was Warden of the East Marches and Justiciar below the Forth. Saving his allegiance his position in ancient Strathclyde and Lothian was royal: six children of the first and third earls married sons or daughters of the royal house.

James, the second Earl, holds a prominent place in Scotland's story as hero of the heroic event of Robert II's reign. The king was fifty-five when he came to the throne, an old man already, without desire for fighting, 'worthi, wise, and leil,' tall, handsome, stately, tender-hearted, not endowed with qualities to contest the brave deeds of his great vassal. The fourteen years' truce of 1369 with England still had years to run. And in 1372 Robert concluded a treaty with France which assured his ally's assistance against the common enemy. But, though half of David II's ransom was unpaid, the troubled accession of Richard II (1377) removed the probability of invasion on a large scale. Border disturbances were constant. Avenging the death of a retainer, the young Earl of March fell upon the English garrison at Roxburgh in 1377, gave the town to fire and the population to the sword. The Percies retaliated on Duns in the 'Warden's Raid.' Berwick was recovered and recaptured, till in 1380 John of Ghent, Richard's uncle, came to impose peace upon the unquiet Marches. The Douglas was of those who met him and arranged a truce to last till 1384, when the one of 1369 expired. The date was eagerly awaited on the

Scottish side. The new (second) Earl of Douglas had scarcely buried his father (1384) before he was over the Border with a band of adventurous French in his company. His cousin Archibald 'the Grim' recovered Lochmaben and Annandale. Teviotdale also was brought back to the Douglas allegiance, with the exception of Roxburgh and Jedburgh castles. Next year (1385) a larger body of French, escorted to Scotland by John de Vienne, Admiral of France, joined Douglas in a more formidable raid, but, to their disappointment,

Bot smal debat thai fande.

For Douglas, faithful to the Bruce tradition, was not minded to risk battles and Richard with a great army was approaching. To the French their hosts were *rudes gens et sans honneur*. To the Scots their guests were expensive and inconvenient auxiliaries. Richard, falling upon a divided camp, burned Edinburgh, Perth, and Dundee. Douglas retaliated with a raid on Cockermouth. But the day of reckoning was not yet.

The state of England in 1388 encouraged reprisals. Richard was involved with the Lords Appellant. On the Marches the Percies had supplanted the Nevilles in the Wardship and the two families were on straining terms. At a meeting in Aberdeen Douglas and the king's son, the Earl of Fife, made plans to avenge the desolation wrought by Richard in 1385. The king was not privy to the design: he was near seventy years old: his eldest son, a lame man, was hardly more vigorous. In the summer of 1388 a force of several thousands rode over the Border. The main body, under Fife, passed round the head of Solway and ravaged Cumberland. A smaller force, a few thousands strong, under Douglas, crossed Tweed and carried destruction to the walls of Newcastle, where Harry Hotspur, driven before superior numbers, had taken shelter.

To the Newe Castell when they cam,
The Skottes they cryde on hyght,
Syr Harye Percy, and thow byste within,
Com to the fylde, and fyght.

Sir Harry Percy cam to the walles
The Skottyshe oste for to se;
'And thow haste brente Northomberland,
Full sore it rewyth me.

Yf thou hast haryed all Bambarowe shyre
Thow hast done me grete envye;
For the trespasse thow hast me done
The one of us schall dye.'

Where schall I byde the? sayd the Dowglas,
Or where wylte thow come to me?
'At Otterborne in the hygh way,
Ther maist thow well logeed be.'

Following the retreating Scots, Hotspur came on them in a grassy plain at Otterburn near midnight. Till daylight the fight raged. Douglas was struck down, mortally wounded. His men rallied and Hotspur, his brother, and other knights were led captive to Edinburgh. Of little moment in itself the Battle of Otterburn set the house of Douglas upon a pinnacle for general applause. Sir Walter Scott, over four centuries later, could still find a tear for the stanza that recalled James Douglas' death:

O bury me by the bracken bush
Beneath the blooming brier,
Let never living mortal ken
That e'er a kindly Scot lies here.

Otterburn lit the sunset of the first Stewart reign. Almost upon its second anniversary Robert II laid down his nervous, undistinguished sceptre. His character, as Wyntoun paints it, sets him strangely aloof from the circumstances of his time and from the dismal story of his house:

The king was wise and debonare,
And richt worthy of fair effeir,
Peceabill, and til his seruandis
Lufand, hamely of acquentance.
A tenderar hart mycht na man haf.

Robert III inherited his father's character and, like him, came past middle age to the throne. Of imposing stature,

though lamed by the kick of a horse, with long snow-white beard, the new king had the affection of his people but feebly ruled the storms that ruffled Court and land. The Stewart tragedy enveloped him, and his chosen epitaph—'the worst of kings and wretchedst of men'—is as to the latter part of it not inapt. He had received the name John, whose tragic associations in English, French and Scottish history prompted the substitution of Robert at his coronation, a name of good augury unfulfilled. Crippled by 'sickness of body' the king, even before his accession, stood somewhat in the background. His brother, Earl of Fife, acted as Lieutenant in the last months of their father's reign and continued in that capacity until 1399, when his nephew, the king's son David, displaced him. The rivalry of the two men disturbed the reign and developed to a tragedy.

Of Fife's Lieutenancy events proclaim its disturbed character. His brother Alexander, significantly called the 'Wolf of Badenoch,' having been censured for deserting his wife, with his bastard sons stirred strife in the northern Lowlands, where the burning of Elgin Cathedral (1390) stands to their discredit. Two years later they were brawling in Angus. The Highlanders also were troublesome and a singular scene, told in *The Fair Maid of Perth*, was enacted on the North Inch in 1396. Hither Clan Chattan and Clan Kay, at feud probably about lands in Lochaber, each sent thirty clansmen to decide their quarrel. They fought and twelve survived. Parliament in 1397 complained of 'herships, burnings, and slaughters commonly done through all the kingdom,' and a little later impeached the sovereign and his officers as responsible for the 'misgovernment of the realm and defect of keeping of the common law.' The motion aimed at Fife, whom a powerful party, which included the Queen and Grim Archibald, third Earl of Douglas, opposed. Their influence procured his downfall and his nephew David took his place as Lieutenant of the Realm (1399). From that moment, if not before, uncle and nephew were enemies.

Almost the last act of Fife before his fall procured the title Duke for himself and Prince David. The dignity was strange to Scotland: a desire to meet the English on equal terms perhaps suggested it. David took his title from the town of Rothesay. Fife received the designation Duke of Albany, sometime name of the kingdom north of Forth. It was proposed to elevate the house of Douglas to the same degree. But when the heralds called him 'Sir Duke, Sir Duke,' Grim Archibald quacked back at them, 'Sir drake, Sir drake,' contemning the honour.

'Sweet and virtuous, young and fair' is Wyntoun's character of Rothesay. Charming in person, the prince was dissolute, irresponsible, and soon gave Albany opportunity for revenge. His first act drove into the English camp one who had done yeoman service against the English in the late reign. Rothesay was betrothed to the daughter of the Earl of March. He now rejected her and in her stead married Mary Douglas, daughter of Grim Archibald. March, incensed, betook him to England where Richard II's recent murder had given the throne to Henry IV. The promise of help moved Henry to revive the claim to suzerainty, the more readily because the Scottish Court was harbouring a demented 'Mammet' whom the credulous asserted to be Richard II himself. In 1400, and for the last time in person, an English king led an army into Scotland. Douglas and Rothesay shut themselves in Edinburgh's impregnable Castle. Henry appeared before it, while Albany hung on his flanks on Calder Moor some fifteen miles distant, following the tactics which displeased the French when employed against Richard II fifteen years before. His depleted commissariat soon required Henry to withdraw from a fruitless adventure which plunged the two countries again into the provocations of a frontier war. In the renewed strife Rothesay had no part. In 1400 the deaths of his mother and Grim Archibald, his father-in-law, removed restraint upon his actions. With a few attendants he rode to St Andrews to seize the Castle of the vacant see. By

the king's orders, or with his permission, the young prince was arrested by Albany and Rothesay's brother-in-law, the new Earl of Douglas. He was conveyed to Falkland Tower, where, in 1402, he died. How far Albany is justly suspect cannot be resolved. The judgment of his generation declared the prince taken 'by divine Providence and from no other cause.'

Meanwhile renegade March was active on the Border and the new Douglas, Archibald 'the Tyneman,' the king's son-in-law, was already in the saddle. In company with Albany he was defeated by Percies and March at Nesbit Muir in the Merse (June, 1402). Three months later, with Albany's son Murdoch, he was over the Border in greater strength and with greater misfortune. At Homildon Hill, near Wooler, the English bowmen, intercepting their return march, wrought havoc among the Scots. Douglas, severely wounded, lost an eye and was made prisoner. Murdoch Stewart shared his fate. Otterburn was effaced: but the event had consequences. Douglas and his fellow prisoners, hurried to London, listened on their knees to Henry's reproaches. Murdoch Stewart was handed over to the royal grace. But the Percies refused to yield Douglas till their monetary claims on the Crown were discharged. Henry in anger ordered out his levies and Hotspur answered with rebellion. Douglas and other Scots were enticed into the plot and early in July 1403 Anglo-Scottish forces started from Northumberland to confront the king. A fortnight later they were overthrown at Shrewsbury. Hotspur was killed, and Douglas, wounded in the groin, fell at length into royal custody. Albany, who had summoned a great army to release Cocklaws Tower, near Yetholm, besieged by Percy's men as part of the illusory palatine earldom conferred by Henry after Homildon, dared not provoke Percy's victor and disbanded his army.

Douglas did not regain his liberty fully till 1408 and for the last years of Robert's reign Albany ruled unopposed. For the old king they were years of gathering gloom.

Rothesay's death was followed in 1403 by that of Robert's brother-in-law, Sir Malcolm Drummond, husband of the heiress of Mar. His slayer was the Wolf's natural son, who aggravated the crime by an enforced marriage of the widow with himself. Three years later a crowning tragedy bowed the king to his grave. Fearful lest the fate of Rothesay should meet his surviving son James, a boy of twelve, Robert sent the lad to France for safety and education in charge of the Earl of Orkney, Admiral of Scotland. Off Flamborough Head the ship was brought-to by privateers from the Norfolk port of Cley (March, 1406) who sent the prince to Henry, a valuable prize. The news killed his father. On April 4, 1406, he died.

Albany, almost a septuagenarian, but of vigour unabated, was appointed Regent and till his death, fourteen years later, ruled the absent James' kingdom in his own name. Three events give these years distinction, and two of them are eloquent of Scotland's cultural progress.

In Scotland as elsewhere the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were an age of corrupt morals and rampant secularism in the Church. David I's ill-judged generosity had done its work and the cause of true religion suffered most at the hands of those whose office charged them to advance it. The divided and worldly Papacy was itself the gravest scandal, against which Wykliffe in England and John Hus in distant Bohemia raised their voices. Their views were echoed in Scotland where, in 1407, James Resby, an English priest of Wykliffe's school, was burnt for alleged heresy. He challenged the Pope's claim to rule Christendom as the Vicar of Christ, and, adopting Wykliffe's doctrine of Grace, insisted on personal holiness as conditioning exercise of the Papal office. A quarter of a century later (1433) Paul Crawar, a Bohemian physician, met Resby's fate, asserting truths which simmered till the Reformation.

Of equal significance was the founding of St Andrews University. To this point Scottish students, denied opportunities at home, sought instruction outside the kingdom. In the rare intervals of peace Oxford and

Cambridge attracted them to its halls, one of which owed foundation to a Balliol. From the beginning of the fourteenth century that avenue to learning was closed. Opportunely the Franco-Scottish League beckoned to Paris and Orleans, whose famous Universities attracted Scottish students in great numbers. In 1326 a Scots College was founded at Paris which, restricted at first to students from Moray, threw open its gates to all Scotland. The enthusiasm of these pilgrims of learning suggested a home University, while the advantage of an educated clergy, able to confound the heretics, influenced the Church to provide one. Since 1411 Bishop Henry Wardlaw, in his College of St Mary at St Andrews, had afforded lectures. In 1413 a series of Bulls were obtained from Pope Benedict XIII, constituting a *Studium Generale* or University where instruction should be given in theology, canon and civil law, medicine, and the liberal arts. Forty years later (1456) a second College, St Salvator's, was established at St Andrews. Glasgow had already founded a University (1451) and Aberdeen possessed one before the end of the century (1494). As at St Andrews, the Church was the founder of both.

The third event uncovers the rough ground wherein these new processes of thought had precarious root. The Battle of Harlaw, rather than a belated expression of Celtic particularism, must be counted an incident in the uneasy relations of England and Scotland. Otherwise Albany's relations with his neighbour were little disturbed. Isolated enterprises, such as the recovery of Jedburgh (1409)—in English hands since 1346—and of Fast Castle (1410), and the reprisals these activities invited developed in 1416 or 1417 to an ambitious attempt by Albany and Douglas to recover Roxburgh and Berwick. It had little success and passed into history as the 'Foul Raid.' Harlaw revealed another English front on which Scotland might prove vulnerable. For a century and a half the Western Isles had been severed from Norway. But their allegiance to the Scottish crown was perfunctory,

and until the eve of Flodden the Lords of the Isles constantly threatened the stability of the realm. John of the Isles followed a tortuous course between Bruce and Balliol and was brought tardily to an oath of obedience. Donald, his son, flung down the gage at Harlaw. Alexander, his successor, challenging James I, was twice imprisoned as a rebel. John, last Lord of the Isles, suffered sentence of attainder. The record of their house ranks them with the Douglas, types of the disorderly baronial license of their day.

Donald of the Isles' quarrel was on a point of property. By the death (1402) of the Earl of Ross, the earldom devolved on his daughter Euphemia, whose mother was Albany's daughter. Euphemia, becoming a nun, was influenced to resign her dignity to her uncle John, Earl of Buchan, her mother's brother, Albany's son. The transaction was arbitrary and prejudiced the rights of Euphemia's legal heir, her aunt Mary, wife of Donald of the Isles. Donald asserted her interests and claimed the earldom. Upon Albany's refusal, Donald, like the renegade Earl of March, offered Henry IV his worthless 'peace, allegiance, and amity,' counting, vainly it proved, on English assistance.

Then haistylie he did command
That all his weir-men should convene,
Ilk ane well harnisit frae hand,
To meit and heir quhat he did mein:
He waxit wrath and vowit tein,
Sweirand he wald surpryse the North,
Subdew the Brugh of Aberdeen,
Mearns, Angus, and all Fyfe to Forth.
Then he a proclamation maid
All men to meet at Inverness,
Throw Murray land to maik a Raid,
Frae Arthursyre unto Spey-ness.
And further mair, he sent express
To schaw his collours and ensenzie
To all and sindry, mair and less,
Throchout the boundis of Boyn and Engie.

Marching southward, lured by promise of the plunder of Aberdeen, Donald's caterans were brought to a halt at Harlaw, a few miles from that city. The Wolf of Badenoch's son, so lately settled at Kildrummy as Earl of Mar, with a small force of Lowland gentry and burgesses stemmed the avalanche (1411):

To hinder this prowd enterprise,
The stout and michty Erle of Marr
With all his men in arms did ryse,
Even frae Curgarf to Craigyvar,
And down the syde of Don richt far,
Angus and Mearns did all convene
To fecht, or Donald cam sae nar
The Ryall Bruch of Aberdene.

And thus the martial Erle of Marr
Marcht with his men in richt array.
Befoir the enemie was aware,
His banner bauldly did display.
For well enewch they kend the way,
And all their semblance weil they saw,
Without all dangir, or delay,
Came haistily to the Harlaw.

The Armies met, the trumpet sounds,
The dandring drums alloud did touk,
Baith armies byding on the bounds,
Till ane of them the feild sould bruik.
Nae help was thairfor, nane wald jouk,
Ferss was the fecht on ilka syde,
And on the ground lay mony a bouk
Of them that thair did battill byd.

Thair was not sen King Keneths days
Sic strange intestine crewel stryf
In Scotland sene, as ilk man says,
Quhair mony liklie lost thair lyfe;
Quhilk maid divorce twene man and wyfe,
And mony childrene fatherless,
Quhilk in this realme has bene full ryfe;
Lord help these lands, our wrangs redress.

In July, on Saint James his Even,
That four and twenty dismall day,
Twelve hundred, ten score and eleven
Of yeirs sen Chryst, the suthe to say;
Men will remember as they may,
Quhen thus the veritie they knaw,
And mony a ane may murn for ay
The brim battil of the Harlaw.

Albany died in 1420, ruler in fact though not in name for fifty years. Circumstances placed him in high position, but his actions suggest his weakness. His policy was based on an understanding with Douglas, the Crown's most powerful vassal. Otherwise he lacked the means, even if he had the will, to restrain the turbulence which surged around him and to which the royal house contributed. The death of Rothesay places him under suspicion. His indifference to his nephew James' long exile increases it. The charges are not proven. But Albany stands patently condemned as one whose weak opportunism encouraged the feudal anarchy which spurred James I to the heroic policy that cost him his life. Murdoch Stewart, released from English captivity, took his father's place and held feeble rule for four years. In the course of them Henry V's death (1422) opened an avenue to James' freedom. Murdoch, who probably did not inherit his father's ambition, and the English Court also favoured the king's release. The Franco-Scottish victory at Baugé in 1421 urged an agreement with Scotland; a heavy ransom was not unwelcome to a needy treasury; and it was shrewdly judged that James would be too closely employed at home to prove troublesome abroad. Scotland agreed to pay £40,000, not as James' ransom, but for his 'costage' in England—it was never paid. 'Perpetual peace' was covenanted between the two realms and the recall of the numerous Scottish fighters in France was stipulated. The terms were concluded in the autumn of 1423. But James delayed his return to celebrate his marriage with Joan Beaufort, Henry's kinswoman. In April 1424 the young

sovereigns crossed the Border and took up their heavy task. 'Let God but grant me life,' said James, 'and there shall not be a spot in my kingdom where the key doth not keep the castle, and the furze-bush keep the cow, though I myself live the life of a dog in bringing it to pass.' He stated his policy and foresaw his end.

CHAPTER VIII

JAMES THE FIRST

An Italian visitor to Scotland in James I's reign found a sovereign *quadratus* and stout. The king's physique was fitted to support the activities of his rule. Succeeding two sovereigns of enfeebled health or maimed in body and of indifferent ability, James came to the throne at the age of thirty in splendid physical and mental vigour. Long captivity had not excluded exercise in every manly accomplishment. He was a good horseman, excelled at games, was tireless in martial discipline. Moreover he displayed gifts which give him honourable place in Scotland's roll of letters. During his imprisonment in England, or perhaps in later years, he wrote, in the school of Chaucer, *The Kingis Quair* [Book], telling in it the story of his love for the 'milk-white dove,' Lady Joan Beaufort, whom he spied from his prison tower:

> Now was there maid fast by the touris wall
> A gardyn faire, and in the corneris set
> Ane herbere grene, with wandis long and small
> Railit about, and so with treis set
> Was all the place, and hawthorn hegis knet,
> That lyf was non walking there forby
> That myght within scarse ony wight aspye.
>
> And therewith kest I doun myn eye ageyne,
> Quhare as I sawe, walking under the toure,
> Full secretly new cummyn hir to pleyne,
> The fairest or the freschest yonge floure
> That euer I sawe, me thoght, before that houre,
> For quhich sodayn abate, anon astert
> The blude of all my body to my hert.

The thirteen years' reign of this accomplished, though not scrupulous, sovereign pursued one absorbing task.

His daughter's unhappy marriage to the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI, sealed the tradition of the Ancient League. But Scotland no longer poured a stream of recruits into France to fight her quarrel with England on continental soil. With England also James kept truce, though his commitment to France forbade him to accept an offer of perpetual peace (1433) with restoration of Roxburgh and Berwick. Only an unchivalrous attempt to capture the destined Queen of France on her voyage to her husband roused James to action against the 'auld enemy.' Choosing an opportunity when he supposed England drained of fighting men to oppose Burgundy's siege of Calais, James invested Roxburgh (1436), but without success. Otherwise the clash of arms upon the Border was almost stilled.

James' resources, as his purpose, were bent unrelaxingly on taming the feudal baronage to his will. Their order bears an ill name, not undeserved wholly, in Scottish history. The War of Independence, and particularly the reign of David II, gave their class vast power to deflect the nation's development. Lavish grants of land, on a scale, in the case of the Douglas, that placed that family little below the sovereign, gave them resources with which to oppose alike the Crown, the wealthy and privileged Church, and democracy represented by the towns. Accident enlarged the opportunity their resources conferred. Neither Robert II nor Robert III possessed qualities justifying the unexpected accession of their house to the throne; both were overshadowed by the achievements of their formidable vassal, the Douglas; and also after the death of Robert III a singular fatality dogged their line. From the accession of James I to that of Charles I in 1625—a period of two hundred and one years—every sovereign entered upon his office as a minor. James I's widow was the first of a succession of Queen Mothers left to guard a juvenile king. Few countries have had greater cause to echo the Preacher's lament: 'Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child.'

The nobility took their advantage from the circumstance. Acting on the adage of a later century, 'If the king is a minor, we will be majors,' in no other country of Europe did their order obtain such prolonged opportunity to perpetuate the anarchy inherent in feudalism. Their addiction to private vendettas, their subordination of patriotic to class interests, and the contempt for royal authority which their resources permitted them to indulge, collectively constituted a menace to national welfare which the monarchy could not brook. James held it his mission to assert the Crown's majesty over these disorderly elements, and if he was little scrupulous in the discipline he employed, the disease called for drastic rather than conservative surgery.

James did not delay to declare his elected mission. Little more than a month after his return from exile he ordered the arrest of Murdoch Stewart's eldest son, Walter, on grounds that are obscure, though the destruction of Albany's line was already in James' mind. Along with Murdoch's son he seized his brother-in-law, Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, and Thomas Boyd, younger of Kilmarnock. For the moment Murdoch went unscathed and, representing the old line of Fife, placed James upon the throne at his coronation. Five days later (May 26, 1424) James met his first Parliament at Perth. Its surprising activities must be explored later. For the moment its subservience to James' anti-baronial policy is recorded. It gave the king power to summon his vassals to produce charters and justify possession of their properties. It forbade pursuit of private vendettas, so disturbing of the public peace, nor would allow noblemen to travel attended by bodies of armed retainers. It curtailed their depredations on the king's Customs and assured them to the Crown for its 'living.'

James' tireless activity blew like cold wind upon sleek quarters. Many of his lieges were uneasy and from his second Parliament, held at Perth in March, 1425, many held aloof. Already James had incarcerated the aged

Duncan, Earl of Lennox, Murdoch's father-in-law, along with Sir Robert Graham, younger son of Sir Patrick Graham of Dundaff. While Parliament was in session Murdoch himself and his younger son Alexander were seized, with Murdoch's wife. If their fate was ever in doubt Murdoch's son James More decided it. Descending on Dumbarton he gave the town to flames and slew the garrison, including the castellan, Sir John Stewart of Dundonald. Parliament reassembled in May after brief adjournment. In presence of the king and before an assize of his peers Walter Stewart was tried, condemned and executed in one day on the Heading Hill at Stirling. Murdoch, his son Alexander, and his father-in-law Lennox followed the same road.

The grounds which decreed the doom of the house of Albany are obscure. The indictment charged the condemned with 'roboria,' but the actual cause must be sought elsewhere. It was so clearly to the king's interest to attach powerful relatives to his service, that his conviction of their disloyalty must be assumed, though the forfeiture of large estates and consequent subordination of their vassals to himself was a consideration that weighed. Albany's fall, in either case, was the Nemesis of Rothesay's death and James' long imprisonment, and that perhaps is its true significance. Till the end of his reign James retained the Lennox earldom. In similar manner he dealt with three other fiefs. On the pretext that it was a male fee, he attached the earldom of Strathearn (1427) and sent the claimant Malise, son of the heiress, to England, a hostage for payment of the king's ransom, which James neither paid nor meant to pay. March was the next victim. Of unchallenged loyalty, he was the son of the renegade Earl of the late reign, whose possession of Dunbar, the key of the kingdom, made James concerned to prevent a repetition of the father's offence; the family was kin to the reigning house in England and had ever been aloof from Scotland. James imprisoned the young earl and forfeited his castle, while Parliament

declared his lands lapsed to the throne through his father's disloyalty (1434). The earldom was not revived. In the following year James' hand reached to Kildrummy on the death of Alexander, natural son of the Wolf of Badenoch, Earl of Mar and victor at Harlaw. Putting aside the rightful heir, James forfeited the earldom to the Crown (1435).

Meanwhile James carried his authority to a remoter locality. In the spring of 1427 he called a Parliament to Inverness and summoned to it Alexander, Lord of the Isles, son of Donald of Harlaw, who, with royal sanction, had taken the Earldom of Ross, the bone of contention in 1411. James, at one time fellow-prisoner with Owen Glendower, had seen England's dealings with Wales' boasted semi-sovereignty and resolved to dissipate Alexander's airs of independence. To prepare the assertion of his own authority James first paid the arrears due to Norway on the transaction of 1266, before summoning Alexander and some forty Highland chiefs to Inverness. They were seized, imprisoned, and the most formidable were tried summarily and executed. Alexander was spared. His grandmother was the first royal Stewart's daughter, and his spirit could not brook the outrage: in 1429 he was up in arms and Inverness, where James had humbled him, was laid in ruins. As he marched southward, turning by Lochaber to reach the Lowlands, the king fell on and dispersed his force. Abandoned by his Celts Alexander made submission at Holyrood and, presenting a naked sword, offered his almost bare body to the sovereign's mercy. He was warded in Tantallon, but obtained enlargement after brief imprisonment. His quarrel with the Stewart passed to his descendants.

Such strenuous acts of royalty could not fail to win enemies. But the tragedy which ended James' life was the first conspiracy which had no widespread basis. So far as it can be unravelled it was essentially dynastic, contrived by descendants of Robert II's marriage with his second wife, Euphemia Ross, of whom James' half-uncle,

Walter, Earl of Atholl, was head and representative as Robert II's son. From the first Stewart's marriage with his first wife, Elizabeth Mure, Robert III and James I descended. But the marriage, permitted by Papal dispensation, remained canonically unlawful on grounds of consanguinity, of the previous contraction of Elizabeth to another spouse, and of her irregular cohabitation with Robert before matrimony. On these grounds, it may be, Robert II's accession was challenged by Douglas in 1371: as late as the reign of Charles I doubts of the legitimacy of Elizabeth Mure's descendants vexed the sovereign.

By his acts James provoked the ambition of Euphemia Ross's descendant. Being yet childless, his almost complete elimination of the house of Albany necessarily encouraged the Ross interests represented by Atholl. But his hopes were dashed in 1430, when the king's son James was born after six years of matrimony. Atholl, the disappointed heir, was a septuagenarian whom James had treated with consideration, giving him the life-rent of the forfeited earldom of Strathearn as heir in tail male. The contrivers of the tragedy that ended James' career were Malise of Strathearn's uncle, Sir Robert Graham, whom James had imprisoned and released early in his reign, and Atholl's grandson, Sir Robert Stewart, whom James had taken into his household, probably with an eye to his succession to the throne should James leave no heir.

James cannot have been unaware of these hopes and disappointments. But his conduct shows him strangely incautious. It was the custom of the Court to quarter itself upon the wealthy religious houses, and for the winter of 1436 James planned to receive the hospitality of the Black Friars outside the walls of Perth, whose castle was in disrepair and to whose city Parliament had been summoned to receive a Papal Legate. Tradition asserts that a wise woman warned the king not to cross the Water of Leith from Edinburgh. James, unheeding, entered Perth, and till February 1437 all was well. But the conspirators were maturing their plans, and

Graham, in the Atholl highlands hard by, raised a force of three hundred caterans ready to strike at a word.

'Twas in the Charterhouse of Perth
That the King and all his Court
Were met, the Christmas Feast being done,
For solace and disport.

'Twas a wind-wild eve in February,
And against the window-pane
The branches smote like summoning hands,
And muttered the driving rain.

On the night of the tragedy (February 20, 1437) Sir Robert Stewart, on duty as the king's private Chamberlain, made ready for Graham's approach: the moat was bridged with planks, the locks of the doors were spoiled. Within, the king, before retiring, held conversation with the queen and her ladies. At a sudden sound of tumult without James sought to bar the door, found the great bolt withdrawn, and, raising a flag, or trap-door, dropped to a vault below the flooring which once communicated with the courtyard outside. Here the king was trapped. By his own orders the opening had been built up; his tennis balls were apt to be lost in it. Graham with others burst into a room empty of all but women, searched and rushed out to seek his quarry. Either at a sound from below, or on the prompting of a traitor, Graham returned, tore open the flooring and faced the king unarmed. James maintained an unequal fight, and fell, stabbed with sixteen wounds.

James' reign holds an important position in the constitutional development of the kingdom. Familiar by contact with the monarchy of Lancastrian England, he aimed to establish his rule on a similar foundation. To represent him as a constitutionalist by conviction is as little tenable as to picture him a tyrant violator of the liberties of his people. James would have approved the dictum of a later servant of his house: 'Princes are like to Heavenly Bodies, which cause good or evill times; And which have much Veneration, but no Rest.' His business

was to rule and to suffer no institution to bridle his power or constrain his will. The Scottish Parliament never exercised the authority which marked its English counterpart, nor was it James' purpose to confer it. His utmost wish was to establish his royal power on a foundation of popular consent, and the reform associated with his name was inspired by the will to strengthen in Parliament a section of the community which so far had been of little consequence there.

In principle the royal burghs took their place as recognized members of a feudal Parliament in Bruce's Parliament of 1326. County representation lagged by an interval of a century. The lairds and freeholders below baronial rank who held of the Crown possessed from an early period the right to attend the king's feudal Council. In fact they did so either perfunctorily or not at all, content to leave their interests in the keeping of the great nobles, with whom they were at one in all but rank and title. James purposed to correct this indifference and by placing the county lairds alongside the burgesses to give the Crown popular support against the feudal baronage. To that end, in March 1427 (1428), he secured an Act which released the small barons and freeholders from obligation to attend Parliament in person, provided that from each sheriffdom came two or more—Clackmannan and Kinross were limited to one—of their order competent to speak on their behalf. James failed to stir the indifference of the class to which he appealed. The Act remained inoperative, and more than a century ran before county representation was rescued from the chaos in which his order, grafted upon older practice, involved it.

The Act made an injunction which also must be attributed to James' English experience. It enjoined the representatives of the shires to elect a 'common Speaker of the Parliament,' charged to 'propone all and sundry needs and causes pertaining to the Commons in the Parliament or General Council.' The proposal aimed to simplify the machinery of shire representation, but either

did not commend itself or was suffered to lapse in the general disorganization which followed the Act of 1428.

James was more successful in other innovations. He set up the Court of Session by an Act (1426) which directed the Chancellor and other lords to sit thrice annually to undertake judicial work so far grappled with in an unsatisfactory manner by temporary Parliamentary Committees. By the steps he took to assert the authority of his legislative measures James also must be accounted the founder of Scottish Statute law. By various Acts he declared its superiority above other law, required it to be interpreted by the language it bore, and set the example of promulgating it in the vulgar tongue. He took measures to assure himself that his Acts were circulated among the judicial and executive officials commissioned to administer them, and required them to be proclaimed at the head town of every sheriffdom. With a view to separating laws in operation from those in desuetude, and to purge them of archaic principles, he set up a Commission to 'mend' them where amendment was necessary.

The busy activity of the king's mind is patent in the harvest of legislation which he secured from the frequent Parliaments of his reign. It covered the whole range of his people's interests and reveals his close observation of their needs. English experience prompted his attempt to improve their military organization. The arms and armour of all classes liable to attend military musters were precisely stated: wapenschaws were recommended: an obligation (little heeded) was laid on all men above twelve years to 'have usage of archery,' to which end archery practice-grounds were to be provided 'especially near paroche kirks.' In close context with this Act, the competing game of football was proscribed under penalty of fourpence to the superior of the land on which the offending game was played. James frowned on a tendency to dissipate leisure in profitless activity. His own outran the ability of an inadequate executive. The statutes of his reign provide a generous table of paternal solicitude.

He instructs on the sowing of peas and beans, prescribes penalties on those who fail to dislodge destructive rooks 'biggand in treis,' ordains a 'close time' and honest tackle for the taking of salmon, insists upon vigorous hunting of wolves and their whelps, and threatens poachers of orchards and slayers of red deer. He regulates the price of victual and the costume of his lieges, enjoins precautions against the outbreak of fires, orders an inquisition of idle men, regulates weights and measures, establishes a standard of the coinage, makes provision for the maintenance of hospitals, and requires ale and wine houses to be closed on the stroke of nine.

Towards the Church James was not less a reformer because he was zealous against heresy. His Parliament in 1425 passed a new law against heretics under which Paul Crawar, a Bohemian, was burnt eight years later. But otherwise he reflected the spirit of Wykliffe in his admonitions to the Church to employ in the interests of religion the wealth with which his predecessors had endowed it. He enjoined the Benedictine and Augustinian fraternities to put their houses in order and founded a Carthusian monastery at Perth—the only house of that rule in Scotland—to set an example. Towards the Papacy he maintained an attitude of independence, and involved himself in a dispute with it over his order to the Provincial Council to enact an ordinance modifying the procedure of the Church Courts, a measure derogatory to Papal authority and an invasion of the province of the Church. To the Council of Basel, which asserted the liberties of Christendom against Papal usurpation, James sent representatives (1431).

Romance and Tragedy, in jealous partnership, hovered over the Stewarts upon their stormy course. With James I their association began. His irksome exile in England, the romance of his marriage, his poetic vein, his tragic end, have touched his portrait in the gallery of his house. But his place in the procession of his line is otherwise founded. Probably he was rapacious, hasty and imprudent, intent

upon augmenting his high prerogative. At the same time, his innovations give him an abiding place in the constitutional development of his kingdom, while his legislation proclaims him paternal in his despotism. Bower's eulogy may be overstated, but there is nothing that corrects his closing epitaph:

Quem luget Scotia triste.

CHAPTER IX

THE FALL OF THE DOUGLAS

JAMES II lived to be popular, choleric, and a stout fighter: James Fiery Face men called him, from his scarred cheek. When his father died he was not seven years old. His English mother, with implacable spirit, hunted the dead king's assassins to their doom and, with her children, returned to Edinburgh. Scone not being safe ground, Holyrood for the first time witnessed a coronation. There James was crowned in March, 1437, and his reign, so charged with tragic incident, began.

The reign of the second James, memorable for an act of royal decision at a supreme crisis, opened hopelessly enough. While the queen, a foreigner, received the custody of her son, the Lieutenancy of the Realm was confided to Archibald, fifth Earl of Douglas, grandson of Robert III, kinsman of Sir Robert Graham, James I's assassin:

> Robert Graham
> Who slew our King,
> God give him shame!

The relationship holds ominous suggestiveness. But throughout the reign of James I the earl had played an inconspicuous part and his death in 1439 denied him opportunity to benefit by the new king's minority. The disturbers of the queen's trust were men of minor rank. Sir William Crichton had been in favour with James I, who knighted him, employed him on diplomatic missions, admitted him to his Privy Council, and gave him the Mastership of the Royal Household with the post of Keeper of Edinburgh Castle. In placing herself under his care after her husband's murder the queen was encouraged by his record of faithful service. But his ambition was not proof against the opportunity custody of the king's person afforded him. The queen soon suspected his in-

tention to isolate the king from other counsels, and her woman's wit outwitted him. Alleging her wish to visit the shrine of Our Lady at Whitekirk, in East Lothian, which involved passage on shipboard, she transferred herself and her son—concealed in bales of luggage, says Boece—to her jointure-house of Stirling Castle, another formidable strength, commanded by Sir Alexander Livingstone of Callendar. He too had served the late king, was one of the negotiators for his liberation in 1423, and a member of the Court which struck down the Regent Albany.

The queen's act opposed Livingstone to Crichton, and a meeting of Estates at Stirling in March, 1439, authorized him to arrest 'unlawful men holding castles under suspicion of raising rebellions.' The motion aimed at Crichton, and Livingstone attempted to execute it. He failed to capture Edinburgh Castle and, clearly acting in the queen's interests, resolved to win Crichton by advancing his ambition. An opportune vacancy allowed him to propose Crichton for the Chancellorship, while he himself retained custody of the royal family. The arrangement was not disturbed by the death (June, 1439) of the Earl of Douglas, in succession to whom no Lieutenant of the Realm was appointed. But the queen at this point introduced a new character into the situation and changed it to her disadvantage. Whether she was suspicious of Livingstone's partnership with Crichton, or was inclined by Douglas' death to seek a protector, she now took a second husband, Sir James Stewart, the 'Black Knight of Lorn.' Livingstone reasonably protested her act a breach of trust as the king's guardian, placed her in close confinement in Stirling Castle, arrested her husband and his brother, and for a period, says an authority, 'bollit [shut up] thame in pittis' (August, 1439). A few weeks later the queen was constrained by Parliament to surrender her guardianship and her son to Livingstone until his majority, along with a sum for his maintenance. On her renunciation she slips out of Scotland's story, though the sons of her second marriage played parts in it.

Livingstone's sole wardship of the king provoked Crichton. Under cover of night he ambushed the royal park of Stirling, kidnapped the young sovereign as he rode out next morning, and carried him back to Edinburgh Castle after long absence. He probably desired means to rivet Livingstone's fidelity to their partnership. A new bargain between them restored to Livingstone the young king's person and bound him to co-operate in an audacious blow at the house of Douglas.

William, sixth Earl of Douglas, a boy of fifteen in 1440, succeeded his father in 1439 and held his titles for eighteen months. Boece, whose animus against the Douglas matches Shakespeare's against the house of York, declares the lad arrogant, ambitious, and politically dangerous. The latter charge is incredible. The friendship of the young earl for the boy king hardly can have suggested his removal. Yet Crichton and Livingstone planned their crime either in the king's interests or their own. Douglas, next to Malise of Strathearn, still an exile in England for James I's unpaid ransom, inherited the claim to the throne which Atholl raised against the late king; his mother was Malise's sister, and he her heir. Robert III's eldest daughter was his grandmother; moreover he was grand-nephew of Sir Robert Graham, James I's assassin. Whether they anticipated impediment to their influence over the king, or feared Douglas as his rival, Crichton and his partner resolved upon the earl's death. In November 1440, James' residence in Edinburgh Castle was used to decoy the Douglas. He came to Court with his younger brother David. Boece tells the story, repeated by Sir Walter Scott, of the black bull's head served at dinner which told the unwary youths their fate. From the table they were hurried to a mock trial in the king's presence and thence to the scaffold:

> Edinburgh Castle, towne and toure,
> God grant thou sink for sinne!
> And that even for the black dinoir
> Erl Douglas gat therein.

The event, planned as an act of State, was the completer in its consequences owing to the concurrent death of the earl's brother David. Both were without issue. The vast Douglas heritage broke up, at least for a time. The entailed estates and earldom passed to the dead earl's grand-uncle, James the Gross. The duchy of Touraine in France, which the fourth earl received in 1424, being a male fief, reverted to the crown of France. For a similar reason the wide Lordship of Annandale reverted to James II. Galloway and the unentailed lands of the great inheritance fell to the dead earl's sister, Margaret, the Fair Maid of Galloway. Thus the house of Douglas was pruned but not eradicated. No sentence of forfeiture was passed, though a charge of treason alone could justify the taking-off of Scotland's most powerful earl. The fact breeds suspicion that James the Gross, who succeeded his grand-nephew, was in collusion with Crichton. Nor for the three years he held his title did he show resentment of a deed which dealt his house so sore a blow. That task awaited his son William, and had tragic conclusion.

William, eighth earl of Douglas, a youth of eighteen, who inherited a rifled patrimony in 1443, set himself to restore his house's position and to avenge its humiliation. The records are confused; but soon after his father's death William Douglas appeared at Court, engaged the favour of Livingstone, and probably of his ward the king, now thirteen years of age. A sign of royal favour was the earl's appointment as Lieutenant of the Realm. Its procuring was Livingstone's act and preluded a joint assault upon Crichton, an enterprise which motives of revenge recommended to the earl. For two years the country was distraught by the two factions. Crichton suffered sentence of outlawry, lost his estates, and was deprived of the Chancellorship. But secure in his stronghold on Edinburgh's rock he bided his opportunity. It came quickly. That Douglas played for larger stakes than the ruin of the Black Dinner's contriver is clearly perceived. In 1444 Papal dispensation permitted him to marry his

cousin, the Fair Maid of Galloway, who, still a child, brought with her as dowry Galloway and other lands divorced from the earldom by the tragedy of 1440. At about the same period, and of more menacing import, he made a 'band' with the Earl of Crawford, the most formidable noble north of the Forth, who represented the interests and wrongs of the fallen house of March. Clearly Douglas sought his alliance for the humiliation or overthrow of the house of Stewart. His sinister purpose was apparent to Bishop James Kennedy, of St Andrews, the king's cousin, whom Douglas and Livingstone had put in Crichton's place as Chancellor. He countered the 'band' by a reconciliation with Crichton. At once Crawford, instigated by Douglas, harried Kennedy's diocese (1445). Kennedy, retaliating, 'continyually a year cursit solempnitlie' Crawford and his crew with staff, book, and candle, and made a close compact with Crichton, to whom he restored the Chancellorship. Douglas meanwhile apparently strengthened himself by an alliance with John of the Isles, Earl of Ross, a union cemented by the chieftain's marriage with Livingstone's daughter.

By the summer of 1445 the two factions had tested each other's resources and rested in uneasy equilibrium. Opportunely Douglas' activities were deflected to another quarter. A truce of nine years had been arranged with England in 1438, soon after James' accession. Upon its expiry the Borders woke to martial activity. In the spring of 1448 the Percies were over the frontier and Dunbar and Dumfries in flames. Douglas and his brothers retaliated on Alnwick and Warkworth, another Percy strength, and in 1449 Hugh Douglas of Ormond won a notable fight on the banks of the Sark, near Gretna. Three months before the Sark victory, James' marriage (1449) to Philip of Burgundy's niece, Mary of Gueldres, at length brought the king upon the stage. He was near twenty years of age and, in his cousin Kennedy, had at his elbow a statesman sincerely loyal and concerned to maintain the Crown against baronial leagues. The house of Douglas,

recovered from the catastrophe of 1440, had in large measure reunited its estates by the Earl's marriage. Its menace was greater than before through 'bands' with Crawford and Ross: its prestige, after an interval of inactivity, had been restored by prowess on the Border. In August 1450 the Earl disappeared from public life: for nearly a year he was absent on a stately mission to Rome to celebrate, with embassies from other countries, the Papal Jubilee. The moment was auspicious to test the resources of Douglas and Stewart. James, who lacked the accomplishments of his father and sisters, was endowed with qualities which the crisis demanded. The life of camps was agreeable to him, he mixed freely and without ceremony with his men, and was inured to a life which stimulated vigour of mind and body.

His first blow fell in 1450, before Douglas' departure upon his mission. At the first Parliament of his majority James denounced Livingstone and his sons upon a charge of treason. Livingstone escaped: his sons went forthwith to the block. It is to be supposed that the Livingstones' ruin was urged by Kennedy to break their agreement with Douglas. But the allegation of treason is not substantiated. Livingstone's conduct throughout the reign is consistent with an intention to use the situation of the moment to advantage his royal ward. Douglas raised no finger to protect him and accepted a portion of his forfeited properties. After the Earl's departure James more clearly exposed his purpose. Actual or alleged disorder upon Douglas' territory was used to justify an assertion of royal authority. Several Douglas strongholds were captured and oaths of fealty to the sovereign were exacted. By April 1451 the Earl was back in Scotland and, from the numerous charters granted him in connection with a fresh entail of his immense estates, he would appear to have regained the royal favour. He was appointed to treat for a prolongation of the truce with England, and received from England safe-conducts for himself and his brothers. Douglas does not seem to have

taken advantage of them. His brother and successor made so long a stay at the English Court as to rouse suspicion of his loyalty. Allegations of Douglas' defiant demeanour—for instance, his alleged murder of MacLellan of Bombie against James' orders—are equally unsupported by credible evidence. But the absence of proof does not establish innocence: the imminent tragedy was not rooted in deeds but in suspicion of one whose menacing authority below the Forth, a region the most disciplined and accustomed to arms in all Scotland, encouraged imperfect allegiance to his sovereign. If Scotland was to survive as an ordered State there was not room for both Stewart and Douglas in her polity.

In the summer of 1451, says an almost contemporary writer, Douglas and his sovereign seemed on the best of terms 'and all good Scots were right blythe of that accordance.' The King kept Christmas at Stirling, and when the season of festival was passed summoned Douglas as his guest. The Earl presented himself in February 1452, either unsuspicious or contemptuous of danger, bearing a safe-conduct which bore the king's seal. His retinue found quarters in the town: Douglas was housed in the Castle with the king. On the morrow, at James' invitation, the Earl supped with him. Afterwards, withdrawing to an inner room, king and guest conversed. The topic of the Crawford-Ross 'bands' was broached. Both men, it is assumed, had drunk deeply. James demanded the quashing of the 'bands' and perhaps pleaded their inconsistence with the kingdom's well-being. Douglas answered, 'he might not, nor would not.' At the word the king's choler mastered him. Unsheathing his dagger he threw himself on his guest: 'False traitor, since you will not, this shall,' and dirked him in the neck and 'down in the body.' Attendants pressed in and stabbed the dying man: one with a pole-axe struck out his brains. His body was flung from the window to the court below and had hasty burial in the grounds of the Dominicans. That the king's act was unpremeditated appears from the absence of measures to

deal with its certain consequences. Nearly a month after the crime the new Earl, at the head of a powerful retinue, appeared at Stirling and made open defiance (March, 1452). The Castle was unassailable: but in the town below to the sound of horns he denounced James as a perjured covenant-breaker and with ignominy paraded the violated safe-conduct through miry streets, tied to the tail of a sorry horse, uttering 'uncouth and slanderous words' the while.

The moment was arrived to settle conclusively whether the house of Stewart or that of Douglas was master of Scotland. Crawford raised his banner in the north. Douglas, active in the south, made treasonable overtures to England, renouncing his allegiance to the King of Scots, and offering homage. Early in June 1452 Parliament assembled at Edinburgh to face the crisis, Douglas showing his contempt for its deliberations by exhibiting a letter of defiance and abuse at its place of meeting. The Estates exonerated James as having done justice upon a proved traitor. Crawford was attainted, and a powerful army was summoned to Pentland Muir to take the field. Lavish grants of forfeited property and fear of Douglas' superiority drew to the king a formidable following, of whose number the most distinguished was the Earl of Angus, whose fortunes were built upon the ruin of his kinsman: of him it was said that 'Red Douglas put down the Black.' Before the end of August 1452 Douglas and his brothers made unconditional surrender, agreed to revoke any 'bands' prejudicing their loyalty to the Crown, and abjured all plans of vengeance upon the dead earl's slayer. Crawford yielded to the vigour of the king's lieutenant, the first Earl of Huntly, Crichton's son-in-law, and made his submission, bareheaded and barefooted, at the king's feet.

As a mark of reconciliation Douglas was permitted to marry his brother's widow, the Fair Maid of Galloway, and so regained that province (February 1453). Immediately thereafter James appointed him a commissioner to England to negotiate a truce. Douglas used his opportunity

to procure release of Malise of Strathearn, who for twenty-five years had languished, an exiled hostage, for James I's unpaid ransom. Kinship and charity may have prompted the service. But Douglas cannot have been indifferent to Malise's pretensions and his bitter hatred of the Stewart. The records are vague and confused. Douglas' disloyal relations with England are probable and the menacing demeanour of Macdonald of Ross may be connected with the earl's intrigues. Whether on his own initiative or the advice of his Council, James resolved to complete the ruin of his vassal. In March 1455 he took the field, seized the Douglas' fortress of Inveravon, near Linlithgow, and pushed on to Glasgow. Thence, joined by Highland and West Country levies, Angus led the van. Douglasdale, Avondale, and other Douglas lands were wasted and James sat down before Abercorn Castle. Douglas failed to relieve it and fled across the border. At Arkinholm (Langholm) his brothers were defeated in May: only the youngest of the three escaped and joined the earl in England. Deserted by their leaders, the last stand of the Douglases was made at Threave Castle, the strongest in Galloway, built by Grim Archibald on an island in the Dee. Douglas had made nominal surrender of it to Henry VI of England and for it received an annual pension of £500. Mons Meg, the king's 'great bombard,' at length reduced the fortress and crowned James' triumph. In June Parliament attainted the earl and his surviving brother. A second Parliament annexed great tracts of Douglas property to the Crown, including Ettrick Forest and Galloway, declared the Wardenship of the March no longer hereditary, and forbade as treasonable communication with or assistance to the exiled earl. He remained in England, emerging once or twice in futile efforts to trouble Scotland. In 1484 he was made prisoner while raiding Annandale. His life was spared and he is said to have entered the monastery of Lindores. 'He that cannot do better must become a monk,' was his excuse. He died in 1488 and the greatness of the house of Douglas died with him.

Mr Lang's commentary is sound: 'The pensioner of England, however brave personally, was of a wavering resolution. He did not avenge his brother's death except by vapouring; he was constant to no policy, though for thirty years an enemy of his country; and he was absent from the final struggles of his house. That house really seems to have sinned more by lawless arrogance, and by inchoate designs of treason, than on any settled plan of ambition. It had no grounds of claim to the royal succession, and was strong mainly in wealth and the prestige of the fighting heroes of old, and, indeed, of the victory on the Sark. Its measure of popularity was due to the friend of Bruce, to the warrior of Otterburn, and to the fatality which dogged their descendants.'

James hastened to apply the lesson of his complete but arduous victory. That a single subject should have defied his sovereign so long was due largely to the relative poverty of the Crown. The attainder of the Douglas forfeited to the sovereign a vast tract of property: in the remaining years of James' reign more lordships were given away by the king to dependable vassals than in any other period of equal duration. Parliament took the opportunity (August 1455) to attach inalienably to the Crown certain lordships and estates which the public safety required not to pass into the hands of subjects. Most important of them were Ettrick Forest and the Lordship of Galloway, spoils of the Douglas; the Castle of Edinburgh, with the royal domains in Lothian; Stirling Castle, with the neighbouring Crown lands; Dumbarton Castle; the Earldom of Fife, with Falkland Palace; the Earldom of Strathearn; the Lordship of Brechin; the Castles and Lordships of Inverness and Urquhart; and Red Castle, with the lordships in Ross pertaining to it. James I had laid hands freely on his vassals' properties. James II far exceeded his father's appropriations. Together they succeeded in removing the Crown from the menace which the comparative poverty of the Stewarts had invited.

James ruled for five years after suppressing the Douglas.

Their interest is chiefly in his relations with England, though the legislation of his reign proves him interested in the welfare of his people, and the foundation of the University of Glasgow in 1451 shows that cultural progress was not stayed by civil war. James' policy towards England was guided by his relationship to the house of Lancaster and by the treasonable intrigues of Douglas with the house of York. Hence, the Duke of York's victory at St Alban's in 1455 and his consequent Regency called James to action. Rumour that Berwick was ill-guarded invited him to surprise the Castle. Baffled there, James entered England in 1456, vainly urging France to common action with him against Yorkist usurpation. Before the end of the year York's influence was at an end and Henry VI recovered brief authority. James therefore invited an understanding: a truce was concluded in 1457 to last until the end of July 1459. York's reconciliation with Henry in March 1458 broke the agreement. A strong force entered Annandale in the interests of exiled Douglas, a menace to the realm intensified by York's victory at Northampton in July 1460, and the subsequent agreement which established him as heir to Henry's crown. Without professing himself the ally of either English faction, James saw an opportunity to succeed where his father failed, and to secure Roxburgh Castle, the last fragment, excepting Berwick, of Edward III's Scottish conquests. The defence was obstinate, though James was equipped with the new artillery which already was transforming the art of war and the political systems of Europe. While watching one of these hooped monsters, 'mair curious than became the majestie of ane king,' the piece burst, a fragment broke James' thigh-bone and killed him on the spot (August 3, 1460). Roxburgh fell, but at this heavy price.

James died in his thirtieth year and had been king for twenty-four. His dirking of Douglas is matched by Bruce's murder of Red Comyn. Both crimes declare the standards of an unruly age. Both promoted the interests of the

kingdom at large. Scotland's future depended upon the supremacy of the monarchy. Nothing else could tame feudal turbulence or create an ordered polity out of jarring elements. After a distracted minority James died master in his own house. Something he owed to Kennedy's sagacity, most to his own character.

CHAPTER X

JAMES THE THIRD

THE vigour and practical resource of the first two Jameses failed to descend to the third. He is the first of Scottish kings whose lineaments are familiar to us in authentic pictorial art, a fact which connects him with the early Renaissance, to whose spirit he was more attuned than to kingship's sterner trade. Lyndsay of Pitscottie brings him before us in vivid contrast to his brothers, Albany and Mar, beside whom he stands much as Shakespeare's Richard II to his rival Bolingbroke, a man of halting purpose, rudderless course, unpractical, subsisting on his senses and emotions, deficient in virility, forcefulness of character, and purpose. 'The king,' writes Pitscottie, 'was ane man that loved solitariness, and desired never to heir of weiris nor the fame thairof, bot delytit mair in musik and polliecie of building nor he did in the goverment of his realme; for he was wondrous covetous in conquissing of money'—references to his 'black box' are frequent—'rather than the heartis of his barrouns; for he delyttit mair in singing and playing upoun instrumentis nor he did in defence of the bordouris or the ministratioun of justice, the quhilk at length caussit him to ruine.' He chose his friends from unroyal company: William Scheves, astrologer and physician, whom he placed in the metropolitan seat of St Andrews; Robert Cochrane, architect, builder of the Great Hall of Stirling Castle, to whom he gave the Earldom of Mar, to the scandal of an indignant baronage; William Roger, master of his double choir of singing men and players who daily served the royal chapel; James Hommyle, his tailor; one Torphichen, a master of fence; and others more agreeable to his unmilitary soul than those whom birth

and place offered him as advisers and companions. His reign is a record of failure. Succeeding to great position, he sacrificed it, permitted the Crown to become again the sport of contending factions, and schism in collusion with unfriendly England to gain lodgment within the royal house itself. The successes of his reign were not of his fashioning, and though he be cleared of crimes alleged against him, to his impotence and feeble king-craft the disordered kingdom he handed on to his son in 1488 bears witness.

The first five years of the new reign afforded no warning of the troubles to come. James, a lad of ten years, hastened with his Flemish mother to the army at the news of his father's sudden death, rallied its discouragement, and was rewarded by the fall of Roxburgh, an event of good augury for the future. Meanwhile the king was hastily crowned in Kelso Abbey and, in February 1461, met his first Parliament at Edinburgh. Their close association with the late king marked out Bishop Kennedy or the Earl of Angus for the Regentship. But the Queen-Mother, a woman of character, had the stronger following. To her the king's charge was committed, while the Castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and other strengths were entrusted to her partisans. Until the end of 1463 Mary of Gueldres ruled in her son's name: had she survived, the history of his reign would have followed another course.

Upon Scotland's horizon at the moment of James III's accession the most looming question was her relations with England, where, in March 1461, the Yorkist rebellion triumphed on the accession of Edward IV. Opposed by such another rival in his own kingdom, and himself related to the Beauforts, James II's support had inclined to the Lancastrian Henry VI. He was in some degree engaged in that interest upon the enterprise which caused his death. Kennedy and Angus shared his view of Scotland's fitting policy, seeing in the more vigorous rule of a Yorkist king, and his comforting of the exiled house of Douglas, menace to the kingdom's security. Edward IV,

king of a faction, was concerned to prevent Scotland's might from turning the scale against him: the arrival of the Yorkists synchronises significantly with the appearance in the English archives of a series of forged documents designed to support a renewal of English claims to superiority. Hence, Scottish diplomacy inclined to Lancaster, nor was diverted by the disasters which befell the Red Rose in 1460. In January 1461 Margaret of Anjou, Henry VI's determined queen, spurning his acceptance of York as heir, to her son's disinheriting, visited Scotland to seek alliance. For ten days she and her son Prince Edward were entertained at Lincluden College, though a proposal of marriage between James III's sister Mary and young Edward of Lancaster was not accepted. For Mary of Gueldres was shortly won to the Yorkist cause through the intervention of her uncle, the Duke of Burgundy, acting in Edward IV's behalf. Kennedy, true to the traditions of his late sovereign, continued to urge an understanding with Lancaster. But throughout 1461–63 Scottish counsels were divided, and Kennedy, on his own statement, went in danger of assassination at the hands of York's partisans.

By April 1461 Margaret, Henry VI with her, was again in Scotland, fugitives from the Lancastrian rout at Towton. Their plight being desperate, they offered a princely gift for hospitality. With intervals Berwick had been in England's hands since Edward I captured the town in 1296. On April 25, 1461, it was restored to Scotland and invited some recompense to its donors. In the following summer a large force entered England and gave siege to Carlisle without result. But at any moment a serious attack might be delivered from Scotland, where Henry and his queen continued to enjoy shelter. Edward IV therefore stirred up those unruly forces which could be employed to divert the Regency's activities. Two strings were at his hand for the pulling. Immediately upon the appearance of the Scots before Carlisle, Douglas was dispatched, along with his brother John of Balvany,

on a mission to John of the Isles, whom James II had reduced to his lawful fealty, but whom the country's preoccupations tempted to mischievous activity. The result of Douglas' mission was an astonishing treaty signed at Westminster in February 1462. It covenanted that John of the Isles should become vassal of Edward IV and his heirs, his ally in his wars in Scotland or Ireland; if successful he should hold the entire country north of the Scots Water (Firth of Forth) by homage and fealty to England; Douglas, in like manner, if he gave proper aid, should be reinstated in his possessions as Edward's vassal. Meanwhile the Lord Paramount promised liberal pensions 'for fees and wages.'

While thus sowing trouble for the Scottish government Edward was also in communication with Mary of Guelders, who led a Yorkist party among the younger nobles. Margaret's departure (April 1462) to France to solicit Louis XI's aid gave Mary opportunity to declare her preference, though Henry VI was still her guest and the country in the main Lancastrian in sympathy. Mary met Edward's envoy at Carlisle, but Kennedy's influence prevented the assembling of a Parliament summoned to confirm their negotiations. Edward was thrown back upon Douglas and John of the Isles; pressing need for action arising through the return of Henry's indefatigable Margaret in the summer of 1462 and her successes in Northumberland. Angus led a Scottish force to her assistance, but with little good fortune. John of the Isles came out and Douglas harried the Marches, in preparation, it was supposed, for Edward's army of invasion. Before the end of the year Margaret and her son were again in flight, and Kennedy, who had been entertaining Henry at St Andrews, was fain to turn him adrift. The defeat and execution of Douglas' brother Balvany did little to balance the collapse of the Lancastrian cause. Louis XI was equally impressed by the futility of further assistance. In the autumn of 1463 he made truce with England, the first for fourteen years. Its conclusion greatly

disturbed Kennedy and disposed him to make terms with the victorious Yorkists. Late in 1463 he received a safe-conduct to treat for peace in England, and secured a truce, to last till October 31, 1464, which was soon prolonged by agreement for fifteen years.

First of Scotland's three Catholic churchmen, Bishop Kennedy, 'wondrous godlie and wyse, weil leirned in devine syences,' died in July 1465. The Queen Mother was already dead, and James, in his fourteenth year, held unguided his uncongenial office. Within a twelvemonth he was prisoner of an aspiring family whose fall was as sudden as its rise. The chief actors in this rapid drama were Robert Lord Boyd and his brother Sir Alexander Boyd. Their family owned the estate of Kilmarnock and, though not of high distinction, had an honourable record of national service. Sir Alexander was the king's instructor in knightly exercises and held Crichton's former post as Governor of Edinburgh Castle. The position, and his knowledge of the king's character, tempted him to repeat Crichton's career. Accomplices were found in the dead bishop's brother, Gilbert Lord Kennedy, Robert Lord Fleming, and others. In February 1466 the customary 'band' proposed the king's detention by Boyd and Kennedy, who pledged themselves to secure for Fleming 'any large thing' conveniently falling to the Crown. On July 10, 1466, the conspirators played their stroke. On pretext of escorting him to a hunting party, James was carried to Edinburgh Castle from Linlithgow. Three months later (October) he was influenced to declare in Parliament his assent to the proceeding, whereupon the Estates appointed Lord Boyd sole Governor of the Realm, keeper of the king and his two brothers, and custodian of the royal fortresses. Soon also he was constituted Lord Chamberlain for life. That he was acting in the interest of the Yorkist dynasty in England is probable; he seems to have been a pensioner of Edward IV and sheltered in England after his fall. But his chief object was to exploit an opportunity to enrich his family. His son Thomas was

singled out for special distinction, received the title Earl of Arran with the island and lands in several counties, and in the same year (1467) married James' sister Mary.

However selfishly inspired, Boyd's not undistinguished rule promoted an event of first-rate import to the Scottish realm. Even before the death of James II, Christian I, King of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, complained of Scotland's failure to pay the 'annual' due for the Western Isles, considerable arrears having accumulated since 1426. An appeal to the French king's mediation received his suggestion of a marriage between Christian's daughter and the King of Scots. Immediately after the Boyds' *coup d'état* the proposal was considered, and in 1468 an embassy, headed by the Earl of Arran, was dispatched to Christian. Before the end of the year an agreement extremely valuable to Scotland was arrived at. James' proposal for Margaret of Norway was accepted. Of her jointure, 10,000 florins were to accompany her to Scotland. For the balance (50,000 florins) the Orkney Isles were pledged, and full discharge was given for arrears and future payment of the 'annual' for the Western Isles. In fact the princess brought only 2000 of the promised 10,000 florins. Her father therefore pledged the Shetlands too. Neither Orkneys nor Shetlands were ever redeemed and in 1472 both were annexed to the Scottish crown.

Escorting the child bride from Norway, Arran returned to Scotland in July 1469 to discover a situation changed to his disadvantage. The royal marriage took place forthwith at Holyrood. But the star of the Boyds had set. The cause of their fall was jealousy, particularly over Arran's presumptuous alliance with royalty. Warned by his wife he returned to Denmark without landing in Scotland. His father and uncle, impeached of treason, were sentenced to forfeiture and death. Sir Alexander went to the block. Lord Boyd survived in England despite James' remonstrances. Arran passed a roving life upon the Continent until his death. His wife, compelled by James to desert his fallen fortunes, gave her hand to

the first Lord Hamilton, to whom she took the Arran title. From the union sprang the powerful houses of Lennox and Hamilton, whose near relationship to the Crown constituted a fact of moment in the political intrigues of a later time.

James' happy acquisition of Berwick, Roxburgh, Orkney, and Shetland was followed in 1474 by an advantageous treaty with England which proposed marriage between James' infant son, afterwards James IV, and Edward IV's youngest daughter, both of whom, in fact, made other matches. Meanwhile the beneficent truce was strengthened. Its continuance reacted to the disadvantage of John of the Isles, who, in 1476, his traitorous treaty with Edward being known, made abject submission. The Earldom of Ross was permanently attached to the Crown, whose already large domains were augmented by its forfeiture. But within the royal house dissension was growing to a head. It burst in 1479, a climax which coincided, significantly, with straining relations between England and Scotland. James III, now in his twenty-eighth year, was father of three sons, and upon uneasy terms with his brothers, Alexander, Duke of Albany, and John, Earl of Mar. Pitscottie has written their characters with an eye upon James' deficiencies. Albany 'was werie wyse and manlie and lovit nothing so weill as abill men and goode horse, and maid gret coste and expenssis thairon; for he was wondrous liberall in all thingis pertening to his honour, and for his singular wisdom and manheid he was estemed in all contrieis above his brother the Kingis grace. For this Alexander was ane man of mide statur, braid scholdeart, and weill proportionat in all his memberis, and in spetiall in his face, that is to say, braid faceit, raid nossit, great eyit, and [with a] werie awfull contenance quhen he pleissit to schew himself unto onfriendis.' John of Mar was of the same build and character, 'fair and lustie, ane man of high statur, fair and plessant faceit, gentill in all his haweingis and maneris and knew na thing bot nobilietie. He ussit mekill

huntting and halking with uther gentill men pastyme, as archorie and uther knychtlie games, as the intertening of great horse and meiris [mares], quhairby thair ofspring might florisch so that he might be stakit [supplied] in tyme of weiris with the samin.'

In tastes and temperament James stood apart from his brothers. But the differences that made them enemies must be accounted to other causes. James' unkingly occupations gained him the contempt of his lords, and stirred the ambitions of Albany. His minions, rightly holding their master's favour the object of his brothers' anger, insinuated suspicion of them in his mind and, appealing to the credulity of the age, hinted sorcery and enchantment as weapons they would not scruple to employ. James was taught to regard Albany as Edward IV held 'false, fleeting, perjured Clarence.' Albany's actions support the suspicion, nor is there doubt that, before the king's stroke fell, he was in collusion with Edward IV through Douglas. The English king, having recently made (1475) the inglorious but profitable Treaty of Picquigny with Louis XI, held the opportunity favourable to assert the old claim to suzerainty over Scotland and recover Berwick. With Douglas in his hands, and Albany prepared to barter homage for armed assistance, the prospect held encouragement. Inert by nature, James was capable of sudden, passionate effort. In 1479 Albany, who held the Earldom of March, was lodged in Edinburgh Castle on a charge of treasonably mishandling that responsible office. Mar, at about the same time, was thrown into Craigmillar Castle. There he died suddenly, murdered said some, dead from the bleeding of a natural wound insufficiently staunched, said others. Albany broke prison and escaped over-sea to France, where Louis XI received him well but offered no help and vainly recommended reconciliation with James. Edward was more encouraging. In the spring of 1480, the Scots, anticipating his unfriendliness, resumed Border warfare and Archibald 'Bell-the-Cat,' Earl of Angus, set fire to Bamborough. Next year

an English fleet retaliated on the coasts of Lothian and Fife. James, again acting with decision, made preparations for war and was only stayed from leading a great army into England by Papal remonstrance, which urged Christian princes to combine against the Turk now lodged in Europe.

By 1482, therefore, England and Scotland were on the precipice of war through Edward's revival of the old Plantagenet ambition. Albany was summoned from Paris, and at Fotheringay, in June 1482, styling himself 'Alexander of Scotland by the gift of the King of England,' made a treaty with Edward which exposes his ambition and disloyalty. He bound himself within six months of his conquest of Scotland to do homage and all that Edward Balliol had done, to surrender Berwick, Lochmaben, Eskdale, and Annandale, and to marry Edward's daughter Cecilia, a girl of thirteen. A week later he joined Edward's brother Gloucester (Richard III) at York, and on July 15 marched with a force of 10,000 to give siege to Berwick. Meanwhile the Scottish Estates summoned forces against 'the robber Edward, calling himself King of England.' But the crisis brought to a head the barons' quarrel with the king. James, ill-advised, was accompanied to the army by the whole band of unpopular favourites to whose ill-counselling the present pass and estrangement of Albany were attributed. At Lauder, where the army encamped, Archibald 'Bell-the-Cat'—he promised to play the game of cat and mice with James' minions—and others let the king understand that only on condition he dismissed his favourites and recalled the debased copper coinage or 'black silver' in circulation would they follow him farther. James proudly refused. The lords then broke into the king's quarters, seized his favourites, hanged them over Lauder Bridge, and incarcerated James in Edinburgh Castle. Opposition to Gloucester and Albany collapsed. The town of Berwick fell, and early in August the dukes entered Edinburgh in triumph. The Church intervened to make an accommodation between James and his brothers. On condition of owning allegiance Albany

was restored to his estates and offices. Gloucester withdrew, and upon his return march mastered the Castle, as already he possessed the town of Berwick, which passed finally from Scotland's possession (1482).

Albany's partnership with 'Bell-the-Cat' and his colleagues was only a step towards a farther goal—control of the king's person and the re-enacting of the tragedy of York and Lancaster, himself as Edward IV. Before the end of 1482 Albany was master of the situation. With the help of the Edinburgh citizens, who received their 'Golden Charter' for the service, James was released from the Castle, and coming forth, says Pitscottie, 'lape on his haiknay to ryde doun to the Abbay; bot he wald not ryde fordwart quhill [until] the Duik of Albanie his brother lap on behind him on the horse, and sua they went doune the gait to the Abbay of Hallierudhouse.' To outward seeming the brothers were reconciled, and even shared the same bed. Albany's ascendancy was confirmed in Parliament, which (December 1482) appointed him Lieutenant of the Realm and added the Earldom of Mar and Garioch to his restored honours. But Albany was still pledged to Edward IV to fulfil the Fotheringay contract. In January 1483 his agents were at the English Court, where, on February 11, that compact was repeated. Albany's conduct was utterly worthless. History has dealt with him with excessive magnanimity; even Sir Walter Scott but mildly chides his 'fickleness.' James at least was conscious of his brother's perfidy. In March 1483 Albany was prohibited from coming within six miles of the king's presence, demitted his office as Lieutenant, acknowledged his treasonable relations with Edward, and undertook to break with his confederates in that plot. His uncles, Atholl and Buchan, sons of Joan Beaufort's second marriage with the Knight of Lorn, were implicated and shared his disgrace. Edward IV's death a few weeks later (April 9) removed his main prop, and in July Parliament visited his treasons upon his head. He was attainted in absence, being already in flight across the Border. A year later (1484) he threw his last stake with exiled Douglas,

arcades ambo. Dispersed at Lochmaben, their small force scattered. Douglas ended his days in the Abbey of Lindores, as has been told. Albany, following Arran to the Continent, was killed by the splinter from a lance at a tournament a year later (1485).

The accession of Henry VII to the throne of England in 1485 brought James' relations with his neighbour into smooth water. He had freed himself from Arran, Douglas, and Albany, achievements which prove his father's and grandfather's blood to have been in his veins. He was a young man still and the future beckoned with promise. But the prospect was delusive. The spirit of the Boyds, of Albany, infected their peers and within three years of James' triumph his death swelled the tale of Stewart tragedy. The grounds of the revolt which compassed his death are obscured by the allegations of his enemies. So far as can be unravelled, James' favour of 'abandoned wretches,' men 'of the lowest description,' 'sycophants and cowards,' so are they described, remained a grievance. His employment of ecclesiastics, a characteristic of his reign, the favour he showed them, the influence he permitted them, contributed to the breach between Church and baronage which declared itself in the Reformation. There were abettors of the Boyds and Albany at large who had reason to fear the king's vengeance. In the autumn of 1487 hints of an amnesty appear to have been dropped, the price of a general abandonment of grievances. Nor is it without significance that the king's eldest son, afterwards James IV, was old enough to be pitted against his father, his mother's death having removed the boy's natural protector against so unnatural an act.

The immediate cause of revolt was a quarrel with the Homes upon James' intention to suppress the Priory of Coldingham and attach its revenues to the Chapel Royal, Stirling, his own foundation. The Priory was a dependency of Durham, which largely appropriated its considerable revenues. The Homes had an interest in the foundation and were resolved to maintain it. Allied with the Hepburns they formed a powerful confederacy among the

nobles of the South, including the Earls of Argyll and Angus. Whether by threats or in collusion with the conspirators, the heir-apparent, who had been placed in Stirling Castle for safe custody, was surrendered to his father's enemies. Both sides made appeal for English assistance, but a decision was obtained without intervention from outside. James, with an army drawn from the North, met the rebels at Blackness, on the Forth (1488). Instead of striking he chose to parley, stipulated that his person should be 'at all times in honourable security and freedom,' and conceded to have about him 'prelates, lords, and others of wisdom for the guiding of his realm.' But conflict was only delayed. Young James remained with his father's enemies, whose forces kept the field, alleging the king's intention to cheat them with English aid. Early in June James was again in the saddle. On the Sauchie Burn, near Bannockburn, the forces met. James, carrying the sword of Bruce, was mounted on a grey charger beyond his management. The story is confused. Carried from the field the king sheltered at nightfall in a mill distant from the battle-field. Wounded, or injured by a fall, he told his rank and cried for a priest. His enemies, drawn to the spot by the riderless horse, entered the room where the king lay and dispatched him in cold blood (June 11, 1488). Details of the tragedy were never divulged; the king 'happinit to be slain,' the curious were told.

So ended an unhappy reign. Kidnapped by the Boyds, betrayed by Douglas, hurt by the disloyalty of a brother and a son, James from first to last was the sport of circumstances which his spirit could not control. Pitscottie sums his lackings in a stanza:

> Wald God that prince had beine that day confortit
> With the sapience of the prudent Salomon,
> And with the strenth of strang Sampsone,
> With bauld oist [host] of the gret Agamemnone.
> Quhat sould I wysche? remedie was thair none.
> At morne a king with sceptour, suord, and croun,
> At evin ane deid, deformed, carioun.

CHAPTER XI

FLODDEN FIELD

THE reign of James IV was coincident with a new period of human progress. Inquisitiveness is the road to knowledge: its converse is credulity. Under the stimulus of Humanism Europe, ceasing to be credulous, became inquisitive and escaped from the nursery in which truth is the authority of elders. In the recovered literatures of Greece and Rome men discovered a secular, individualistic outlook unfamiliar to the sombre, cowled Middle Ages, and received a stimulus which spurred endeavour in every sphere of human activity. In the school of speculative thought the philosophy of the Schoolmen ceased to inspire respect and attention. The restored pagan literatures revived the fearless rationalism, the independent vision, of which themselves were the outcome. The vernacular Bible, a fruit of the Renaissance, awoke a spiritual sense long dormant. Judged by the standard of the recovered Book of God the formalism of the mediaeval Church was found unsatisfying. The very limits of the known world were extended by a new insatiable curiosity. Vasco da Gama and Columbus respectively linked Western Europe with India and a New World upon which, before the middle of the sixteenth century, the chief Powers staked out claims whose development vitally affected the course of human history. Trade and commerce passed under new conditions, ceased to be of merely municipal concern and regulation, and became agents of national purpose and development. Stirred by these new experiences, the consciousness of individuals and peoples was quickened. The Middle Ages afforded little opportunity for either to develop individuality. Christendom was a unity and nations distinguishable in it

merely as pieces in a pattern, a single fraternity little swayed by motives which move modern communities, *e.g.* hope of territorial expansion, dynastic ambition, commercial growth. Birth determined the groove in which the individual's life should run. Only in the Church's service could merit raise him above the degree into which he was born. But in the latter part of the fifteenth century distinct nationalities emerged, and expressed themselves in strong monarchies. The individual found release from bonds which restrained his faculties. National Churches and national literatures developed to serve these new conditions. The social order of the Middle Ages simultaneously declined. Commerce and industry placed the merchant by the side of the knight-at-arms and landowner. And with Feudalism fell the political theories under which it had flourished. Macchiavelli's (1469–1527) *The Prince* suggested a new relation between governor and governed and postulated paternal rule and virtually absolute monarchy. Enormously stimulating also were the scientific discoveries of the period. The employment of the compass and astrolabe facilitated maritime adventure and a wide expansion of geographical knowledge. The use of gunpowder revolutionized the art of war and hastened the break-up of mediaeval society. The invention of printing widened the appeal of literature and learning.

Her traditional alliance with France exposed Scotland to the humanistic forces which were transforming her neighbours. Since the middle of the fourteenth century Paris, Orleans, and other French Universities attracted Scottish students in large numbers. The long association of the two nations left traces upon the language and social life, while France's glorious *châteaux*, the characteristic expression of her Renaissance, inspired the so-called 'baronial' architecture of Scotland. James IV's reign added a third to the number of Scotland's Universities upon the foundation of that of Aberdeen in 1494, and his famous law in the following year enjoined his barons and freeholders of sufficient substance to send their eldest

sons and heirs to school 'till they be competently founded and have perfect Latin.' But her geographical and political isolation interposed between Scotland and the fullest employment of the Renaissance. Her population did not much exceed half a million, to only about half of whom any language but Gaelic made appeal, while the comparative poverty of the land withheld the material resources which aided the spread of humanistic culture elsewhere. Moreover the Reformation, with which were involved political questions of the largest moment, plunged the country into civil war and left little leisure to cultivate interests detached from it, though it supplied Scotland with the means of self-realisation and inspired a vernacular literature.

In James IV Scotland received a sovereign qualified to preside over a period of momentous transition. The Spaniard Ayala described him to his sovereign in 1498, when James was twenty-five years old, as a man of noble stature, handsome in complexion and appearance, agreeable in address. He spoke Latin 'very well': French, German, Flemish, Italian, Spanish, and Gaelic were also known to him. Erasmus asserts James' love of letters in his praise of James' son, attributing to the king force of intellect and 'astonishing knowledge of everything.' Certainly his additions to the royal library, interest in education, and patronage of the Scottish poets of the golden period—Blind Harry (fl. 1470–92), Robert Henryson (1430?–1506?), William Dunbar (1465?–1530?), Gavin Douglas (1474?–1522), Walter Kennedy (1460?–1508?)—support the reputation. Buchanan, on the other hand, speaks slightingly of his accomplishment, but was still a child when the king was slain. James inherited his father's taste for music: at an early meeting with his bride, 'incontinent the king began before her to play on the clarichord and after on the lute, which pleased her very much,' writes John Young, Somerset Herald, of the Queen's train. In chemistry and the primitive physical science of his period James showed intelligent interest.

His charter permitted Walter Chapman and Andrew Millar to set up the first printing press in Scotland in 1507. Goldsmiths, lapidaries, and painters had his patronage. Herein he was his father's son. But he boasted accomplishments, lack of which undermined the third James' popularity. He was a mighty hunter, proficient in knightly exercises, an accomplished rider. Taking leave of the queen at their first meeting, he 'went to his horse, on whom he did leap without putting the foot within the stirrup.' His temperament was impulsive: 'he is not a good captain,' Ayala explained, 'because he begins to fight before he has given his orders.' He was deficient in self-control; one who knew him remarked his 'young adventurousness' and 'simple wilfulness,' for which his kingdom paid heavy penalty. For the Church and the clergy he had high regard, an inclination strengthened by the circumstances under which he became king. By continual penance he sought to ease his conscience of his father's death. About his waist he wore a belt of iron, and added links yearly to increase its weight, oftentimes yielding to fits of gloom, and planning pilgrimage to remote Jerusalem, when the memory of Sauchie Burn recurred. Generally the king's outlook was practical and vigorous. Never before had Scotland been so closely involved in the web of Western diplomacy. At home he was conciliatory but determined, and his reign stands in happy contrast to the disorders under his predecessor and successor. To James' personality both circumstances must be attributed. 'He is active and works hard,' Ayala remarked, adding, certainly with truth, 'he is much loved.'

Echoes of the tragedy which brought him prematurely to the throne disturbed James' early years. The leaders of the late revolt conferred on themselves the rewards of office. Colin Campbell, first of the Earls of Argyll, received the Chancellorship. The Homes and Hepburns exacted their toll. Alexander, Master of Home, was made Chamberlain. Patrick Hepburn, from whom descended the swashbuckling Bothwell of Mary's reign, received the

earldom of that title with the Governorship of Edinburgh and the posts of Lord High Admiral and Master of the Household. Archibald of Angus ('Bell-the-Cat') was named guardian of the king, an office which perhaps he deemed below his deserts; he was soon following the tradition of Douglas treachery. Parliament, assembling in the autumn after James III's death, protested that the new sovereign and 'the true lords and barons that were with him in the same field [Sauchie Burn] were innocent, white, and free of the said slaughters,' a clearing document communicated to the Pope and to the sovereigns of England, France, Spain, Denmark and other realms. But public opinion was not quieted. In the spring of 1489 Lennox and Lord Lyle, both of whom participated in the movement against the late sovereign and were entrusted with positions of responsibility by the new one, revolted, while in Aberdeenshire Lord Forbes and the Earl Marischal, displaying the bloody shirt of the murdered king, raised the country against his son. Before the end of the year these turmoils were allayed. But as 'heavy murmur and the voice of the people' still assailed the ear of authority, in 1492 an offer of land in fee and heritage was made to discover the doers of the crime which gave the king his crown. The reward was never claimed.

Freed from faction James was able to devote himself to his kingdom's consolidation. His distinctive achievement was the reduction of the Islands to a state of peace which they had not formerly known, and their absorption as an integral part of the kingdom. Since John of the Isles made submission to James III in 1476, and surrendered the Earldom of Ross, his Lordship had been the arena of disturbance. Led by John's illegitimate son Angus, whose position was strengthened by his marriage with a daughter of the Earl of Argyll, the vassals of the Lord of the Isles broke into Ross with the object of recovering the earldom. Expelled from the mainland, Angus mastered the Isles and for ten years (1480–90) displaced his father. Upon his assassination (1490) John was ill-advised to delegate his

authority to his nephew Alexander of Lochalsh who, with his uncle's countenance, revived the claim to the Ross earldom. Only one course was open. James visited the Isles and in May 1493 Parliament passed sentence of forfeiture upon John, who appeared before the king and made final surrender of his lordship (1494). But the work of pacification was imperfectly completed. So soon as the truce with England in 1497 permitted him leisure, James surrendered himself to the task. In that year and again in 1498 he visited the Islands, whose chiefs found a leader in Donald Dubh, son of Angus. In 1503 the islanders under their new champion descended upon Badenoch and the vassals of the Earl of Huntly, to whom James had alienated extensive territories of the Lord of the Isles. Next year James summoned the whole military array of the kingdom, quelled the revolt, and incarcerated Donald Dubh in Edinburgh Castle. Two sheriffdoms were created to control the rebellious territory. From 1506 the Islands remained comparatively quiet. Their chiefs followed James' banner to Flodden and began at length to hold themselves a part and not rivals of the monarchy.

To the judicial administration of the kingdom James gave personal care. During his visits to the Islands he presided at the circuit-courts whose operations, and the establishment of new sheriffdoms, did much to secure peace and order. Throughout his reign his pleasure progresses were put to administrative uses, and constant justice-ayres under his supervision protected the people from injury by the nobles, kept the nobles in harmonious peace, and enriched the treasury. To the same end, Parliament in 1504 ordained a 'Daily' Council to sit at Edinburgh, or where the Court happened to be, to decide summonses in civil matters, complaints, and causes, exercising powers conferred in previous reigns upon the Lords Auditors of the Court of Session, whose authority only ran during the sessions of Parliament. It became their custom after 1504 to pass on unfinished causes to the Lords of Council. Hence, upon the foundation of the

College of Justice in 1532, its Senators were styled Lords of Council and Session. Until that date the Daily Council constituted the supreme judicial Court of the kingdom.

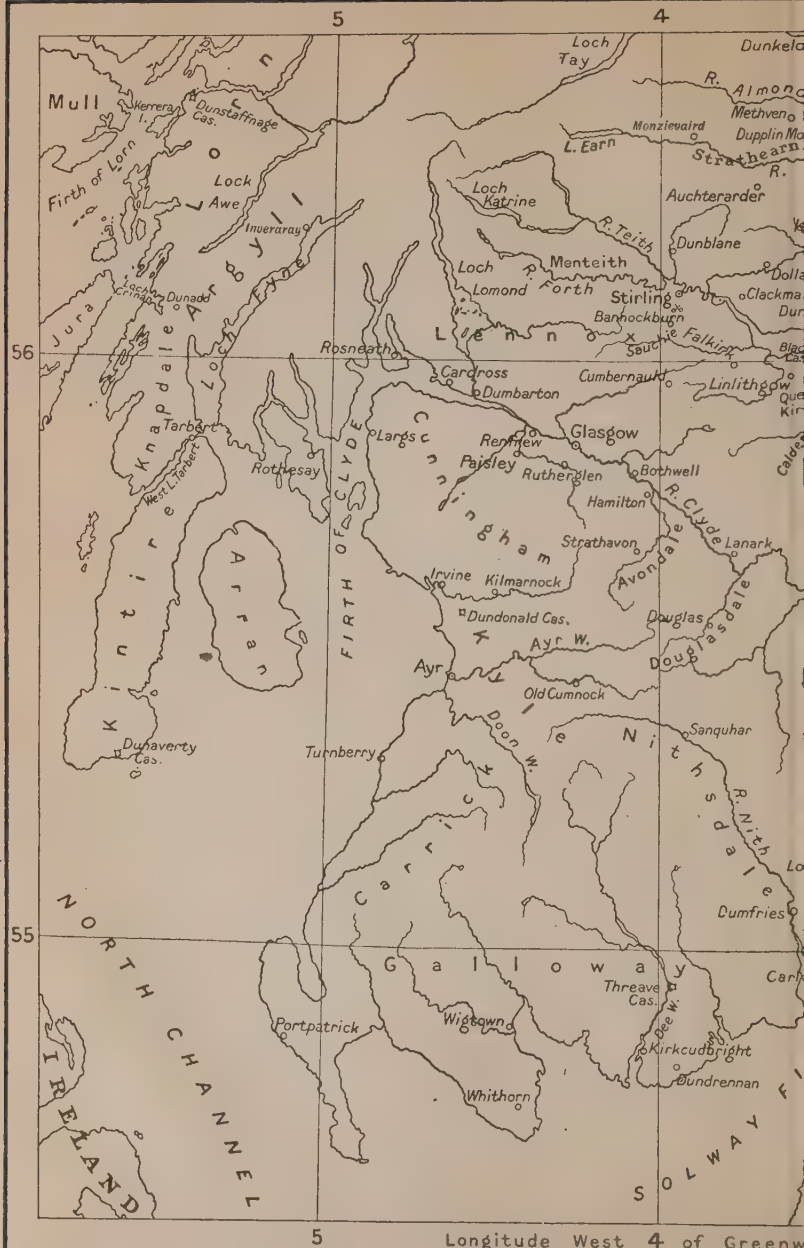
His care for commerce and ambition to establish Scotland's naval power show James alive to the opportunity which the decay of Mediterranean sea-power opened to the monarchies of the West. An Act of 1493 insisted upon the construction by every burgh of fishing boats of not less than twenty tons' burthen to recover 'the great innumerable riches' in the sea lost for the want of them. With Flanders commercial relations were particularly close. At Campvere, the seat of the Scottish staple, a Conservator was specially charged to facilitate the operations of Scottish merchants, whose wares chiefly consisted of wool, hides, skins, cloth of rough quality, and fish. These over-sea interests and the competition of his neighbours directed James to the need for an adequate navy. The *Great St Michael*, the largest ship afloat, was the biggest of a national fleet of nearly 30 vessels, large and small, and in Sir Andrew Wood of Largo and Andrew Barton James possessed sea-captains of ability. Ayala, testifying to the general prosperity of the kingdom, estimated its worth at three times its former value, with large surpluses of meat, hides, wool, and fish for export. 'There is as great a difference between the Scotland of old time and the Scotland of to-day as there is between good and bad,' he wrote positively. The revenue from customs was large and increasing. Drawing an income from the Crown lands, administration of the law, feudal casualties, and ecclesiastical patronage, James' means were considerable, though inadequate to support an adventurous policy.

James' dealings with his neighbours were the acts of a prince whose puissance imposed respect. In the affairs of Denmark he was involved by kinship to the king of the Scandinavian monarchy. The relations of the three kingdoms united under the Treaty of Kalmar (1397) were uneasy, and Lübeck, as one of the Hanse towns, had a

business quarrel with her Baltic rival. On more than one occasion James afforded his relative diplomatic support or naval aid. The kinship of their reigning houses also governed his relations with Gueldres, whose duke was hard pressed by the Habsburgs. James intervened decisively for his protection. The interests of Scottish commerce impelled him to take action in other quarters. Louis XII, Danzig, the Dutch, and the Portuguese were all, at one time or another, compelled to listen to his expostulations for injury done to Scottish nationals. With the Papacy James' relations were close throughout his reign. Absolution for those involved in James III's death, the erection (1492) of Glasgow into an archbishopric to match St Andrews (erected in 1472), and the title 'Protector of the Christian Religion,' were successive marks of the Pontiff's favour. But the condition of the Scottish Church was flagrantly scandalous. To the Arch-See of St Andrews James appointed his brother, the Duke of Ross, and upon his death, his own bastard son, a minor. Another of his natural sons received the Abbey of Dunfermline. The Church possessed too large a proportion of a poor country's wealth; its fat endowments offered benefices for illegitimate sons of the royal house or younger and portionless members of the nobility. The scandal already exercised thoughtful minds. In 1494 the Archbishop of Glasgow sent up to the civil power thirty persons from the districts of Cunningham and Kyle on charges of heresy. Many of their opinions were extravagant. But the Reformation was already implicit in their indictment of the Church, though James, treating the matter as insignificant, dismissed it with a jest.

Abundant as are the signs that Scotland under James 'issued from her northern gloom into the full light of western civilisation,' nowhere are they so evident as in the arena in which the ambitions of the New Monarchies engaged western Europe. James' contemporaries upon the English throne were the first two sovereigns of the House of Tudor, which rose upon the ruins of York,

shattered at Bosworth Field (1485) and Stoke (1487). Mystery enveloped the fate of the two sons of Edward IV murdered in the Tower. Yorkist pretensions therefore were still exploitable by foreign and unfriendly Powers. Their opportunity presented itself in astonishing circumstances in 1492. James hardly had secured his throne before communications were opened with Duchess Margaret of Burgundy, aunt of the murdered princes. Significantly, in view of Perkin Warbeck's subsequent activities, James was intermediary between the Duchess and correspondents in Ireland. Henry VII, with characteristic caution, addressed himself simultaneously to James and others capable of action against him. James was bound, in 1488, by a renewal of the truce of 1486 for a period of three years. At the same time James III's death brought Henry into touch with persons intent upon punishing the regicides. The Master of Huntly appealed to him early in 1489. In 1491 Henry signed an agreement with James III's favourite Ramsay (forfeited Baron Bothwell) and others, who, for less than £300 English, promised (April) to deliver James and his brother, the Duke of Ross. Seven months later (November) the unprincipled Bell-the-Cat, on what motives other than inherited disposition to disloyalty is not clear, also entered into secret agreement with Henry, pledging himself and his son to frustrate James' enmity to England, should it declare itself, and, in the event of war, to surrender his castle of Hermitage, which commanded the vital pass of Liddesdale, on condition that he received equivalent lands in England. His treachery was disclosed. Before the end of the year Hermitage Castle and its domain were in safer hands, and the truce with England was renewed for five years. Simultaneously James confirmed the traditional alliance with France which brought him to doom. The decision followed the rejection of overtures by the Spanish sovereigns which reached Scotland in July 1489. With Ferdinand of Aragon it was a cardinal object to isolate France. England was won by



5
4
56
55
Loch Tay
Dunkeld
R. Almond
Methven
Monzievaird
Dupplin Mo
L. Earn
Strathearn
R.
Mull
Kerrera I.
Dunstaffnage Cas.
Firth of Lorn
Lorn
Lock Awe
Inveraray
Loch Katrine
Auchterarder
R. Teith
Dunblane
Menteith
Loch Lomond
R. Forth
Stirling
Clackma
Banhockburn
Lennox
Sauchie
Falkirk
Jura
Loch Crinan
Dunadd
Argyll
Loch Fyne
Rosneath
Cardross
Dumbarton
Cumbernauld
Linlithgow
Knapdale
Tarbert
West L. Tarbert
Largs
Renfrew
Glasgow
Paisley
Rutherglen
Bothwell
Rothesay
Cunningham
Hamilton
R. Clyde
Strathavon
Lanark
Avondale
Kintire
Arran
FIRTH OF CLYDE
Irvine
Kilmarnock
Dundonald Cas.
Douglas
Douglasdale
Ayr W.
Ayr
Kyle
Old Cumnock
Doon W.
Sanquhar
Dunaverty Cas.
Turnberry
Nithsdale
R. Nith
Carrick
Dumfries
NORTH CHANNEL
Galloway
Threave Cas.
Dee W.
Portpatrick
Wigtown
Kirkcudbright
Dundrennan
Whithorn
IRELAND
SOLWAY
5
Longitude West 4 of Greenw

THE LOWLANDS
AND
THE BORDER DISTRICTS
ENGLISH MILES
10 5 0 10 20 30
3
2
1
56
55
Dundee
FIRTH OF TAY
St Andrews
Lindores Abbey
Cupar
R. Eden
Crail
Largo
I. of May
FIRTH OF FORTH
Bass Rock
Kinghorn
Inchkeith
Tantallon Cas.
Dirleton
Leith
Tranent
Haddington
Fast Cas.
Cockburnspath
Craigmillar Cas.
Dalkeith
Newbattle
Roslin
Fala Moor
Coldingham
Ayton
Halidon Hill
Lamberton
Berwick
Tweedmouth
Duns
Lauder
Greenlaw
Coldstream
R. Tweed
Norham
Twisel
Holy I.
Peebles
Stow
Hume Cas.
Kelso
Wark
Flodden
Piperden
Carham
Bamburgh
Dryburgh
Hadden Rig
Selkirk
Roxburgh
Homildon Hill
Wooler
Yetholm
Ancrum
Jedburgh
Dunstanburgh Cas.
Ettrick W.
Forest
Ettrick
Hawick
R. Teviot
Teviotdale
Dolphiston
Alnwick
Warkworth
Ettrick Pen
Coquet R.
Eskdale
Hermitage Cas.
Cheviot Hills
Otterburn
Langholm
Morpeth
Lockerbie
Liddisdale
Liddel W.
Wark
Solway Moss
Gretna
Debateable Land
Longtown
R. Tyne
Hexham
Newcastle
R. Wear
Burgh on Sands
Carlisle
R. Eden
Durham
Neville's Cross
R. Tees
Stockton
NORTH SEA

Henry's son's marriage to the unhappy Catharine. A similar bait was offered James, though a second legitimate princess was not at Ferdinand's disposal. The bribe was repeated later. Meanwhile, in the summer of 1491 a Scottish embassy, which included the poet Dunbar, visited France: the old alliance was renewed, and secretly bound James to invade England should France and England go to war.

At the opening of 1492, the year of Columbus' *mirabilis navigatio*, the relations of England, France, and Scotland were again at the normal. The situation facilitated an astonishing imposture, to Henry's discomfort and James' little advantage. In 1491 a Breton merchantman, entering Cork harbour, landed a handsome youth named Peter (or Peterkin or Perkin) Warbeck (or Osbeck), whose father, on his son's confession, was a native of Tournai. Whether Perkin was trained for the part he played is not clear. Cork, where adherents of the White Rose were powerful, hailed him as the younger of Edward IV's murdered sons. Perkin declared himself the prince and, by March 1492, as 'King Edward's son,' opened communications with James IV. For the moment James was not drawn into the imposture. Perkin, invited to Paris, was treated there as a royal prince, visited his putative aunt, the formidable Margaret of Burgundy, attended the Emperor's funeral at Vienna, and as 'King of England' was ostentatiously recognized by his successor Maximilian and his Burgundian wife. By the summer of 1495 James concluded that Perkin was genuine or exploitable to Scotland's advantage. In June he offered support, provided Maximilian became his ally against England and the pretender restored Berwick. James' intentions, divulged to Henry and Ferdinand, perturbed both. Both invited an alliance, but without success. James' 'young adventurousness' was set upon Perkin who, after a vain descent upon the Kentish coast in July, turned more hopefully towards Scotland for countenance of his 'fantastical frenzy.' In November James received him as 'Prince Richard of

England,' provided a pension of £1200 a year, conducted him through the kingdom, and gave him the hand of his kinswoman, Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntly. Levies for war were ordered in the pretender's behalf.

It is remarkable how often Scottish kings invaded England in the interest of France and against those of their own kingdom. In almost every case the adventure courted disaster, and never reaped profit. Neville's Cross, Flodden, Solway Moss evidence a policy which invariably found opponents among the nobility. James' present resolution encountered obstacles within and without the realm. The projected expedition taxed its resources severely and imposed a burden which many were disinclined to shoulder. Henry, anxious for peace, made proposals for a matrimonial alliance, while the Spanish sovereigns urged James to abandon 'him of Ireland.' Indeed, the European situation was unfavourable to the launching of James' enterprise. In the spring of 1495 France, his only ally, by her brilliant conquest of Naples drew upon herself the Holy League, which only needed England's adherence to be complete. But no obstacles stayed James' self-willed course. Warbeck promised Berwick and 50,000 marks in two years. In September 1496 James made his inglorious effort. No English response answered the pretender's appeal. Perkin himself was but two days on English soil, and James returned to his capital after a fortnight's fruitless raid. Each assailed the other with reproaches. Perkin disliked the savage warfare of his Scottish auxiliaries. James answered with a rankling retort: 'You call England your land and realm and the inhabitants thereof your people and subjects, and yet not one man will once show himself to aid or assist you in the war begun for your cause and in your name.' But he was loath to abandon the 'young fond foundling,' on grounds of policy and honour, and in 1497 Northumberland was again raided. Henry, confronted by a Cornish rising, took no measures to retaliate but opened negotia-

tions for Perkin's surrender. Attractive offers also came from France. But Perkin proposed one more assault upon Henry's throne. Late in July 1497 the pretender, with his wife, sailed from Ayr in a ship felicitously named the *Cuckoo*. Their destination was Cornwall, where three months later a surprising adventure ended in Perkin's capture and confession. 'My masters of Ireland,' Henry is reported to have said, 'ye will crown apes at last.'

Whether Perkin's plans moved with James' purpose or were inspired by hasty petulance cannot be determined. The pretender's departure in no way deflected James' enmity from England. Henry, 'sore pricked and wounded with the injury to him committed,' was eager to retaliate, and the Cornishmen's defeat at Blackheath in June 1497 gave him liberty. In August 1497 James appeared before Norham Castle, but had made little impression on its massive walls when a considerable army under the Earl of Surrey appeared for its relief. James retired hastily and Surrey followed him into Scotland, capturing and razing to the ground Ayton Castle, a stronghold of importance between Edinburgh and Berwick. James spiritedly challenged Surrey to single combat, 'person to person,' with Berwick for the prize. Surrey, thirty years older than his challenger, prudently declined to entertain James' 'cracks and boasts.' But a week of continual wind and unmeasurable rain drove him back upon Berwick in a mood to consider a truce. Henry's interests, now that Scotland was no longer behind Perkin, inclined him to peace with his neighbour, and the brief campaign counselled James to seek an accommodation. The Spanish sovereigns were anxious to relieve England of Scotland's enmity in hope of Henry's participation in their Continental plans. The mediation of their envoy, Pedro Ayala, accordingly prevailed. At Ayton a seven years' truce was signed on September 30 and five months later (February 1498) was prolonged for a year beyond the death of the survivor of the two sovereigns.

The truce invited resumption of marriage negotiations. The idea of a match between James and Henry VII's daughter, Margaret, had been mooted in 1495 but was broken by James' support of the White Rose. Henry held it a pledge of peace between neighbours disposed to be quarrelsome. The Spanish sovereigns, who had been the first to suggest it, viewed the match as a detail in an embracing scheme to curb the power of France. James was gratified by the fact that, as the Holy League professedly aimed at a millenium of peace, Scotland's participation was invited to realize the ideal. He prized his reputation as *rex pacificator* and in 1507 received a compliment from Rome on that score. Practical considerations brought the project to a decision. In spite of the truce the Borders remained unsettled and an English attack upon a civilian band of Scots in 1498 moved James to threats of war. In 1499 therefore Henry resumed the marriage proposals. With an eye upon an alternative Spanish match James moved cautiously. Not until 1501 did commissioners visit London to conclude the matter. Objection was urged on the English side that, as Margaret might one day wear the English crown, the marriage threatened to absorb England into Scotland. Henry, instancing the case of Normandy, answered with accustomed shrewdness that 'it is always the less which is joined for glory and honour to that which is greater.' Early in January 1502 a marriage treaty was concluded. On the same day the two countries pledged themselves to perpetual peace, the first pacification, distinguished from a truce, since the Treaty of Northampton (1328) nearly two centuries before. Eighteen months later (August 1503) James was wedded to his fifteen years' old bride at Holyrood, whose Palace he had just completed for her reception. From the couple the spouses descended whose marriage united the kingdoms a century later. The ceremony brought little happiness to the high-spirited bride or to a husband whose gallantries were conspicuous. William Dunbar celebrated the event in a hymeneal poem,

The Thistle and the Rose, interesting as the first reference in literature to Scotland's national emblem:

Than callit she [Dame Nature] all flouris that grew on field,
Discerning all their seasons and effeirs:
Upon the awful THISTLE she beheld,
And saw him keepit with a bush of spears;
Consid'ring him so able for the weirs,
A radious crown of rubies she him gave,
And said, In field, go furth and fend the lave.

Than to the ROSE she turnit her visage,
And said, O lusty dochter, most bening,
Above the lily, illustrare of lineage,
Fro the stock royal rising fresh and ying,
Bot ony spot or macull doing spring[1]:
Come, bloom of joy, with jemis to be crown'd,
For oure the lave thy beauty is renown'd.

So long as Henry VII lived his sagacity rather than his daughter's marriage maintained the peace. More than one event threatened its permanence, and Henry's fear lest Scotland should pursue the league with France led him in 1508 to send Wolsey to his son-in-law. Upon the accession of Henry VIII in 1509 English policy abandoned its cautious reserve. Jealousy of French prestige won in Italy, and an itching desire to posture on the international stage, among other reasons, inclined Henry to join the Holy League. In November 1511 he did so, pledging himself to make war upon France in the coming spring. Scotland's demeanour now became of vital moment. Her *Great Michael* was launched in 1511, her naval activity increased, and shortly before Henry pledged himself to the Holy League, Andrew Barton was brought to action in the Downs with the loss of his life and ships. James angrily protested, but received curt admonition that 'it became not one prince to lay a breach of a league to another prince in doing justice upon a pirate or thief.' Undoubtedly James desired peace: but to the Pope he declared war the certain issue unless English manners

[1] Without any spot or blemish upspringing.

mended. His endeavour to reconcile France and the Pope, contriver of the Holy League, having failed, James imported munitions of war from France and Denmark and awaited a call to arms. In 1512 the threatened storm burst upon France, whose plight appealed alike to James' interest and his honour. France had buttressed Scotland against Edward III. If she succumbed to Henry, Scotland's turn might follow, and with England engaged in France she had an opportunity not to be lost. In May 1512 James confirmed the Ancient League, in chivalrous answer to the Queen of France, who named him her champion and sent him a ring. It was taken from his body at Flodden. When, in June 1513, Henry invaded France, James resolved on war. In August, Lyon King carried his challenge to Henry facing Thérouanne, and before the month was out James was over the Border. A later generation recorded unearthly warnings that might have averted the subsequent disaster. Pitscottie notes at Linlithgow an apparition 'clade in ane blew goune, with ane roll of lynning claith, ane pair of bottikins on his feit to the great of his lege, with all uther hose and claithis conforme thairto, bot he had nothing on his heid bot syde reid yallow hair behind quhilk wan doune to his schoulderis, bot his forheid was bald and bair,' a bogle to which James gave no heed. At the Market Cross at Edinburgh a ghostly midnight herald summoned to meet his sovereign 'Plotkok' [Pluto], within forty days thereafter, the earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, and sundry burgesses within the town. Whether the summons was made by 'vain persouns, nicht walkeris, or dronken men, for thair pastyme, or gif it was ane spirit,' Pitscottie cannot tell. But all save one of those so summoned fell round their king at Flodden!

Norham surrendered to James after a six days' siege. But already his old adversary, Surrey, now a septuagenarian, was bringing relief. Stories of James' dalliance with Lady Heron in Ford Castle, while they match his character, were concocted to allege her treachery to

explain his defeat. Besides Norham, James' well-equipped artillery train reduced the castles of Wark, Etal, Chillingham, and Ford. He had loyally fulfilled the obligation of his alliance with France. To face Surrey in open fight exposed him to risk which in the interests of his kingdom and ally would better be avoided. He had, however, twice evaded conclusions with Surrey whose challenge to him, to test 'the righteousness of the matter' between them on an appointed date, James was not a man to shirk. He awaited Surrey on Flodden Edge, on the left bank of the Till. On September 9 Surrey approached, daringly manoeuvred to better his attack, and on the afternoon of a waning day mounted the ascent where James' standards flew. Before darkness fell, gashed and riddled with bills and arrows, James lay dead upon the field, the flower of Scotland's nobility and 10,000 of her manhood around him

Gaping against the moon.

No more staggering disaster ever befell a country than Flodden, last of the great Border fights. The king, varying the fate of his fated house, escaped his subjects and fell the victim of a foreign foe. Twelve earls, fourteen lords, an archbishop, a bishop, two abbots, and 'a marvellous number of goodly men, well fed and fat,' lay dead round the body of their lord, fallen, Sir David Lyndsay lamented,

> Not by the virtue of English ordnance,
> But by his own wilful misgovernance.

Scarcely a Scottish pedigree but records a forbear or forbears whom James' 'wilfulness' sacrificed at Flodden. And to little purpose. At a blow Scotland's bid for place among the military monarchies was shattered. Neither her quarrel with England nor the interest of France was advanced by James' reckless challenge. Nor was England advantaged. Surrey did not venture to follow the path of Gloucester and Albany in 1482. James disappeared and Scotland's military strength with him. But the Ancient League stood. A French Duke of Albany continued James'

policy. To Margaret Tudor succeeded Mary of Guise, upon whose daughter's brow the crowns of France and Scotland briefly rested. Yet, as Mr Lang remarks with truth, no defeat bore less of dishonour, no battle lost by chivalrous folly was ever so well redeemed by desperate valour. Ill-guided and reckless, James died a better death than any of his romantic line. 'O what a noble and triumphant courage was this, for a king to fight in battle as a mean soldier,' wrote an English contemporary. Like Arthur and Charlemagne, his people refused to think him dead. Margaret divorced her second husband on the allegation that James was still alive, and men told that, having fulfilled his long purposed pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he lingered somewhere in penance and one day would return.

CHAPTER XII

THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

FLODDEN plunged Scotland into a chaos of anarchy, a welter of savage rivalries, England pulling against France, Henry and his sister plotting against Albany, Hamilton (Arran) against Douglas (Angus), the Church against England and the insidious threat of reform. It is no wonder that the new king, growing up from his cradle amid this negation of monarchy, at thirty turned his face to the wall, like Hezekiah, and wished for death. On the morrow of Flodden the position was precarious. The king was an infant, eighteen months old. His mother, a woman of twenty-four, was a foreigner loaded with responsibility such as overweighted her kinswoman and predecessor, Joan Beaufort. The heir apparent was John of Albany[1], a man of thirty-two, son of the traitor Albany of James III's reign, a naturalized Frenchman, possessed of ample property in France and knowing no other tongue. Next heir after Albany was the Earl of Arran, head of the house of Hamilton, somewhat older than Albany, whose claims in the sudden crisis he held inferior to his own. Complicated already, the queen-mother's swift marriage to the sixth Earl of Angus, Bell-the-Cat's grandson, added a detail of confusion and revived the traitorous relations with England which were an inherited tendency in the Douglas blood. Behind these personalities operated the tireless diplomacy of Wolsey, holding France the enemy of Christendom, resolved to spare no effort to humble her, and prepared to employ in Scotland every artifice, bribery, war, assassination, abduction, to nullify

[1] Strictly, the heir was John of Albany's half-brother Alexander whose rights the Estates subordinated to John's in 1516.

the menace of the Ancient League. The near relationship of the infant James to the English throne added a motive to his uncle's solicitude and had effect upon his matrimonial experiments. Immersed in this conflict of passions, James V, reaching man's estate, sought close alliance with the ecclesiastics, the characteristic of his reign, as less extremely of his father's and grandfather's. The Scottish Church before and since the days of Bruce was ever national in outlook, and its support had large consequences. It forbade James to join England in common challenge of Rome, rallied the Church more than ever to France's service, and imposed its preference upon the sovereign. The king's authority suffered through his inability to control his secular nobility, while his tenderness to the Church's corruption and his open-eyed neglect to clear a path for reform aggravated the imminent reckoning.

James IV fell on September 9, 1513. Before the end of the month his infant son was crowned at Stirling and the provisions of his will were enforced. His widow was appointed both Guardian and Regent. The Archbishop of Glasgow (James Beaton), the Earls of Arran, Angus (Bell-the-Cat), and Huntly were named her advisers. But the arrangement could not promise permanence. Margaret as an Englishwoman was too closely associated with the tragedy of Flodden and enmity to France, while her undisciplined nature soon added a complication. In April 1514 she bore a posthumous son to James IV, who received the title Duke of Ross and survived briefly. In the following August she gave her hand to the new Earl of Angus, a lad of twenty. If her affections were engaged, policy also prompted union with the Anglophile house of Douglas. The wedding had threatening consequences: the solidarity of the Council of Regency was instantly broken, for Arran's and Albany's interests were threatened by the match. Margaret's partiality for the Douglas displayed itself in another matter. A few weeks after her marriage the death of Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen, who had been intended

for the vacant see of St Andrews, allowed her to prefer her husband's uncle, the poet Gavin Douglas, for the headship of the Scottish Church. Gavin forthwith seized the castle of St Andrews, and was besieged there by John Hepburn, Prior of St Andrews, who already had procured his election by the chapter. The quarrel brought to a head the gathering storm. His family 'band' with the Hepburns added Home, the Lord Chamberlain, a partisan of Albany, to the enemies of Margaret and her husband. Blockaded in Stirling by Home and Arran she was soon brought to Edinburgh virtually a prisoner in the hands of her opponents (November 1514). Meanwhile the need for French assistance, and therefore the coming of Albany, was impressed by other circumstances. Fighting was constant on the Borders after Flodden. In the spring of 1514 the Scots were active round Berwick and only awaited France's countenance to attempt the town's recovery. Henry was eager to withdraw his sister and her children from Scotland and to play the part of a Livingstone or a Crichton in an earlier reign.

Many interests therefore recommended Albany's coming. In the early weeks of the reign messages were dispatched by well-wishers urging that course, and in November 1513 the Estates ratified proposals from France to that effect. In March 1514 they formally summoned him. But the death of Louis XII in January 1515 affected the situation. His successor, Francis I, a youth of twenty, ambitious and restless, set his heart upon the recovery of Milan, Louis XII's conquest, from which the French had been expelled three years before. It was essential to success that he should not leave England hostile in his rear, and England's attitude would be governed by his own towards Scotland. He hastened to make truce with Henry therefore, and Scotland, deprived of her only friend, perforce accepted the pacification (May 15, 1515). Two days later Albany, secretly plenished by Francis, landed at Ayr after eluding English cruisers instructed to prevent his passage to Scotland

where, Wolsey feared, he purposed 'the death of the queen and the infant king in order to make himself master of that realm.' Two infant children alone stood between him and the crown, and their guardianship, with the Regency of the kingdom, was accorded him three months after his arrival (July). He was welcomed with enthusiasm by a people who had not yet measured the impotence of France's friendship. French interests for the moment were powerfully in the ascendant.

Albany's first act struck at the adherents of England. With the Douglas faction he dealt peremptorily. Angus' uncle, Lord Drummond, was warded in Blackness on a convenient charge of assault upon Lyon Herald. Gavin Douglas was confined in the sea tower of St Andrews for receiving Papal favours at the instance of Henry VIII. But possession of the infant sovereign was essential to Albany's undeclared mission in France's behalf, particularly in face of English plots to abduct the queen and her children. Immediately upon his appointment as guardian and Regent Albany procured from the Estates the appointment of four peers into whose hands Margaret was required to surrender her children. Presenting themselves at Stirling, they were refused admission. Angus and the English March Warden, Lord Dacre, then plotted to carry the queen and the princes to England. Angus' brother, Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, succeeded in approaching the Castle with a body of horse, but failed to extricate its occupants. On August 4, 1515, Albany appeared in force with a train of artillery. Dacre had advised Margaret to set the king on the walls crowned and sceptred 'so that it shall be manifestly known to all persons that the war shall be made against the king's own person.' But Margaret, deserted by George Douglas, made unconditional surrender. The princes were delivered to Albany. Margaret with her husband rode for the Border and at Dacre's Castle of Harbottle gave birth to 'a fair young lady' who became the mother of Darnley and grandmother of James VI and I. To complete

Albany's triumph Angus deserted his wife before the end of the year, the infant Duke of Ross died, and Arran's chief fortress, Hamilton Castle, passed into the Regent's hands. Wolsey and his master were alarmed and indignant. An expedition into Scotland was discussed and abandoned in favour of other methods of provocation, because of the heavy war expenditure of the past years. Through Lord Dacre in the Marches English intrigue was busy throughout 1516. The Warden boasted, probably without exaggeration, that four hundred Scotsmen were in his pay, one of whom, Lord Home, who openly resisted Albany, was sent to the block. Next to Angus he was most influential of the Douglas faction and his death inspired dismay among his friends. Albany, in fact, was discovering the difficulties of his position and complained of his neglect by France, on whose support hung the interests he represented. He was anxious to visit France to quicken her activities and superintend his private affairs, and, after one refusal by the Estates, obtained permission to return thither. Meanwhile he assured his position by securing an admission of his rights as heir apparent. The Estates gave it in November 1516, and in the following June Albany sailed for France. He undertook to return in six months, but was absent for more than four years.

Albany's departure delivered Scotland to the jealous feuds his presence had failed wholly to repress. To remove an incentive to English interference, Margaret was permitted to return, upon an understanding not to exploit her relationship to the king, but charged with her brother's proposals to 'erect' the infant sovereign in dependence on Douglas support. Margaret played her own hand and compromised Henry's plans. She already had ground of complaint against her husband; he had left her in England to seek reconciliation with Albany, who named him one of the Vice-Regents upon his departure. Margaret now convinced herself of Angus' infidelity and clamoured for divorce. Henry, to whom Douglas support was vital, patched up a reconciliation. But Margaret's wayward-

ness had results. Her quarrel with Angus inclined her to Arran, and the years of Albany's absence were filled by the feuds of Douglas and Hamilton. Their quarrels disturbed the capital in 1519, and a famous encounter was the scuffle there known as 'Cleanse the Causeway,' which took place in April 1520 and has its name from the completeness of Angus' victory. Arran barely escaped with his life, and Arran's brother was slain by Angus himself. Angus for the moment was supreme and Arran followed Albany to France. The Duke's return alone promised to quiet these tumults. But French policy was dominated by the election of Francis' rival, Charles of Spain, as King of the Romans in June 1519. The event marked the beginning of a struggle between France and the Empire for the leadership of Christendom which endured for a quarter of a century and influenced the course of European history. To gain England became an object of both antagonists. Consequently the return of Albany to Scotland, though urged by the Estates, failed to receive the open sanction of the French Court. By the autumn of 1521 English policy was committed to the Emperor against France. The embargo upon Albany could be withdrawn, and in November, 1521, he was once more in Scotland.

Albany's second visit was even shorter than the first and less satisfactory. Arriving at a moment when France and England were on the brink of open war, his return was viewed from London as a detail in France's strategy. Henry vainly sought to scold the Scottish Estates to order his expulsion. The Douglas Anglophiles seconded his denunciations with accusations of ambition and crime against Albany. They charged him to have murdered the infant Duke of Ross and with neglecting the king. Whispers that he contemplated a match with the queen-mother were put abroad. He had in fact taken steps to procure her divorce, but emphatically 'prayed he might break his neck' if marriage with her was in his mind. The Estates, little heeding these charges, received Henry's envoy with a 'grim and angry look' and repudiated his

attempt to interfere. In August 1522 an English army crossed the Straits and challenged France, while the Earl of Shrewsbury was sent northward to engage the Scots, but was detained at York by lack of transport and commissariat. The delay afforded Albany opportunity of which he proposed to take advantage. At the head of a large army he threatened Carlisle and the defenceless western frontier. But he reckoned without the experience of Flodden. Even Huntly, Arran and Argyll, whom he chiefly trusted, refused to risk another catastrophe for the sake of France. Dacre, who knew the defenceless state of Carlisle, in which there was 'neither gun, bow, nor arrow in readiness,' averted the menace with bluffing adroitness. Knowing the Scottish dilemma he offered a month's truce (September 11). Albany accepted it in preference to open exposure of his followers' unreliability, disbanded his army, and returned to France, leaving Huntly, Argyll, and Arran to act as a Council of Regency (October 1522).

Albany's absence encouraged Henry to attempt the detachment of France's ally. Early in 1523 he offered friendship and peace with the hand of his daughter Mary to the youthful king. The Estates would not listen and Henry took other measures. Surrey, son and successor of the conqueror of Flodden, whom Henry styled 'Scourge of the Scots,' was let loose upon the Border. From April to September he so ravaged the country that Wolsey could boast, 'there is left neither house, fortress, village, tree, cattle, corn, nor other succour of man.' Jedburgh was given to the flames and on the same day (September 25, 1523) Albany landed at Dumbarton with foreign auxiliaries and artillery. A second time he summoned Scotland to arms and at the end of October besieged Wark Castle. The Scots levies melted away on the news of Surrey's approach. The French made an assault upon Wark but failed to dislodge the garrison. The weather was of winter's severity, and a mutinous army held out no prospect of worthy achievement. As in 1522 therefore

Albany ordered a retreat which the English poet John Skelton followed with a jeer:

> Like cowardes starke
> At the castell of Warke
> By the water of Twede
> Ye had euill spede;
> Lyke cankerd curres
> Ye lost your spurres,
> For in that fraye
> Ye ranne awaye.
> With hey, dogge, hay!

The reproach was echoed on the other side. 'Would God we were all sworn English,' said the Border Scotsmen as they tore off their badges. Albany, whom Surrey described as 'a marvellous wilful man and passionate,' had little encouragement to sacrifice himself in a cause for which Scotland would not fight. His Frenchmen were deported with little cordiality. Albany himself begged for permission to accompany them, but, to his 'marvellous great anger and foam,' was refused. The ill-will of James, a boy of twelve, whose 'erection' was imminent, possibly impressed Albany's conviction that neither his own interests nor those of France could be served by further residence in Scotland. Pitscottie probably discloses the duke's motives: 'Seand the realme of Scottland and the nobillis thairof of sic qualliteis and conditiouns that few or nane of thame might gif credit to wther, thairfor he was steidfastlie avyssit and utterlie determinat to leif Scottland and pase in France againe to his awin leving.' In May 1524 he sailed for France. He never returned.

Whatever considerations withdrew Albany, his departure surrendered Scotland to Henry and the Anglophiles. Angus, who had retired to France on Albany's arrival in 1522, now left that country for a domicile in England. Margaret, whom private interest spurred as much as those of public import, entered into relations with Arran. Henry sent money, and an English guard of 200 men

replaced the Scottish bodyguard. With their aid James was brought to Edinburgh (July 1524) and 'erected' or proclaimed *de facto* king. The Chancellor, James Beaton eluding Wolsey's disingenuous invitation to confer on the Border, fell a victim to Margaret, who decoyed him to Edinburgh and warded him in the castle. His incarceration removed the last friend of France. But English policy required the association of Angus with Arran's rule, a proposal obnoxious to Arran and to Margaret unwelcome. Her divorce was anticipated though still unaccomplished, and her maturer affections already settled upon Henry Stewart, a youth of twenty, whom she appointed Lord High Treasurer. At this inconvenient juncture Angus returned to Scotland and consequently threw Margaret into the arms of the French faction. Beaton was released, and when, in November 1524, Angus raided Edinburgh in hope of abducting the king, Margaret repulsed him with fire from the castle. But English gold was irresistible. Arran and Lennox succumbed to Henry's bribes and Angus entered the Council of Regency. The defeat and capture of Francis I at Pavia in March, 1525, further depressed the French faction, and before the end of the year England and Scotland signed a three years' truce.

English interests, of which Angus was the subsidized agent, were in the ascendant. But Angus was not content to share his sovereign with others. At the time of the truce with England (1525) the Estates entrusted James' tutorship to a quarterly rota of peers, Angus and Beaton being named for the first three months. Hence, Angus was again in that position when, in June 1526, James' legal majority was proclaimed. A new Privy Council was constituted of which Angus was master. But he could not command the sovereign's affection. So far as his character penetrates these dismal jealousies, James was a gloomy, passionate youth whose strongest emotion was affection for his mother. Hatred of his stepfather was its corollary, and the first act of his legal majority was a 'band' with

Arran's nephew Lennox, which vowed James to prefer his counsel to his detested stepfather's. Thrice Lennox pitted the House of Hamilton against Douglas in contest for the king's control. In the last encounter at Linlithgow Lennox was slain (1526), and George Douglas told the king fiercely that rather than lose him he would see him torn to pieces. The insult and the death of his favourite rankled. Meanwhile Angus triumphed and the burning of the heretic Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, in February 1528, if it was a concession to the Church, offered fresh indignity to that family.

Angus' collapse was as complete as it was sudden. 'Nane at that tyme durst stryve with ane Douglas nor yet ane Douglas man,' writes Pitscottie; 'for gif they wald they gat the war.' James took courage and prevailed, in this wise. In April 1528 Margaret married her third, youthful, husband, Henry Stewart, later Lord Methven, and lodged in Stirling Castle. In the king's name Angus separated the spouses. The act, it is to be supposed, stung James to action. He already complained of his 'thraldom' to Angus and of the earl's nepotism at the Crown's expense. Now, alleging Angus resolved on his abduction to England, he betook himself to his mother's roof at Stirling. The Douglas had many enemies; Angus out of favour had many more. Many lords flocked to the young sovereign, whose mind was fixed upon a single purpose—never to permit a Douglas to rule Scotland through himself. From Stirling he ordered Angus to withdraw to beyond Spey and prohibited any of his name to come within six miles of his person. In September 1528 the Estates passed sentence of forfeiture upon the earl. Henry demanded his pardon but was not prepared to act in his support. By the end of the year England and Scotland concluded a five years' peace which sacrificed the earl, who made his way to England as Henry's pensioned guest. There he lived till the death of James V in 1542.

James was in his seventeenth year when the fall of

Angus made him his own master. He drifts through his reign, so occasionally its ruler, that his appearance and character seem of almost irrelevant interest. Squat and broadly built, as his recently discovered portrait shows him, with grey eyes which Bishop Leslie thought shrewd and penetrating, he inherited his father's complexion—he was called the 'Red Tod'—physique, and love of sport. Sir Walter Scott, whose sketches of early Stewarts are often as misleading as they are vivid, supposes him a 'well-educated and accomplished man, a poet and a musician.' He was a patron of letters and the arts. But his authorship of such popular pieces as *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, *The Gaberlunzie Man*, and others, is less than probable. Though he was a lover of music—Sir David Lyndsay, his personal attendant, was wont to lull him to sleep with his lute—and expended money on instruments and players, his voice was 'rauky and harsh' and forbade him to become an agreeable performer. His general education was interrupted by his premature 'erection,' and his character suffered from a want of discipline which neither the example of his mother nor the tutorship of Angus could enforce. On the other hand he succeeded in winning affectionate remembrance as 'the poor man's king.' Many stories record kindly acts of the 'Goodman of Ballengeich'—so he called himself after the hollow behind Stirling Castle—upon his adventures incognito among his humbler subjects.

Enabled by the five years' peace with England, James fulfilled the concerns of his realm with vigour rather than wisdom. Nowhere was order more essential than on the Borders, where unlicensed activity might imperil relations with England, and Angus' influence was active. James struck with force (1529–30) and the most famous sufferer was John Armstrong of Gilnockie.

> John murdred was at Carlinrigg,
> And all his galant companie:
> But Scotlands heart was never sae wae,
> To see sae mony brave men die.

Because they savd their country deir
Frae Englishmen; nane were sae bauld,
Whyle Johnie livd on the border-syde,
Nane of them durst cum neir his hald.

sings the old ballad. Bothwell, Home, and other Border lords were placed in ward. James asserted his authority; but his rigour recoiled upon himself on a later day when he vainly appealed to a population he had alienated. Disturbances in the Highlands gave him opportunity to deal with the new Earl of Argyll, whose father's association with Angus perhaps he resented, while his position in the Islands could be regarded as a menace to the Crown. James threw him into prison and withdrew his jurisdiction. Crawford and James' half-brother Moray were estranged by similar severities and disposed to play the traitor. In December 1531 Bothwell was in traitorous communication with England, actually mooting Henry's coronation in his nephew's capital. Alienated from his principal nobles James was driven to rely on the Churchmen, whose anti-English bias was strengthened by Henry's breach with Rome and assumption of the Headship of the English Church. Mutual raids threatened war, while Angus, active in England, did all the harm he could. Neither side, however, was prepared for formal hostilities, and in May 1534, a peace was concluded, to last till the death of one of the kings and a year beyond.

The Anglo-Scottish peace marked the critical year in the English Reformation and the definitive severance of the Church of England from Rome. The event isolated Henry for the moment and threw him back upon a defensive policy. Facing France and the Empire, Scotland's support was of consequence; if James could be influenced to follow in his uncle's footsteps the Franco-Scottish alliance certainly would not survive Scotland's breach with Rome. On the other hand, Scotland's friendship was rendered more precious to France and the Empire as affording a platform whence to assault heretic England. It is significant that while Henry confirmed the treaty by

conferring the Garter on James, the sovereigns of France and the Empire hastened to bestow on him the Orders of St Michael and the Golden Fleece. For Scotland, as for England, therefore, 1534 was a critical year. James was not blind to the need for reformation in his Church, nor can he have found in recent experience encouragement to prolong the French Alliance. At the same time the tradition of English hostility and its insidious working through traitor Scots made it venturesome to terminate it. The Church with unanimous voice clamoured for it to buttress her position against the assaults of heresy and spoliation and prevailed. In vain Henry in 1535 dispatched one of his Bishops to argue James into a Protestant mood. His Council, 'none else but the Papistical clergy, the Pope's pestilent creatures, and very limbs of the devil,' Henry's envoy reported sadly, dissuaded him from endorsing his uncle's heresies. Henry suggested an interview at York or elsewhere and James again allowed his Council to dictate refusal; wisely, for Henry was prepared to use abduction in place of argument. At the least James ran the danger of compromising the status of his monarchy by a visit to England, and though the future showed that he blundered fatally in the course he took, the situation within his immediate ken did not commend departure from the ties distrust of English policy had formed. Early in 1536 his refusal to meet Henry was understood. Nor would he entertain thought of a marriage with Henry's daughter, Mary. Instead he asked the hand of Marie de Bourbon, and in September sailed to France to bring home his bride. James definitively was grouped in the Catholic and French interest.

Presenting himself in elaborate incognito at St Quentin, where his bride's father the Duc de Vendôme was staying, James was as disillusionized as Henry VIII on his first vision of Anne of Cleves. His promised bride appeared humpbacked and deformed, and, though received with cordiality by her parents, James could not bring himself to make a match which, as events happened, would have

tied Scotland to the Protestant fortunes of the Bourbons. It was reserved to James' great-grandson Charles I first to unite that house with the Stewart. Proceeding to Paris, where his incognito, said a spy, was penetrated by 'the very carters,' James was captivated by the beauty of Madeleine, Francis I's daughter, whose consumptive condition did not abate a passion which the princess reciprocated. At the New Year of 1537 they were married in Nôtre Dame and in the following May, after nine months' absence, James brought home his bride. Within two months Madeleine died and James was again a suitor to France. During his visit he had marked and admired Mary, daughter of Claude of Guise, wife of Louis Duke of Longueville and recently widowed. In the spring of 1538 David Beaton, the future Cardinal, was dispatched to obtain her hand. Comely and opulent, qualities which already attracted Henry VIII, she was also a woman of character and decision, possessed by the passionate orthodoxy which was the characteristic of her house. Such a wife could be used to counteract James IV's English marriage. To Beaton, protagonist of the French Alliance and of the menaced Church in Scotland, Mary of Guise seemed an agent providentially provided. Henry VIII's plaint that he was 'big in person and needed a big wife' was unheeded: Mary preferred his nephew and in the summer of 1538 arrived in Scotland. Her qualities and connections enabled her to play in its history a larger part than any who had worn the crown matrimonial since Canmore's English Margaret.

Twelve months after the queen's arrival the death of James Beaton allowed his nephew's preferment to the See of St Andrews. David Beaton, elevated to the Cardinalate by Paul III in 1538, was well qualified to stand by Mary's side in the crisis that faced Scotland. In France he had completed his education and, probably by Albany's influence, represented Scotland at the French Court. Without religious conviction, and lax in his private relationships, he was wedded by interest to the ecclesi-

astical system everywhere assailed, and realized that Scotland was the keystone of the threatened edifice. A man of firm will, not scrupulous, very competent in the wiles of the age's tortuous diplomacy, he was spurred upon an ambitious course by his abilities and the position they had won him. Under these dominating personalities James' reign approached its closing catastrophe. His hatred of the house of Douglas had wreaked itself in 1537, after his first marriage, by the execution of Angus' nephew by marriage, John, Master of Forbes, and of the Master's wife's mother, Lady Glamis, the latter on a charge of being 'art and part' with Angus in a plot to poison the king, the former on the allegation of an intention to pistol his sovereign. James' second marriage and Beaton's ascendancy spurred him to acts of violence against the Protestants. Patrick Hamilton had been burnt at St Andrews for heresy in 1528. In 1534 three sufferers met the same fate. At the close of 1539 a bigger effort was made to eradicate their sect. At Glasgow and Edinburgh several were sent to the stake and George Buchanan, venomous assailant of James' daughter, barely escaped arrest and judgment.

His nephew's anti-English bias and his own situation urged Henry to an understanding with James for the repudiation of Beaton, than whom, he was convinced, 'England hath no greater enemy.' In the early weeks of 1539 the rivals Charles and Francis bound themselves to make no agreement with Henry not sanctioned by the other's consent, and an invasion of England was believed to be imminent. In these circumstances Sir Ralph Sadler was sent to Scotland in 1540 charged to discredit Beaton, to suggest the spoliation of monasteries as an agreeable source of revenue, and to remind James that Henry's son Edward alone stood between him and the English throne. Sadler failed to dislodge the influences by which James was surrounded. In 1541 friction arose out of Scotland's reception of fugitives from the Pilgrimage of Grace. Henry suggested a meeting at York, and against the

advice of his bishops James agreed. Cautious counsels intervened. Henry arrived at York; James never came. There was a burst of indignation from Henry, whose sister Margaret's death a few weeks later (1541) snapped the last link binding the two Courts in quasi-amical relations. Proposals for a meeting in 1542 were abortive, largely through France's disinclination to see her ally in communication with the common enemy. Thus Solway Moss, like Flodden Field, lies at the door of the Ancient League. Border disturbances were added to the gathering load of enmity and suspicion. In August 1542 Sir Robert Bowes, with the renegade Angus, raided Teviotdale, and fell, with four or five hundred of his men, into Huntly's hands at Hadden Rig. Negotiation followed, and Henry spoke in peremptory tones. Scotland was threatened with invasion in force unless she accepted terms to be imposed in conference at York. They were inexorable; a perpetual peace between the two countries, effectual against every quarter, and therefore operative against France and the Papacy; James to come forthwith to London and to give hostages for his appearance; release of the Hadden Rig prisoners with compensation. The harsh proposals were refused, but, against his Council's advice, James was not unwilling to visit England to discuss an equitable agreement. Henry demanded an instant interview and revived the slumbering claim of suzerainty. Only war could resolve the issue.

In October 1542 Norfolk, son of the victor of Flodden, led an ill-found force across the Border, burnt Kelso Abbey, and was out of Scotland in a week. Mustering a large force, James advanced to Fala Moor to give Norfolk battle. Finding him withdrawn he would have marched into England. None would follow him. Some of the nobles already were eager to adopt Henry's treatment of an over-rich Church; all remembered Flodden and were unwilling to repeat the disaster for France's sake. Still greater humiliation awaited the king. As a counterstroke to Norfolk's raid, James resolved upon a thrust into the Debateable Land. In November, a force some 18,000

strong advanced, burning and ravaging. On the 24th, Sir Thomas Wharton with a force of 3000 headed them between the Solway Firth and the Esk. Confusion and panic made the day disastrous in Scotland's military history. Two earls, five barons, 500 lairds and gentlemen, twenty pieces of ordnance and thirty standards fell to the English. Thousands of horses were bogged and taken. Seven English lives were the price of the victory. The news was carried to James at Lochmaben. Thence he rode to Edinburgh and on to Falkland Palace where, on December 6, he took to his bed mortally wounded in spirit. On the 8th news of the birth of his child was brought to him. Pitscottie paints the scene: 'The king inquired whether it was man or woman. The messenger said it was a fair daughter. The king answered and said, Adieu, farewell, it came with a lass, it will pass with a lass, and so he recommended himself to the mercy of Almighty God and spake a little then from that time forth, but turned his back unto his lords and his face unto the wall.' A week later (December 14) 'He turned him back and looked and beheld all his lords about him and gave a little smile and laughter, anon kissed his hand and offered the same to all his lords round about him and thereafter held up his hands to God and yielded the spirit.'

With James V ended the period of 'The Jameses.' If the age hardly deserves the epithet 'cheerful' which Dr Hill Burton applies to it, and though events more tragic and disastrous were implicit in its happenings, its gloom and tragedy shrouded the royal house rather than the nation. Underneath the passion and turmoil which fill the page of history the country advanced in wealth and position, established itself in the fraternity of European states, achieved the apparatus of a modern organism, and was responsive to the call of the Renaissance and Reformation. James V's death did not at once correct the tradition of Franco-Scottish friendship, but it presaged an imminent and surprising readjustment of Scotland's relationships. For generations her policy had been

governed by the neighbourhood of a powerful, unneighbourly state whose resources far exceeded her own. Opportunity and apprehension drove Scotland to seek the friendship of France, and it would be difficult to exaggerate the impression James IV's defeat and death made upon his countrymen. On Bannockburn Scotland had founded a misleading table of relative values whose faulty reckoning Flodden exposed and Solway Moss confirmed. The humiliations of Albany and James V facing English armies, even the conduct of such traitors as the last of the Douglas earls and Angus, bespeak conviction of the madness of provoking England to win favour in the eyes of France. But the Stewarts, now as later in their Babylonish captivity, counted France their chief prop and stay. Flodden, which thinned the ranks of the Crown's secular counsellors, threw the king into the arms of churchmen whose interests drew the Court into closer dependence on the Valois than ever before. Under their direction the Ancient League promised to continue against Protestant Europe the policy of the French Holy League for the confusion of the Huguenots. As with the churchmen, so with the secular nobles, interested motives drew their gaze towards England, whose king had their admiration as the spoiler of an over-rich Church and the cautious patron of Protestant thought. James V's death, therefore, left Scotland at the parting of the ways: France and Rome beckoned to one, England and a new age to the other. For a quarter of a century the issue was in suspense, till, galloping from Langside in 1568 to the inhospitable shelter of an English roof, Mary Stewart resolved it. Protestantism and the English alliance triumphed, and a transformation of relationships was accomplished essential to the imminent union of the two countries.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ARRAN REGENCY

SOLWAY MOSS and James' death seemingly prostrated Scotland at Henry's feet. The sovereign was an infant a few days old, her one near relative a Frenchwoman. The Franco-Papal policy had encountered humiliating disaster and could be supposed discredited. Secular interests to this point divided Scotland from England, but active minds in the former were moving towards ecclesiastical union and realized their impotence until English support counteracted Guise opposition. The reasonableness of friendship with a neighbour speaking the same tongue and potentially menacing, the disagreeableness of the French connection in intimate experience, and the reconciling interests of religion would have given victory had not Henry's impetuous ferocity driven Scotland into France's closer embrace and exalted Cardinal Beaton as protagonist of an otherwise waning cause.

In Scotland, as in Wales and Ireland, the Tudors were heirs of Plantagenet imperialism; Henry stood to Scotland as Edward I in 1286. Again an infant queen offered the means to unite the realms by marriage with a juvenile Prince Edward. At once upon the news of James' death Henry laid his snares. The Solway Moss prisoners, released on parole from the Tower, were speeded to Scotland to do Henry's business. 'They have not sticked to take upon them to set the crown of Scotland on our head,' Henry could assert. They were pledged and provided to seize the infant queen, kidnap the Cardinal, and secure the chief 'holds and fortresses' of the kingdom. Should Mary die they undertook that Henry, not Arran, should be king. Early in 1543, Henry intimated to the Scottish Council his resolve, by agreement or forcible

measures, to unite the two realms through the marriage of their queen and the Prince of Wales; his agent on the Borders was bidden to entertain every Scotsman ready to aid in securing Mary's person. Angus, who signed the discreditable bond with Henry, and his brother George were restored to Scotland. By the middle of January 1543 Henry's machinery was in motion.

In Scotland the recent disaster diffused an atmosphere of conciliation. The next heir to the Crown after the infant queen was the Earl of Arran, head of the house of Hamilton and great-grandson of James II, a man lacking character, 'half an idiot,' 'a good soft God's man,' in the opinion of a contemporary. His ambitions drew him to Henry, with whom immediately after James' death he was in communication. His career asserts him devoid of ability, unstable, but his position could not be ignored. Early in January 1543 he was named Regent and tutor of the young sovereign. The restoration of the Douglas brothers to their lands also advanced Henry's schemes. Opposed to Arran were Beaton and the united Church. On the Cardinal's shoulders rested the interests Henry assailed, the French alliance and Papal rule. At him in chief Henry's enmity was aimed.

Henry's 'assured Scots' returned from England to find Arran installed in power. Angus and the other lords, boasting Henry's support, easily influenced the weak Regent to countenance a plot 'to have the Cardinal by the back.' On January 27 he was arrested and confined at Dalkeith. Five weeks later the Estates helped the design upon its course. The English marriage was discussed, ambassadors were appointed to treat; the queen was to remain in Scotland till she was ten years old, no fortresses were offered for surrender, and safeguards were taken to secure the rights of the legal heirs in case the marriage was barren. At the same time, following the example of Henry, who in 1538 ordered the 'Matthew Bible' to be placed in the churches, the Estates directed the Old and New Testaments to be circulated in the

vulgar tongue, a step adventured on Henry's prompting but significant of the trend of opinion in the English party. Sadler arrived to carry negotiations to an agreement, and on July 1, 1543, two documents were signed at Greenwich. The first was a treaty of peace, in which, contrary to Henry's will, France was included. The second sanctioned the marriage, but on terms to Henry's misliking. For her charge and education an English nobleman and his wife might be sent to reside with the future bride, whose removal to England was to await her tenth year: Scotland's independence and autonomy were safeguarded. Six Scottish hostages were to guarantee observance of the agreement.

Extreme improbability that the treaty would mature had meanwhile been demonstrated by events in Scotland. Beaton's arrest, the Estates' sanction of a vernacular Bible, and Henry's injudicious revival of pretensions to suzerainty gathered simmering indignation to a head. The priests refused to say Mass, christen, or bury so long as the Cardinal was in ward. Huntly, Argyll, and the queen's natural brother Moray, heading a formidable opposition, demanded Beaton's release and censured truckling with heresy. Their hands were strengthened by the return from France of two men whose attachment to Rome made them willing partisans of the Cardinal—Arran's cousin Matthew, Earl of Lennox (father of Lord Darnley) and John Hamilton, Arran's natural brother, Abbot of Paisley and later Archbishop of St Andrews. Lennox was next heir to the throne after Arran and stood before him if Arran's legitimacy was challenged. The fact influenced Arran to propitiate the Catholic party and to moderate his inclination to harry religious houses after the English example. Provost Hamilton urged that course and Arran surrendered. Beaton was removed to St Andrews and soon recovered complete liberty. The clergy in convocation voted their means to the confusion of Henry's projects, and a French fleet off the East coast marked France's close observation of the situation. On July 21, three weeks after

the ceremony at Greenwich, Beaton and his associates marched upon Linlithgow, where the infant queen lay under her mother's care. The Palace was strongly held, but Arran was in a mood to negotiate. Beaton's demand to share the custody of the queen was conceded. She was withdrawn to Stirling and Arran succumbed to Beaton's stronger purpose. Early in September he did public penance for his 'apostasy'; Beaton as Chancellor, the Queen-Mother, and a number of Francophile bishops were added to the Council. In December the Estates, using Henry's recent seizure of Scottish ships as a pretext, denounced the Greenwich treaties, renewed the French alliance, and ordered episcopal inquisition into heresies. It was clear to demonstration that the Anglophile Scots on their own resources were powerless to achieve Henry's 'godly purposes.' If Scotland was to be won it must be by his own wooing, and a rude one he was preparing.

The need to recover the situation in Scotland was the greater because in June 1543 Henry dispatched to France an ultimatum equivalent to a declaration of war. His military effort being proposed for 1544, it was essential to protect his Scottish flank. In December he declared war unless the Greenwich treaties were observed. In May 1544, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, uncle of the infant Mary's destined bridegroom, appeared in Scotland by sea with a powerful force to demonstrate the consequences of Beaton's ascendancy. He was charged to destroy Edinburgh, Holyrood, St Andrews, and fulfilled his punitive purpose with excessive rigour. Beaton and Arran withdrew before him. For five miles round Edinburgh the country was laid in ruins and of James IV's Palace Hertford raised 'a jolly fire.' 'Wo worth the Cardinal' the women cried who saw the blaze. Through the summer and autumn raids were constant. Angus, charged to defend the Borders, displayed little energy, and though an English force was severely handled at Ancrum Moor in February 1545 the menace of Henry's hostility was not lightened. Lennox, scheming to advance

his ambition by union with Margaret Douglas, Angus' daughter, was now active in Henry's behalf. The Queen-Mother, momentarily asserting herself, made a futile effort, in incongruous association with the Douglases, to get rid of Arran; for, though the inconveniences of the Cardinal's policy were undermining his popularity, he was able to frustrate the queen's design. In the spring of 1545 rumours of an impending French invasion moved Henry, whom the Emperor had now deserted, to offer friendship on condition that the Greenwich treaties were confirmed. He was repulsed. Auxiliaries from France, led by Lorges de Montgomery, arrived in May 1545. In the following August a Franco-Scottish army took the old road into England but achieved little; Douglas intrigue playing its customary rôle. Henry retaliated in the late autumn. Hertford again crossed the Border and retired leaving a blackened country behind him and the Abbeys of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh and Jedburgh smoking ruins. Seven monasteries, sixteen castles, five market towns and two hundred and forty-three villages were demolished.

Meanwhile the English leaven was working in a sudden stir of Protestant feeling. Before his penance Arran's interest, if not his conscience, approved the plunder of the wealthy Church and the rabbling of the religious. Even on his journey from Edinburgh to surrender to Beaton his retinue attempted spoliation of the Black Friars. Dundee witnessed a similar demonstration. Lindores and Arbroath Abbeys were threatened. After Arran's recantation Beaton addressed himself to curb this aggressive spirit. Bishops were urged to hold searching inquisition. Heavy punishments were imposed for trivial offences which passion and bigotry magnified into heinous crimes. By the summer of 1545 Beaton boasted with ill-founded confidence that 'heresy is dead.' In that mood he laid hands on George Wishart and decreed his own doom. Wishart had been exiled from Scotland in 1538, had visited Germany and Switzerland, and had exposed himself to charges of heresy in England. He returned to Scotland after James V's

death in company with the 'assured Scots' on whom Henry relied to destroy Beaton. That he was art and part with them in their plots against the Cardinal's life is probable but not proven. Challenging the order of the Estates he preached widely and with effect, and the outburst of iconoclasm which presaged the coming storm was in large measure due to his inspiration. At the New Year of 1546 he came to Haddington eager to denounce the 'mummeries' whose observance marked the season. The occasion is memorable; John Knox steps upon the stage of history in the scanty audience who greeted the preacher. He has penned a vivid portrait of his precursor: 'George Wischart was a man of tall stature, polde headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best; judged of melancholye complexion by his phisiognomie, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learne, and was well travelled, having on him for his habit or clothing never but a mantell frise gowne to the shoes, a blacke Millian fustian dublet, and plaine blacke hosen, coarse new canvasse for his shirtes, and white falling bandes and cuffes at the handes. He had commonly by his bedside a tubbe of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) hee used to bathe himselfe, as I, being very yong, being assured offen, heard him, and in one light night discerned him. Hee loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. O that the Lord had left him to mee, his poore boy, that hee might have finished that he had begunne!' At midnight after the meeting Wishart was arrested, surrendered to Beaton and tried for heresy. A few weeks later he was 'brynt to poulder' in front of the Cardinal's seat at St Andrews. There is a legend that Beaton gazed exultingly on the scene from a tower of his castle and that Wishart foretold the day not distant when the Cardinal's body should hang lifeless from its battlements. As Dr Hill Burton comments, the martyr may have predicted without needing to rely on the aid of prophecy.

The conscience of both religious factions approved assassination as a weapon permissible in God's service. Henry had long plotted Beaton's death with willing agents among his 'assured' friends in Scotland. Of their number most persistent was Alexander Crichton, laird of Brunstane in Midlothian. In the spring of 1544 he was in communication with Hertford with a proposal to apprehend or slay the Cardinal should he be encountered outside the protection of his stout walls. Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange, late Treasurer of Scotland, and the Earl of Rothes' eldest son Norman Leslie, were named as accessory. 'A Scotisheman called Wysshert' was Brunstane's agent in making the communication and was escorted to London to obtain the interview he craved with Henry. That he was George Wishart is most probable: his swift avenging in May 1546 by the men whose names are linked with his own in April 1544, and the absence of another Wishart prominent in the counsels of Beaton's enemies, offer inferential proof. Henry was cautious and preferred to incite Brunstane to action with vague pledges of his royal 'honour, liberality and goodness.' Brunstane was not encouraged. In May 1545 Cassillis, another 'assured Scot,' also was offering the Cardinal's death. Henry's attitude was again non-committing, and fresh overtures from Brunstane had no better fortune.

Wishart's death stirred to action forces which so far waited upon Henry. Beaton realized his danger. In May 1546, a few weeks after Wishart's death, workmen were strengthening his castle's fabric. Early on the morning of the 29th Norman Leslie, William Kirkcaldy, Grange's son, and a dozen or more, mingling with the workmen as they passed in to their tasks, overpowered the sentinels, closed the gates, and sought their quarry. Upon a staircase, or within his own chamber—the accounts are conflicting—they found Beaton and did him to death. The Provost and townsfolk, assembling at the rumour of tumult, were shown the Cardinal's body suspended from the tower whence he had witnessed Wishart's death. The

event was the first act of retaliation by a faction which as yet bore persecution passively. Both sides had immolated a martyr to their convictions and in more passionate mood rallied for a testing conflict.

Meanwhile, throughout Europe Beaton's death was laid at Henry's door and in England was joyfully acclaimed. The event was another damaging blow to the lingering tradition of the Ancient League and removed from his path the most obstinate obstruction to the alliance Henry sought. But, immediately, neither of the hopes founded upon the deed was realized. The Scots persisted in their defiance and the enemies of the old Church were not spurred to action. Whatever satisfaction he may have felt at Beaton's removal, Arran knew that the country would not tolerate an understanding with England. Wishart's contact with Switzerland touched Scotland with Calvinist thought, whose rigid definitions looked askance upon Henry's conservative theology. With the Queen-Mother at his side, whose firm position events were soon to demonstrate, Arran pursued the path the Cardinal had chosen. Huntly replaced Beaton as Chancellor, the rejection of the English alliance was unanimously confirmed by the Estates, and even the Douglases denounced 'the godly purpose of marriage' between their queen and their paymaster's son. A veto was placed upon the rabbling of religious houses, and the authors of the Cardinal's murder were marked for punishment. Leslie and his companions had capped crime by seizing their victim's strong and well-stocked castle, proposing to use it for their protection against the law and as a strong refuge for those whom Beaton's death might call to action. The accessibility of St Andrews by sea to English succours added a reason for the castle's retention. To reduce it was Arran's chief purpose. Taxes were imposed for the enterprise and the national levies were grouped into four districts to facilitate an uninterrupted siege. For fourteen months the garrison held its assailants at bay. Knox joined the beleaguered and chose his part in the

coming revolution. Towards the end of December Arran's ill-success prompted him to concede a truce to the 'Castilians' which permitted them to retain the castle unmolested until absolution for the Cardinal's slaughter should come from Rome. It arrived four months later, in April 1547. The besieged, alleging verbal snares, refused it, and declared 'they would rather have a boll of wheat than all the Pope's remissions.' But the adventure was near its end. England sent provisions before the truce. But Henry died in January and his successor's effort was too late to bring relief. His rival Francis I followed him to the grave in March, an event which made the Guises all-powerful in France. Already they formed plans for the infant queen and were prompt to succour their sister's need. Under Leo Strozzi, Prior of Capua, a skilful captain, galleys well equipped with artillery were dispatched to Scotland. Late in July 1547 a breach was made in the walls and the garrison capitulated. Their lives were spared, but all were transported to France, where Knox and others for nearly two years toiled as slaves in the galleys. Beaton's murder was avenged; a flicker of vitality animated the expiring French alliance, and popular feeling found expression in a doggerel couplet:

Preastes content yow now; preastes, content yow now;
For Normond [Leslie] and his cumpany hes filled the galleys fow.

A document discovered in the castle revealed the considerable dimensions of a party among the nobles eager to substitute English for French friendship. The sex of the sovereign threatened Scotland with domination, whichever of her neighbours prevailed. 'What would you say,' asked a Scot of an Englishman, 'if your lad were a lass, and our lass were a lad?' There was no veering in the public mood of opposition to England,. nor could England, at length committed to a Reformation more thorough than Henry VIII had permitted, stand indifferent to the situation in Scotland. French forces had seized St Andrews, frequented

the streets of Edinburgh, and, it was suspected, proposed to withdraw the young queen to France's distant protection. Early in September 1547 Hertford, now Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector, with a force 16,000 strong, entered Scotland, counting on the co-operation of Lennox, Bothwell (father of Queen Mary's husband), Glencairn and others with whom he was in correspondence. The fiery cross was sent round by the priests, but many of the 23,000 who faced Somerset at Pinkie were Irish archers brought up by Argyll. Confident in their numbers the Scots for the first time in half a century gave battle. On September 9 the two hosts faced each other, Esk Water intervening. On the morrow—'Black Saturday'—abandoning high ground, the Scottish host crossed the Esk to threaten the English left. Ere nightfall the battlefield was a shambles. Arran rode from the field; Huntly was a prisoner; at least six thousand lay dead upon the field; and fifteen hundred were captives. Pinkie was the bloodiest and last of Scotland's disasters in her contest for national existence and weighed even more heavily than Solway Moss. At distant Elgin, under the immediate shadow of the disaster, the community 'electit and menit Sanct Geill [Giles], thair Patroun, Provest for ane zeyr nyxt to cum.' For the Church the ruin was irreparable: its sacred banner representing it in supplication to Christ, a significant interpretation of the battle, was among the spoils of the victors. Next day Leith was occupied and fired. The Forth was secured by the seizure of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, the Tay by the capture of Broughty Castle. Later Dundee and Arbroath were occupied. Meanwhile Lennox and his associates were active in the Lothians. Haddington, occupied in April 1548, made the English masters of the country almost to the walls of Edinburgh.

The chief fortresses of the south, Edinburgh, Stirling and Dumbarton, remained in Scottish hands, and all was not lost. But Somerset's victory proved a Pyrrhic success; for his terrific display of English power and purpose induced a decision of far-reaching import. A few

days after the battle his herald declared his master's determination to 'forward the godly purpose of the marriage' by force if other measures could not prevail, while Sir George Douglas was ready to kidnap the five-year old queen for a reward. The Queen-Mother, therefore, removed her charge to the Island of Inchmahome on the Loch of Menteith, half-way between Stirling and the Highlands, whereon for centuries stood an Augustinian Priory to which Robert Bruce was not a stranger. Here the visitor may see the child's pleasaunce, the boxwood-hedged 'first garden of her simpleness,' amid

The gleams, the shadows, and the peace profound

remote from the turmoil of a distracted realm. Already appeal had been made to France, and in June 1548 André de Montalembert, Sieur d'Essé, arrived with a force of 6000. The new king Henry II and his Guise mentors were fixed in a resolution to prevent Scotland from following England along the paths of heresy, and to recover Boulogne, Henry VIII's capture, and Calais. Possession of the Scottish queen was essential to their design; for England's rough wooing had a rival in Arran, who hoped to win the sovereign for his son. Encamped round Haddington, whose recapture was a pressing need, the French demanded the queen's hand for the Dauphin and her instant passage to France. In July 1548, 'in ane voice' the Estates, convened in the Abbey outside the town, accepted a proposal which promised the queen safety and to divert England's enmity to another target. Scotland's laws and liberties were jealously safeguarded and the French king undertook to pursue her quarrels as his own. At the end of the month the queen was moved to Dumbarton and sailed to France. For thirteen years it was her home.

Meanwhile England was again at war upon two fronts. France and Scotland had their advantage in her dilemma. By the spring of 1549 the chief places held by the English were recovered, and in the autumn Haddington was

evacuated, after a year and a half's occupation, by a garrison hard pressed by famine and disease. In March 1550 deliverance was completed by the Treaty of Boulogne between England and France, to which Scotland was admitted. After eight years of war she recovered her natural frontiers and was abandoned by England to the protection of France. One thing was needed to complete the French victory. The queen was in France, shortly to be married to the heir of that monarchy. Scotland was strengthened by a French garrison. But Arran remained Regent. His substitution by the Queen-Mother would complete the linking of the two kingdoms. In September 1550, Mary of Guise visited France to see her daughter and take counsel with her brothers. The project required careful handling; there was no effective precedent for a woman's assumption of the Regency. Margaret Tudor, who held that office briefly, had been forced to demit it. Arran's ambition also had to be conciliated. The formal acts by which the transference of power was effected are not extant. But upon proposals from France, Arran, solaced by the duchy of Châtellerault, gave reluctant assent to Mary's assumption of the Regency when her daughter should reach the age of twelve (December 1554). In April 1554, impatient to await that period, and fortified by the concurrence of her Council and the Parlement of Paris, Mary won Arran's withdrawal and assumed an authority which Knox's intemperate pen found 'as seemly a sight (if men had eyes) as to put a saddle upon the back of an unruly cow.' Mary's elevation gave France a status in Scotland which, except at the sword's point, England had not held since the reign of Henry III. Yet her fall was implicit in her victory, a paradox which events resolved.

CHAPTER XIV

THE REFORMATION

THE short Regency of Mary of Guise witnessed a revolution the most drastic in Scotland's experience. Maitland of Lethington's call to England to 'join straitly together' in an 'earnest embracing of religion' was at length answered. France's delusive alliance was definitively rejected, and Scotland, burying the animosities of centuries, buttressed herself upon the friendship of a sometime enemy and, despite her rulers, joined the forces of reform and progress. Mary Stewart, returning to her native land in 1561 after thirteen years' absence, found Beaton's Church in ruins, France no longer regarded, and herself the disapproving head of a Protestant establishment. A transformation so momentous was not shallow-rooted in the soil out of which it emerged; nor is the significance of Mary of Guise's Regency apprehended apart from its French context. Scotland was the keystone of an edifice of which her brothers were the architects. To their plans she squared her actions.

For half a century the princes of the house of Guise played a part in the politics of western Europe matched only by their contemporary Philip II of Spain. Cadets of Lorraine and descended from the dukes of Anjou, in the second half of the sixteenth century they steadily rose in importance, dwarfed the feeble kings of the once vigorous line of Valois, and rivalled the Bourbons as their would-be successors. The crisis produced by Francis I's capture at Pavia in 1525 gave them opportunity to act for the kingdom's defence. On her north-eastern border, where France was especially vulnerable, the prowess of Anthony of Lorraine, James V's uncle by marriage, gained the gratitude of the Parisians and spurred the ambition

of his relatives. His brother Claude, Duke of Guise, the Regent's father, though unsuccessful in pushing his fortunes at Court, served Francis I with zeal and won dignities and rewards for his family. His youngest brother John, Cardinal of Lorraine, was conspicuous in the French Renaissance and at the court of his sovereign. But the fortunes of the family were established by its second generation, the children of Duke Claude (d. 1550). The eldest, Francis, who succeeded his father in the dukedom, was acclaimed the first captain of his day. Against Charles V's utmost efforts to recover it, Francis held Metz and retained for France a region important in itself and rich in promise of future expansion. He fought the English at Boulogne and an honourable scar upon his face won him the sobriquet *le Balafré*, by which his son Henry also was known. Of Henry II (1547–1559) he was the constant companion, sharing a common enthusiasm for manly exercises. His lacking as a statesman was supplied by his brother Charles, Archbishop of Rheims, who succeeded their uncle as Cardinal of Lorraine, a man physically timid but with a brain of Italian keenness, of imposing presence, and eloquent oratory. Within the Council of Trent, which rallied the Papal Church for a duel *à outrance* with Protestantism, his influence was commanding. Another brother, Louis, became Cardinal of Guise, a duplication of high position in the Church's hierarchy which bespeaks intimate concern for interests the Reformation assailed. Secure in the favour of Henry II's mistress, Diane de Poictiers, the Guise brothers dominated their sovereign's court—'the Pope and King of France' men styled them—and relegated his neglected Italian wife, Catharine de' Medici, to undignified obscurity. Their sister Mary's marriage with James V of Scotland crowned their dignities with royal honours and extended their influence to a region which soon became the postern of their diplomacy. In 1559 the premature death of Henry II placed their Scottish niece upon the throne of France itself. Queen of Scotland, queen of France, queen-claimant of England

and Ireland, her frail person promised almost dazzling greatness for their house. On her shoulders rested the hopes of Roman Catholic Christendom. To advance these associated interests—the grandeur of the house of Guise and the Church's triumph over heresy—was the Regent's delegated mission.

So charged, the Regent's failure was foredoomed. A foreigner, her task was to administer Scotland in the interests of France, and by subtler means to attempt a purpose which England's armed might had abandoned. Sympathetic as Scotland had shown herself to French ideas and culture, and easily as her sons acclimatized themselves beneath the skies of France, the two races never mingled agreeably on Scottish soil. The French troops on whom the Regent relied provoked popular violence. The suspicion was well founded that the youthful and distant queen was not a firm champion of Scotland's rights and independence, and the 'crown matrimonial' worn by her husband suggested the undisguised rule of a foreign prince. What the Scottish community had so stubbornly withheld from England was abandoned to France by Scotland's sovereign. The assault of the Reformation under Knox's banner breached the alliance at another angle. But when appeal to arms first was made, it was the 'insolence and intolerable oppression of the French' which the Lords of the Congregation challenged. The courage and ability of the Regent availed nothing in a situation which imposed upon her sharp antagonism to the secular and ecclesiastical convictions of her daughter's subjects.

The Regent's earliest acts revealed her bias. She 'neglected almost all the Scots nobles,' Bishop Leslie complained, and in spite of her people's dislike of foreigners in Scotland's high places, set her countrymen in authority. As her principal adviser she chose d'Oyzel, the French agent whose active diplomacy had prepared the young queen's departure for France. Huntly, suspected of insincerity, was for administrative purposes superseded by de Roubay, to whom the Great Seal was entrusted as

acting Chancellor. The chief fortresses of the kingdom, excepting Edinburgh, were in Frenchmen's hands. Hence, within a twelvemonth, Mary faced an angry opposition. In June 1555, along with injunctions against the use of meat in Lent and other Protestant lapses, the Estates were summoned to threaten penalties against persons guilty of 'speaking evil of the Queen's Grace or Frenchmen.' In the following year stubborn resistance was offered to a proposal to maintain a standing army, after the example of France, and to impose its burden upon the property owners of the kingdom. Recommended as a necessary defence against the machinations of England, the project was contrary to Scottish tradition, which compelled the sovereign to rely on his feudal array and scarcely allowed him the protection of an adequate bodyguard, and emanated from French counsels. It was therefore doubly anathema. Discontent, after manifesting itself in many 'privy assemblies and conventions,' gathered to a head in a meeting within the Abbey Church of Holyrood (1556) attended by three hundred country lairds. The protesters delegated two of their number to represent to the Regent their willingness and ability to perform the military service attached to their tenures; alleging that the substitution of a mercenary army would sap the country of its strength, and that the very title Queen 'of Scots' borne by the sovereign excluded lordship of the country's money or substance. The Regent yielded to objections inspired in some measure by Anglophile sentiment, and encountered a further rebuff in 1557. Influenced by her husband Philip II, Mary Tudor declared war upon France in June of that year, and Paris was shortly exposed to the danger of an Imperialist attack. On an urgent appeal from France, the Regent called her Council to make immediate declaration of war upon England. Being refused, she provoked hostilities by fortifying Eyemouth against the town of Berwick, a breach of the treaty of 1550. In October a large army assembled at Kelso and the Regent eagerly recommended the invasion of England.

Châtellerault, Huntly, Argyll, and other nobles declared themselves assembled for the defence of Scotland and for no aggressive purpose, and in dudgeon the Regent disbanded them.

The year 1558 offered compensation for these rebuffs. On April 24th the youthful *reinette d'Ecosse* was married to her boy husband, afterwards Francis II, at Paris in Nôtre Dame 'with great solemnity, triumph, and banqueting.' The ceremony was the sequel to momentous happenings. Five days earlier the Commissioners delegated by the Estates to attend the marriage were reassured by a treaty which confirmed the Haddington agreement and amply safeguarded Scotland's nationality and independence. If a son were born of the marriage he should succeed to both thrones; if daughters (excluded from the French succession by the Salic Law), the eldest should reign in Scotland. Châtellerault's position as heir presumptive was admitted. But, some days before the public treaty, the girl queen had been influenced, certainly by her Guise uncles, to sign three secret documents whose object was to convey her kingdom, in default of heirs of her body, to the house of Valois. The first document made the conveyance. The second meanwhile constituted Henry II master of Scotland till the cost of Mary's maintenance in France, stated roundly at 1,000,000 gold pieces, had been refunded. The third declared the present agreement binding on the two kingdoms against all deeds inconsistent with its tenor to which the queen might have put her hand. The purport of these infamous documents was unknown to the Commissioners. But before their departure they were asked to recommend the Estates to send to France the 'Honours of Scotland'—the Crown, Sceptre, and other regalia—in order that the Dauphin might be invested with the 'Crown matrimonial,' a title of cryptic meaning interpreted to connote complete partnership in the Crown.

Reassured by the public marriage treaty, the Estates at their meeting in November 1558 authorized the

Dauphin's use of the title 'during the marriage allenarly' and dispatched a crown made specially for his use. Lord James Stewart and Argyll, foremost opponents of French influence and France's religion, conveyed it to enhance the compliment. In the same month, on the death of Mary Tudor, Mary and her husband assumed the arms of England and Ireland. In July 1559 Henry II's sudden death prematurely set them on the throne of France and advanced the Guises' fortunes to their zenith. Already the gratifying issue of the war with England and the Empire was charged to their ability. France had been saved from invasion after the fall of St Quentin (August 1557). Calais and Guines had been won and the last relic of the Plantagenet heritage in France recovered. The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in April 1559 closed half a century's rivalry between Valois and Habsburg, bound their houses in a joint crusade against Protestantism, and opened the Counter-Reformation or Catholic reaction as an aggressive movement. Mary Stewart and her husband inherited the obligations it created. Hence the year 1559 was ordained by events outside the kingdom to be critical in Scotland's history. The menace latent in Guise influence and ambition was patent. Nothing less was at stake than Scotland's independence and the victory or defeat of a religion which at length was making compelling appeal to her conscience.

When the Bible first began to circulate in vernacular texts its most forceful appeal was in the contrast it presented between the Apostolic Church, poor and earnest in its care for souls, and the mediaeval Church, wealthy, sluggish, careless of its spiritual charge. Long before the Reformation burst upon it, the Church invited criticism by its immersion in secular activities, the inertness and lax living of its clergy, the abuses of its patronage, scandals of its jurisdiction, and the pluralism and nepotism at which it connived. Its immunity from civil jurisdiction, taxation, and obligations of civil citizenship was a privilege the less defensible because of its excessive

share of the national wealth. In Scotland its abuses were more glaring because the country was poor and sparsely populated. The Church was over-wealthy. Its clergy more than elsewhere deserved the epithets 'dumb dogs' and 'idle bellies' which the heterodox hurled at them, and were little rehearsed in the Bible on which the reformers took their stand. The Church's richest benefices not infrequently were commended to laymen, even to infants; whence it resulted that its revenues, large as they were, were devoted in but a fractional degree to the cause of religion. Popular dissatisfaction and even hatred were excited by the exactions of the Consistorial Courts, which were flagrant and affected every class. Breach of the Canon Law was redeemable for money, 'as though the Decalogue had been enacted for this very purpose.' Their principal occupation was the issue of dispensations for the marriage of couples within prohibited degrees; the categories of prohibition being numerous and the scale of charges profitable. In general the Church's attitude was less to preach amendment and inculcate contrition than to advertise financial expedients and enforce mechanical nostrums for sin's obliteration. Dunbar, Henryson, and Sir David Lyndsay assailed the scandal with their satire. But so powerful was the Church's sway, so universal the respect for tradition and authority, that a new courage was needed to challenge an institution under which Christendom had grown to manhood. The Renaissance provided it in the vernacular Bible, furnishing an authority higher than that it emboldened men to impeach. The Printing Press gave new ideas range and rapidity of currency hitherto impossible and facilitated common action over wide areas. Hence, before the sixteenth century reached its close, Christendom was everywhere in ferment and men were bold to impeach a system which revolted their awakened intelligence.

The seed of the Reformation fell in Scotland upon a ground well harrowed to receive it. Her backward civilization was not incompatible with a tradition of

education which Knox continued rather than created. Scholastic intercourse with the Continent had been intimate, and Scotland lagged but little behind her neighbours in intelligent reception of new ideas. At the period in which Wykliffe's influence was most powerful at Oxford as many as eighty-one young Scotsmen in a single year had safe-conducts to proceed thither for study. Lollardy found early entrance and Lutheranism secured as speedy a lodgment. Between the Continent and the ports of Leith, Dundee, and Montrose intercourse was close and constant. By 1525 the circulation of Lutheran literature was sufficiently general to call for an Act of Parliament forbidding its importation on pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of ship and cargo. Tyndale's New Testament was in circulation by 1526, and the rapid spread of heretical opinion invited renewed legislation in 1527 and 1535, menacing persons engaged in spreading Lutheran views and requiring surrender of Lutheran literature. The burning of Patrick Hamilton, great-grandson of James II, at St Andrews in 1528 did much to advertise and more to commend heterodoxy. The lingering agony of his martyrdom challenged the public conscience; his 'reik,' it was said, 'infected as many as it blew upon.'

Between Hamilton's death and the martyrdom of George Wishart in 1546 the tale of Scottish sufferers was actually and relatively small. But Acts of Parliament and the proceedings of the Council declare the advancing tide of heretical opinion. In 1540 a consecutive series of Acts indicates the points upon which the Church was assailed. By one the Virgin was ordered to be 'reverently worshipped.' Another enjoined 'honour of the holy Sacraments.' Another commanded that no private conventions be made to dispute on the Scripture, using in the body of the Act the word 'conventicle' afterwards notorious. Another denounced under pain of death any who impugned the authority of the Pope. Reverence of the saints was ordered, and persons were forbidden to cast down or treat their images irreverently. Men

suspect of heresy, even those who had seen their error, were forbidden to discuss matters touching 'our holy faith,' were declared ineligible for public offices, and for admission to the royal Council. At the same time the faults of the clergy were not concealed. Negligence of divine service, the 'great unhonesty in the Kirk' through its neglect of the Sacraments, 'the unhonesty and misrule of Kirkmen both in wit, knowledge, and manners,' were impaled as reasons why Church and churchmen 'are lightlied and condemned.' Archbishops, prelates, and churchmen of every degree were bidden to reform themselves 'in habit and manners to God and man.'

Upon the death of James V, as has been shown already, Protestant stirring manifested itself in the rabbling of religious houses in Dundee, Arbroath, and elsewhere, demonstrations whose impulse was derived from George Wishart, the influence of English propaganda, and revelation of the state of English monastic houses. Wishart's death in 1546 advanced Protestant opinion towards the standpoint on which it stood eventually under Knox. Lollards and Lutherans so far were its guides. Wishart had lived in Switzerland, accepted the tenets of Calvin, and aimed not merely to reform doctrine and ritual, but at ecclesiastical reconstruction. The accession of Mary Tudor (1553), a bigoted Catholic, to the English throne reacted upon Scotland. Knox, since 1549 at work in England, fled to Geneva from persecution. Other exiles found asylum in Scotland and became active propagandists. Spain and England being for the moment at one, and France eager not to sacrifice Scotland's support, the preachers were not molested. At the same time the Church firmly rejected reform and clamoured for the protection of a friendly government against the 'pestilential heresies' which assailed it. Its defences, it was plain, could be carried only by strong assault.

Popular ferment would have been vain and opposition futile had not the nobility ranged themselves with the Church's assailants. As an order they were moved by

cupidity and ambition. For more than a century the Scottish kings, like their neighbours, leaned on the Church in hope to break their feudal baronage, to whom the Reformation promised agreeable opportunity to destroy a rival. The Church's wealth and England's example added incentives to do so. But it would be rash to assume that individuals lacked higher motives, if in numbers they were inconspicuous. If there is no ground to suppose that the preachers made more compelling appeal to the nobility than to other classes, there is no reason why it should have been less. As Dr Hume Brown remarks, neither individuals nor classes are wont to act from a single motive, and by whatever impulses their order was actuated, it is incontestable that the nobles made the Reformation possible. It was accomplished in defiance of the sovereign, with whom, had the nobility sided with her, victory must have rested. Essentially feudal as Scotland's polity remained, no other force was available to reduce the stubborn opposition of the Crown, with whom moreover their relations were traditionally hostile. Upon other issues, the Covenants were the familiar 'bands' of an earlier day.

As an advancing cause, the Reformation dates from Knox's visit to Scotland in 1555. Of his early life little is known. He was born in 1515, two years after Flodden, of Lothian stock. In 1540 he was a papal notary and in priest's orders; in 1545 tutor to the sons of the lairds of Ormiston and Longniddry, in attendance on Wishart when the martyr was arrested, and already a convert to his preaching. Beaton's assassination in 1546 moving him 'merrily,' he joined Norman Leslie's beleaguered garrison in St Andrews as preacher. Released from the French galleys early in 1549 he spent four years in England, was offered and refused preferment, and again passed into exile when Mary Tudor became queen in 1553. His contact with Calvin and Geneva fixed the principles of his faith and taught him that alliance between England and Scotland on the basis of their common Protestantism must

be secured for the general success of the Reformation. He was the most violent of the Reformers, a man without fear, outspoken, stern, rugged, obsessed by convictions that blotted out certain aspects of man's relation to God worthy of culture, deriving his force and success from the fact that he epitomized the character of the people to whom he made his appeal. 'Narrow intensity,' it has been said, is the special note of Scottish genius, and Knox evolved a religion impressed with the intellectual characteristics of the people he served. His visit to Scotland lasted from September 1555 till July 1556. The Regent had been installed for more than a year, and across the Border Mary Tudor was harrying the Protestants. But Knox was allowed unexpected freedom and preached widely throughout the country, looking 'rather for sentence of death,' he admitted to the Regent, than the licence her consideration for France's interests permitted him. In the Mearns the greater number of the lairds 'band' themselves to maintain the true preaching of the Evangel as God should send them preachers and opportunity. Converts or supporters were found among the nobility, notably Lord James Stewart (later Earl of Moray and Regent), the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, Erskine of Dun, and Maitland of Lethington. The value of their alliance was apparent in May 1556 when the clergy summoned courage to call Knox before an ecclesiastical court. At the last moment their hearts failed them, and Knox, it would seem, had no mind to play the martyr. In July he returned to Geneva, leaving his enemies the vain satisfaction of burning his effigy.

A section of the nobility being now openly identified with the Protestant movement, its progress was accelerated. In December 1557 the first Covenant was signed, a 'band' pledging its signatories 'to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God' and to labour for the institution and support of 'faithful ministers purely and truly to minister Christ's Evangel and Sacraments to His people.' The 'Congregation of Jesus Christ,' or

'Lords of the Congregation,' as the new organization came to be called, ranged itself in open opposition to the 'Synagogue of Satan,' so it styled the Catholic Church unreformed, and forthwith sent an urgent summons to Knox, which he answered somewhat deliberately. Meanwhile the Congregation demanded adoption of the second, more extreme, Prayer-book of Edward VI, with the lectionary prescribed in it, and, pending the licence of public preaching, permission to encourage the expounding and discussion of Scripture 'in quiet houses, without great conventions of people thereto.' The demands embarrassed the Regent, already involved with the Estates over the proposed standing army and her preference for French counsellors. The Congregation therefore ventured another step towards a functioning Church. For the moment, the lack of competent ministers was an impediment; their place was taken by a voluntary band of laymen assigned to the work of exhortation. A Court of Elders also was elected, to which the obedience of the faithful was pledged. At Dundee the first Reformed church in Scotland was forthwith set up.

Emboldened by the new organization, the Congregation demanded the immediate reform of the 'State ecclesiastical,' with liberty to itself to worship publicly according to the reformed ritual. But the Regent's position was now secure; the marriage of her daughter and the Dauphin was already in train and on April 24, 1558, was celebrated. Her answer proposed a settlement which the Congregation could not accept, and on April 28 Walter Mill, an old man of 'decrepit' age, as a priest doubly a renegade, was given to the stake. The last of the Protestant martyrs, his death was a challenge to the Congregation. The Lords at once demanded legislation suspending the clergy's power to try and punish heresy until a General Council laid down authoritatively what opinions were heretical. The Regent gave the petitioners 'amiable looks' but refused to bring the matter before the Estates. In answer, the Congregation presented a considered Protestation directly to

Parliament. Having failed to move the authorities to sanction the reforms upon which they were set, they declared an intention to follow their own consciences, to worship God after their own manner, to defend themselves if attacked, and 'if it sall chance that Abusses be violentlie reformed'—an ominous threat—imputed the blame to those who refused a just reformation. Coincidently (November 1558) the death of Mary Tudor changed the situation to their advantage. Elizabeth, whose birth condemned her to be Protestant or bastard, mounted her sister's throne. Menaced by Guise ambition and the open rivalry of Mary Stewart, Elizabeth could not neglect the weapon Scotland's Protestant revolt offered to her hand. In April 1559 the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis united France and Spain in a projected assault upon Protestant Europe. In May Knox was again in Scotland. The prospect of English support loomed hopefully and both sides rallied for the sharp encounter which brought down the Roman Church and French alliance in ruin together.

Already in March 1559 the last Provincial Council of the unreformed Church had assembled to deal with the crisis which the Congregation forced. It had before it suggestions for reform from a body of secular nobles and lairds well affected to the Catholic establishment, but owning its shortcomings. The profligacy, idleness, and ignorance of the clergy were admitted and condemned. An extended use of the vernacular in the ritual of worship was suggested. The procedure of the Consistorial Courts was recommended for shortening or simplification, and the abolition or diminution of its odious fees was approved. As early as 1551 a charitable and tolerant Catechism, known as Archbishop Hamilton's, had been issued. It was now resolved to publish an 'Exhortation' for the instruction of persons presenting themselves to receive the Eucharist, an exposition of the Real Presence which invited the scorn of Knox, who derided it as 'the Twopenny Faith.' With new doctrines and new forms of Church organization the Council had no sympathy.

Revolution, not reform, confronted it, and its rising left the two bodies facing each other with swords no longer sheathed. Early in April 1559 the Council adjourned and never met again. Coincidently, answering the Congregation's recent Protestation, the Regent forbade unauthorized persons to preach, and commanded the observance of the imminent festival of Easter in the customary manner. The edicts were disregarded. Assured of French support now that the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis made Spain no longer an enemy, the Regent took a firmer stand. To the Congregation, whose leaders recalled her former leniency, she gave explicit answer: the preachers must cease to preach or leave the country; 'albeit they preached as truly as ever did St Paul' she would banish them.

The preachers, whose activities had been notable in Perth, Dundee, and Montrose, were summoned to appear at Stirling on May 10, 1559. The Congregation made their quarrel its own. Asserting them to be lawful ministers, duly called in accordance with Scriptural order, the Lords assembled at Perth to accompany the accused to the Regent's presence. Mary, anxious to avoid a meeting which promised an explosion, agreed to postpone sentence, but broke her word, and on the appointed date declared the preachers outlaws *in absentia*. On the morrow Knox fulminated in the Parish Church at Perth. When he ended a courageous priest, 'in contempt,' began the Office of the Mass at one of the altars. At the sight an ill-mannered boy flung a stone at the celebrant. The priest deservedly gave him 'a grit blowe,' and immediately, in Knox's words, 'the haill multitude that war about cast Stanes.' The 'rascall multitude' outside took up the work of destruction. The houses of the Black Friars, Grey Friars and Carthusians were pillaged and gutted, and by the evening of the next day, Knox records with satisfaction, 'the Wallis onlie did remane of all these grit Edificatiounes.' Scotland was not peculiar, but woefully more thorough, in an outbreak of iconoclasm which grew to a frenzy in 1560, obliterated the work of generations of pious builders, and

left the religion and culture of the nation emptier for its destruction.

The issue now lay patently with the sword. Both sides summoned their dependents, the scenes at Perth were repeated at St Andrews and Scone, and before the end of June the Congregation was installed in Edinburgh and the Regent sheltering at Dunbar. But success was short-lived. The Regent's French troops over-matched the Protestant levies. Promised liberty of worship, the Congregation drew back to Stirling, where they received the news of an event which threatened further to prejudice their cause. On July 10, 1559, the accidental death of Henry II advanced Mary Stewart to the throne of France and her Guise uncles to its control. From the beginning Knox was convinced that without English aid the Reformed religion was lost. In August he was dispatched to England to invite support. Already Maitland of Lethington had been taking soundings there. Elizabeth's marriage to Châtellerault's son Arran, Scotland's 'second person,' was suggested, considered by Elizabeth, and dismissed. Elizabeth neither dared alienate her English Catholics nor was disposed to aid rebellion against a sister sovereign. On the other hand, inaction promised Guise domination in Scotland, accusation of her own doubtful legitimacy, and weakening of her slipping hold on Ireland. Moreover she was at peace with France, whom open war in Scotland would certainly provoke. Philip of Spain, late King of England, was being married to a French princess and would be active in whatever events might ensue. Elizabeth resolved, characteristically, to lavish promises, even to send money, but only in the last resort to aid with arms. Sir William Cecil, her minister, was less cautious. That Elizabeth's crown and a Protestant England hung upon the issue raised in Scotland he was aware. In August 1559 a thousand French soldiers landed at Leith, whose defences the Regent proceeded to fortify, in contravention of the truce whose conditions had but recently drawn the Congregation out of Edinburgh and was timed to

last till the following January. So Elizabeth's second stage was quickly reached. In August £3000 was on its way to Scotland, where Bothwell intercepted a second instalment.

The desperate fortunes of the Congregation drew Elizabeth to her third stage. A new contingent from France swelled the Regent's forces and the insurgent Lords called out their levies. On October 21 they audaciously declared her deposed in the name of her own daughter, alleging that she had sold the country to France. Their strength was inadequate to support the sentence. In November they again fell back upon Stirling and Lethington was dispatched urgently to Elizabeth. With his support Cecil at length won his cause. In the last days of December the Duke of Norfolk reached the Border, where a large army was to be mobilized. On February 27, 1560, he signed at Berwick an agreement with the Protestant lords which took Scotland, its liberties and rights, under English protection. A month later his army was over the Border and an English fleet was riding in the Forth. English and Scottish troops drew round Leith in unaccustomed partnership, and the Regent sought shelter in Edinburgh Castle. On June 11 she died, a valiant lonely woman, almost isolated in her opposition to a growing cause; Bothwell and the bishops alone stood by her at the end. Three weeks later Cecil arrived to negotiate with the French plenipotentiaries, while famine worked havoc in Leith. On July 6, 1560, he signed the Treaty of Edinburgh which scattered Guise ambition like a pack of cards. The French troops, excepting 120, were to quit Scotland; the insurgents to be pardoned; Mary and Francis to desist from using the arms of England; no Frenchman to hold an important office; Leith's fortifications to be demolished. Pending the sovereign's return a Council of twelve persons would administer the kingdom; of the number the queen might appoint seven, the Estates five. No word was said about religion. But the issue was not in doubt. On every point English aid

had made the Congregation victorious and not only in Britain but in western Europe Protestantism was assured. Nor had the question of suzerainty been mooted; an English army for the first time marched out of Scotland as a friend. Quarrels between Scotland and England were still in store. But neither Spaniard in London nor Frenchman in Edinburgh ever again influenced the issue. Nor were the official relations of the two States ever again embroiled. Knox prayed that nevermore might there be war between them: and he was answered.

In August 1560, when French and English were withdrawn, the Estates assembled to sanction the reformation of religion on which a determined minority was set. The large attendance, particularly of the county lairds, proclaimed a general interest in the crisis, while the presence of the Primate and five episcopal colleagues, besides twenty other ecclesiastical dignitaries, misleadingly suggested that the partisans of the old order were prepared to offer resistance to change. The incompetence of the Estates to meet independently of the summons of the sovereign was objected. In fact the Convention was illegal and no eagerness had been shown to secure from France an order for its assembling. The presence of the county barons, though legal, was not in accordance with usage and was challenged on that ground. Both objections were dismissed. The Estates were met to carry through a revolution and addressed themselves directly to the task. Characteristically their first request was to Knox and his brother ministers to provide a statement of Protestant doctrine, at once to justify the Congregation's proceedings to this point and to support the measures in contemplation. In four days Knox's committee achieved the task and under twenty-five heads provided 'The Confession of Faith professed and believed by the Protestants within the Realm of Scotland.' Maitland of Lethington smoothed the asperities of a document whose accents derived from Geneva. With few dissentient voices it was accepted as 'hailsome and sound doctrin, groundit upoun the in-

fallable trewth of Godis Word,' the 'summe of that doctrin quhilk we professe and for the quhilk we haif sustenit infamy and daingear.' The champions of the fallen Church feebly defended its interests, basing such opposition as they expressed upon their little acquaintance with the document rather than on principle. A week later the Estates gave logical conclusion to their approval. By three successive Acts they accomplished the end achieved in England in 1559 and swept the Church of the past away. The first Act abolished the Pope's authority over the realm and the jurisdiction of all Catholic prelates. The second annulled the Acts of previous Parliaments supporting doctrines and practices contrary to the new Creed. The third forbade the saying, hearing, or being present at Mass, under penalty of confiscation of goods for a first contravention of the order, banishment for the second, capital punishment for the third. Passed on August 24, the three Acts substituted Calvinistic Protestantism for Rome's hierarchy and doctrine.

To this point the enactments of the Estates were resolutions and declarations rather than substantive schemes of organization. The foundations of a new edifice had been laid upon the ruins of the old Church; its erection had still to be attempted. The authors of the Confession were now asked to draw up a constitution, and in January 1561 laid before the Estates 'The Policie and Discipline of the Church,' known as the 'First Book of Discipline.' Its authors, inspired by Calvin and in touch with the French Huguenots, who also built on Genevan foundations, claimed the specific authority of Scripture for the ecclesiastical constitution they drafted, and not content to outline a system of Church government, sketched a theocratic commonwealth or republic ideally organized for the welfare of its members. 'It not only prescribes a creed, and supplies a complete system of Church government; it suggests a scheme of national education, it defines the relation of Church and State, it provides for the poor and unable, it regulates the life of

households, it even determines the career of such as by their natural gifts were specially fitted to be of service to Church or State.' For the Church's government it proposed Kirk-Sessions, Synods, and General Assemblies. As office-bearers it recognized Ministers, Teachers, Elders, Deacons, Superintendents (overseers of districts corresponding roughly to the episcopal dioceses, charged to report to the Assembly upon their well-being and to preach throughout them), and Readers (needed to supplement the ordained ministers, who were few at the outset). Upon these proposals there was unanimity and the Scottish Protestant Church assumed the Presbyterian constitution it has since maintained.

The Book of Discipline addressed itself to another matter which, though fundamental, was contentious, namely, the sustentation of the new Church and its ministers. In a practical and sensible mood it specified the appointments and supplies proper for a minister's support, demanding a liberal standard on the ground that otherwise the service of God would lack fitting instruments. The new Church, it could be contended, had indisputable right to the endowments of its predecessor. In fact two other classes urged claims upon that fund—the old clergy, and numerous laymen who had acquired a lien upon it. To deprive the former of subsistence would be an unconscionable act and was not permitted. Less reasonable was the situation of many lords and lairds to whom the tottering establishment had made conveyance of ecclesiastical domains, a collusive bargain intended for its protection, but likely to be interpreted to his own advantage by each lay landholder. Knox and his fellow ministers were disappointed to discover the zeal of their lay colleagues to pull down the old fabric exceeding their enthusiasm to endow the new one. Their hope to secure the whole of the Church's wealth, they found, was 'a devout imagination' unrealized. After long debate, no conclusion being arrived at, Knox was moved to denounce the Convention's failure to sanction the wholesale con-

fiscation he preferred and the Book of Discipline recommended. It was left to the Privy Council to resolve the matter by a process simple and not inequitable. By a transaction known as 'the assumption of thirds of benefices,' one-third of the revenues of ecclesiastical benefices was attached by the Crown for entertaining and promoting the common affairs of the country, including the sustentation of the Presbyterian ministry. The remaining two-thirds was assigned to the old clergy, a Solomonic judgment which again invited Knox's displeasure. He complained that two parts of the Church's wealth were given to the devil, prophesied the diversion of the remaining third to the same destination, and asked 'what then God's portion shall be?'

The Book of Discipline, rejecting the Edwardian Prayer-book which satisfied the Congregation in 1557, preferred as a Directory for general use 'The Book of Common Order,' used by Knox's congregation at Geneva and generally known as 'Knox's Liturgy.' It was accepted until 1637, when Archbishop Laud's attempt to supersede it plunged Scotland into the Bishops' Wars. The essentially democratic ideals of Presbyterianism led Knox to stress the importance of education. The Book of Discipline sketched an ambitious, and unrealized, scheme of endowed schools attached to every parish church, high schools or colleges in every considerable town, and Universities enlarged in scope and efficiency. The young Church's disappointing endowments prevented the scheme's adoption, but it inspired a thirst for knowledge which the Scottish people more than others found means to satisfy on a democratic basis. Knox's scheme for the Church's government came into operation gradually. It proposed a system of ecclesiastical Councils rising from the Kirk Session to the General or National Assembly. The Kirk Session came first into existence; for the institution of a minister in every parish assisted by Elders and Deacons was the first requisite of an organized Church. The first General Assembly came together in December 1560. The

Synods, yearly gatherings of the clergy of each Superintendent's district, were formed later, and the Courts of the Presbytery, outcome of the 'weekly exercise,' last of all.

Thus rapidly were the system and doctrine of the old Church thrown down and its successor set up. But the victory was won rather than secured. Assured already, as it seems to us from a distance of more than three centuries, Knox and his colleagues were fearful lest their work should be undone. Elizabeth, having secured her immediate ends, was not prepared to go as far as they hoped in identifying their interests with her own. It is probable also that, although the insistence of the Congregation had thrown down the old organization, three to one of the entire population were still Papist at heart. They would have welcomed reform which swept away the old abuses, but were estranged by the sudden and wholesale reconstruction of the Church's fabric, doctrine and ritual. Also the sovereign was a Catholic. The revolution had been carried in her despite and lacked her sanction. She represented the old ally, could be relied on to act as her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine prompted, and already, as we know, had sold her people to France. Her determination to uproot Knox's dangerous plant was not in doubt. 'Constancy,' she told an Englishman, 'doth become most folks well, but none better than princes and such as hath rule over realms, and especially in the matter of religion. I have been brought up in this religion, and who might credit me in anything if I should show myself light in this case?' She spoke on the eve of her departure from France. On December 15, 1560, death disposed of Francis II, and called him to a better life. Eight months later, his widow trod the soil of Scotland after thirteen years' absence. The critical chapter of the Reformation opened.

CHAPTER XV

MARY STEWART

THERE is not in history romance or tragedy more engrossing than the tale of Mary Stewart. As a drama of incident it is matchless. A young queen returned from the delicate splendours of her loved France to the cold, repellent skies of her infancy, motherless, picking an intricate path among grim men, provoking them by the witchery of her sex, a 'Helen of the modern world,' twice sacrificed to unworthy and youthful husbands, a third time mated to please herself with a man easy to picture as her preference, handsome, brawling Bothwell, 'glorious, rash, and hazardous,' contriver of a shattering tragedy which expelled her into exile and her crowning doom. Round her larger issues clashed in conflict. From her birth nations fought for her. Had she not been born Pinkie had not been lost. She stood between Western Christendom and a New Faith. On her France, Spain and Rome staked their causes. She clutched at Elizabeth's throne and, if successful, drew back the first renegade from the fold of Holy Church. England recovered, heresy perished in the West, in Scotland, in the Low Countries. That was her mission, a labour unachievable in any case, doubly impossible confided to a girl pulsing with young life, alert to snatch pleasure from great position. Hence the double tragedy, her own and of a great Cause. One axe felled both at Fotheringay.

Mary did not return from her 'pleasant land of France' until suggestions for a second marriage had multiplied and been dismissed. The Church's cause recommended her as wife to Charles IX, her husband's brother and successor, a mere boy, his power vested in his mother and the

Bourbons, who little desired Guise influence prolonged into another reign. The sovereigns of Denmark and Sweden were thought of. Arran, heir of the Hamiltons, was suggested by his family and, later, attempted to abduct an unwilling bride. A son of Emperor Frederick was named, and the imbecile Don Carlos, heir of Philip II, was put forward in more serious candidature. Catharine foiled his chances as already she had rejected Mary for her son. Perforce Mary fell back upon Scotland.

In her early widowhood there came to France spokesmen of the two parties to the controversy waged in her absence. Lord James Stewart, her half-brother, welcomed her bereavement at least for this, it released her from entanglements which impeded her claim as heir to Elizabeth's crown. Elizabeth's rejection of Arran, a union which might have seduced the Scots from Mary's rights, and her refusal to marry at all, kept the English succession open and permitted Mary to advance her clear claim. As queen of France or Spain or wife of a Habsburg her candidature must have provoked hostility in England, suspicion in Scotland. As simple queen of Scotland she had a surer base whence to manoeuvre towards the English throne. She was urged by Lord James not to imperil it by posing as her religion's champion, and to be satisfied to receive the personal freedom of worship which she was advised to concede to others. As her son later, Mary's gaze was chiefly on the English crown. Her path in Scotland was therefore clear and chosen when John Leslie, afterwards Bishop of Ross, followed Lord James in the interests of the old Church. He came from Huntly, sometime Chancellor, and others to urge Mary to land at Aberdeen, where an army 20,000 strong would be at her command and a triumphant march upon Edinburgh was promised to restore the altars of the Roman faith. Upon this dangerous advice Mary turned her back. Protestantism was in power, its leaders in English pay; they were not likely to heed demands for surrender of the Church's patrimony. Nor, until the horizon was clearer,

could Mary provoke Protestant opinion among those she hoped one day to call her English subjects.

Feudal arrogance had outworn all the Stewarts save James II and James IV. It confronted Mary under the banner of religion. Her task was harder, her ability not less than her mother's. Even *le farouche Knox* gave it reluctant testimony. Unlike her dead brothers she was strong and healthy from her youth; riding down the Gordons in 1562, in weather 'extreme foul and cold,' she longed to be a man to lie at night in the fields or walk well armed upon the causeway. French instruction had fitted her well for high position. Modern languages were her close study. Her French was easy and graceful. She had Spanish and Italian, followed Latin, but uneasily spoke it. In courtly accomplishment she was apt, skilled in the exercises of riding and dancing, of natural excellence as a singer, and could play the zither, harp, and harpsichord 'reasonably for a queen,' said a subject. Her portraits do her ill justice or her praises as the most beautiful woman of her day malign her generation. Witchery of manner rather than physical beauty must be accounted her charm. She was tall, like her mother, but lacked her mother's regularity of feature. Her face, somewhat long, was spoilt by a nose too prominent and a brow too high from which her russet hair was withdrawn. In no breast she inspired great passion, though she could evoke loyal devotion from both sexes. On her husbands her hold was ineffectual and weak. Yet Knox's ungracious eye observed such 'craft' in her as he had not found in another of her age. For gallant Brantôme she realized Virgil's line

Vera incessu patuit dea.

Camden summed her as *foemina splendidissimo ingenio si minus versatili*. Of courage indomitable, she was prompt to act at every crisis of her career with sure decision. Neither Knox, who in his dealing with her postured as Elijah denouncing Jezebel, nor the subtler genius of Maitland of Lethington, nor Moray 'rude, homely,

and blunt,' could dominate her to a position of inferiority. Had her head controlled so manageable an organ as that which Elizabeth called her heart it is no extravagant conjecture that their reigns would have recorded a not dissimilar success. But Bothwell crossed Mary's path, she forgot the queen, permitted and condoned an atrocious crime which delivered her to exultant enemies, and so passed from the scene.

On August 19, 1561, almost exactly a year after the Estates overthrew the Mass, Mary arrived at Leith in two galleys out of France. The skies were dark, sea fog hung upon the shore, no welcome awaited her from a people whom her arrival found unprepared. Hours elapsed before horses were procured to carry her train to Holyrood, and at sight of their sorry procession Brantôme, who accompanied her, says she wept. At night bonfires blazed above the Palace, a company of 'most honest men' made music under her window, and pleased her well but offended Brantôme's ear. A fortnight later she rode to the castle where her mother died and was reminded of her mother's futile struggle. As she passed, a boy of six, emerging from a round globe as though descended from heaven, presented a Bible and Psalter, declaring them

> 'Two proper volumes in memoriall
> As gyfte most gainand to a godlie prince.

Elsewhere the tragedy of Korah, Dathan and Abiram was enacted upon a scaffold to signify the proper fate of idolaters, miming pointed at herself. On the first Sunday after her return, with Knox installed in St Giles' at her door, her difficulties were revealed. She claimed liberty to worship after her own fashion, heard Mass in her private Chapel, and, declares Knox, 'pierced the hearts of all.' The Master of Lindsay called for death upon the 'idolatrous' priest 'according to God's law.' Other fanatics, 'the godly, began to bolden,' till Lord James set himself to hold the Chapel door, alleging intention to stop others from witnessing the mummery within, actually, Knox

records bitterly, that none should wreak their wrath upon the priest. On the morrow by proclamation Mary declared her will against any change in the existing religious settlement and placed her household and those who came with her from France under the law's protection. Arran, fulfilling his part, protested and withdrew from Court. Knox denounced the Mass, hinted dire punishments, and bewailed the backsliding of Lord James and other lords who by enchantment seemed bewitched. Mary had reason to share the opinion of an observing Englishman at her Court, who thought 'marvellously of the wisdom of God that gave this unruly, inconstant, and cumbersome people no more substance than they have, for then would they run wild.'

Within a month Mary was upon the path prescribed before her return. Compromise was essential to preserve her authority and to permit the pressing of her right to recognition as Elizabeth's heir. On September 6 she chose her Privy Councillors from the stalwarts of both creeds. Huntly and others stood for the old faith. Châtellerault and Arran were included. Lord James and Maitland alone had her confidence and retained it till her marriage in 1565 gave Rizzio their place, to her and his undoing. Both men desired the union of England and Scotland in her person. That the Reformation would prevail both were assured; therefore union must be upon a platform of Protestant agreement. London, like Paris, was worth a Mass, or its rejection, and neither statesmen supposed Mary willing to wreck her ambition on the rock of religion. So far she was plastic. She had not impeded the faith she found established, though she refused to permit Catholicism to be suppressed. In contrast to Knox, whose violent righteousness called for the immolation of Catholic dissidents, Mary throughout her reign must be accounted tolerant. The most stubborn impediment to Maitland's design was Elizabeth. Mindful of her relations with another Mary, her sister, she was of Cecil's judgment, that subjects run after the heir to, rather than the wearer of,

a crown. Her security seemed better assured if she recognized no certain successor to whom her people, tiring of herself, could turn.

From early in January 1562, when Mary broached the matter, to early in 1565, when Darnley comes upon the scene from England, her interests and diplomacy bent almost exclusively on extracting from Elizabeth recognition as her heir. She could offer valuable consideration. Since Mary Tudor's death she posed, not as Elizabeth's heir, but as rightful sovereign of Elizabeth's dominion. The Treaty of Edinburgh (1560) stipulated her disuse of the English title and arms. As yet she withheld ratification of that document. On January 5, 1562, she, or Lethington, wrote to Elizabeth to invite amicable discussion. She contended that the Treaty was 'prejudicial to such title and interest as by birth and natural descent' she possessed to be her cousin's heir in default of issue to Elizabeth, and proposed an interview. In May her Privy Council approved and Lethington, on good terms with Cecil, was dispatched to England to arrange details. He could hint vaguely Mary's sacrifice of her creed and point the ill consequences which followed the frustrated interview between Henry VIII and Mary's father. It is doubtful whether Elizabeth was ever ready to entertain her cousin's wish to meet her. The English succession was settled by law and little likely to be altered at Elizabeth's request. The North of England was Catholic and Mary's presence there might produce results better avoided. Moreover Elizabeth had a feminine shrinking from placing herself beside a younger rival for comparison by the curious; from France Mary had already reminded her pointedly of their disparity of age! Practical objections were alleged against the interview. 'All kinds of gold current in England' were admitted to be of scanty quantity in Scotland and the need to establish a clearing house between the two coinages at Berwick was stated. But the projected meeting was wrecked by the outbreak of the French Wars of Religion, consequent upon the

conflict at Vassy on March 1, 1562, between the local Calvinists and Mary's uncle, the Duke of Guise. The 'massacre' unloosed fierce hatreds beyond the borders of France, used, as it was, to force the enmity of the two creeds to an issue. Elizabeth, while aiding the French Huguenots could hardly meet a Guise out of Scotland, where rumour babbled of Popish plots. By July, 1562, therefore, when Vassy had palpably resulted in civil war in France, English policy concluded to reject Mary's invitation, a decision which Mary received 'with watery eyes' and her Catholic subjects with satisfaction founded on a conviction that she would not have returned 'a true Christian woman' from the interview. Her father's orthodoxy, like her own, had once been held in peril from contact with English heresy.

The outbreak of religious war in France had repercussion in Scotland. Knox and his stalwarts were already restive at the Council's tender treatment (1561) of the old Church's endowments and at Mary's refusal to share their passions against her co-religionists. In the autumn of 1561 she clapped the magistrates of Edinburgh into the Tolbooth for proposing to use an ancient statute against malefactors to justify ejection of Catholic citizens. Arran, who alone of the nobility stood by Knox after Mary's return, seems to have been excited by the Vassy 'massacre' to contrive or invent a plot for Lord James and Lethington's assassination and Mary's abduction, which he had attempted already towards the close of 1561. Three months later (June 1562) the General Assembly warned Mary against 'perishing in her own iniquity,' called for enforcement of the penal statutes of 1560, and uttered a threat against Catholics who abused her tolerance by 'troubling' the Protestant ministers. In Ayrshire Protestant lairds and nobles held the times to justify a renewed 'band' for mutual protection and furtherance of the reformed faith. The Papists were clearly finding encouragement in the queen's leniency, and Knox professed to find among the Protestants a strong disposition to take arms.

It is upon this background of rising Protestant feeling that Mary's otherwise enigmatic destruction of Huntly must be sketched. In the North, more than elsewhere, as the future would show, the ancient faith was bedded deep. From the North Sea westward to Skye and the Hebrides it was ineradicable. Over much of this wide region Huntly was little less than king. Castled in Strathbogie, with Aberdeen as port and capital, he boasted something of the independence of the old earls of Moray and by occupancy or title was possessed of their territories. On the first rising of the Congregation he had followed a tortuous course. Repelled by the Regent's partiality for her countrymen, attracted by the Congregation's lure of Church plunder, he joined and deserted both camps. But his heart was with the old creed; the vestments and treasures of St Machar's Cathedral of Aberdeen were stored at Strathbogie awaiting the looked-for restoration, whose imminence Mary's return promised. The clash of arms in France appealed to him to raise the banner of the old faith, whose most dangerous foe he counted Lord James. His promised 20,000 men to Mary, should she land at Aberdeen, were no empty boast, and Bishop Leslie, his emissary to France in 1561, cannot have failed to solicit the countenance of the Guises. Huntly's plans menaced Mary's dearest hopes to unite the British kingdoms, and Lord James had another, a private ground of action. The Earldom of Moray was vacant since the death of James IV's son the Regent in 1544. To obtain a crown charter of the title in his favour was easy, but the estates could be his only by force. It was resolved that the queen should make a progress northward and visit Huntly, ostensibly to do him honour, intentionally to contrive his ruin. By the end of August 1562 the Court was settled at Aberdeen where Lady Huntly visited the queen and offered welcome at Strathbogie. She was refused, the conduct of the earl's son, Sir John Gordon, affording a reason. He had been warded in Edinburgh, broke prison, disobeyed the queen's command to deliver

himself at Stirling Castle, and joined his father at this sudden crisis. At Inverness Castle, held by Huntly as hereditary Sheriff, the queen was refused admission and lodged in the town. In high dudgeon she received the castle's surrender next day, hanged the castellan, and after a brief stay started homewards towards the Spey. Huntly now was in strength to seize her person, alleging her to be in Protestant durance, and that Lord James's removal would do her service. At the Water of Spey Sir John Gordon's hope to intercept her was frustrated. On her arrival in Aberdeen she summoned the Master of Lindsay and the lairds of Ormiston and Grange out of Lothian and Fife to bring Huntly to her knees. Her employment of these Knoxian stalwarts reveals the stake for which she played. An attempt to seize Huntly in Strathbogie was foiled. The earl countered with a sudden march upon Aberdeen. At the news a superior force moved out under Moray and found him at Corrichie, on the brow of Hill o' Fare, fifteen miles west of Aberdeen. Huntly and his son were made prisoners. John Gordon went to the block, 'a comely young gentleman very personable' whom scandal's careless tongue declared the queen's lover. Huntly found quicker release. 'Being set on horseback before him that was his taker' he fell suddenly from his horse stark dead as he rode from his defeat. Seven months later his embalmed body within its coffin, propped at the bar of Parliament, received sentence of treason and forfeiture. Meanwhile Lord James held the Moray earldom, and the voice of the commons had utterance in the old ballad:

> I wis our quine had better frinds,
> I wis our countrie better peice;
> I wis our lords wid na discord,
> I wis our weirs at hame may ceise.

Mary's action enriched her brother and chief counsellor, avenged her mother on one whose desertion in 1559 weighted the scales against a Catholic victory, and, at a

moment when her dynastic interests required it, signified aloofness from her uncles' passionate vendetta. Knox, whose embittered pen is not rarely unreliable, supposes she 'gloomed' at the news of Corrichie, being in league with Huntly to release herself from Moray. Buchanan embroiders the suspicion with fantastic detail, both men being obsessed with the notion that Mary now and always aimed at the heart of the Kirk. In fact her thoughts were on the English throne, not her religion. Maitland of Lethington, writing to Cecil after the event, strove to advance his mistress's claim on the ground of her behaviour 'toward these that be of the [Protestant] religion within her own Realm,' and the fact that 'the religion itself is a great deal more increased since she came home than it was before.' She strengthened Lethington's pleading by her acts. Her unwillingness to execute the penal laws of 1560 encouraged the Catholics. Mass was openly said and the Protestants were stirred to action. Offending priests were placed in ward, under threat of full penalties. Mary pleaded with Knox for leniency without avail and gave and kept her promise to enforce the law. At Easter 1562 the Bishop of Dunkeld, at her command, desisted from administering the Sacrament. She now arrested no less than forty-eight priests, the Primate Hamilton among them, and sent them to trial before the Court of Justiciary for saying Mass in private (1563). There was much in her conduct to support Elizabeth's conclusion that Mary's devotion to Rome was not profound.

Mary's difficulties began with Huntly's fall. To this point she pursued a policy of conciliation on the advice of her brother and Lethington. Her concurrence in it and consent to Huntly's undoing were won in the belief that no other means could extract from Elizabeth the recognition she craved. But concessions had brought her no nearer to the English throne. The suspicion that she was being exploited to profit her brother's heretic Church could not fail to be whispered in her ear. At this juncture 'a stranger Italian called Davie' Rizzio begins to be

prominent. He had the subtle talents of his race, was once the queen's singing man, whose gift of languages advanced him to her private secretaryship. The threads of her foreign correspondence were in his fingers and none better than he knew the puzzled anxiety of stout Catholics abroad over her strange tolerance. Upon Moray her suspicion fell first. He had served her well and wisely, though the interests of his faith were not unconsidered. A sincere and severe Calvinist, he was more tolerant than Knox, but 'precise' in his religion, as Mary began to complain. On his return from the North Randolph reported sermons thrice weekly in his lodgings at Holyrood. In the same period Mary learnt how little he advanced her cause. During Elizabeth's indisposition only one voice inside the English Council was raised in favour of herself. The disappointment drove her on another course.

Where she should bestow her hand had fluttered European diplomacy since her return from France. Mary herself stood passive. Eager to win Elizabeth's recognition, she declared she would wed only with her cousin's goodwill. She could bestow her hand among so many suitors to Elizabeth disagreeable that her compliance deserved the return she was denied. She now resolved to force it by beckoning a husband from quarters Elizabeth disapproved. Her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine introduced Archduke Charles of Austria. Mary refused him: his means were inadequate to assist her schemes. Catharine de' Medici, anxious lest Spain should usurp France's place in Scotland, proposed her son Charles IX, if Mary would wait till he was marriageable! The Guises scotched the proposal. Like Mary, their eyes were fixed on Don Carlos, son of Philip II of Spain, who hoped to add the British to the Spanish realms and secure tranquillity in the Netherlands through the friendship of the Guises. In the summer of 1563 the French were known to 'marvellously fear the marriage' and Elizabeth, greatly concerned, insisted that 'it will not be done.' Moray was not adverse to it. As Kirkcaldy of Grange wrote to

Randolph in April 1564, the proposal was entertained 'to cause England grant our desyris.' If the marriage took place, it promised Moray supremacy in Scotland in his sister's absence and the triumph of Calvinism. Knox thundered against the union, Elizabeth threatened that it would be held an act of hostility, the Cardinal of Lorraine, preferring his Austrian candidate, captured the Pope's opposition to it, and in August 1564 Philip abandoned the project. His son was not sane.

Perturbed by the stir of Catholic suitors round Mary, Elizabeth, after long hesitation, suggested her favourite Dudley. The descent from the heir of Spain and the New World to an English earl was considerable and to Mary disagreeable. Dudley, who professed to be a Protestant, was acceptable on that ground to Knox, who welcomed the unlooked-for prospect of a Protestant Consort. Maitland, Moray, and Mary herself entertained the proposal only as a lever to secure recognition by Elizabeth. In September 1564, Sir James Melville went into England to probe Elizabeth's purpose, whether she proposed to acknowledge Mary if the marriage took place? Elizabeth's coquettish arts vainly assaulted Melville's defences. He brought back a positive verdict: 'In my judgment there was neither plain dealing nor upright meaning, but great dissimulation, emulation, and fear' in the English queen. In November 1564, Moray and Maitland met Elizabeth's representatives at Berwick. Mary's recognition was refused. Dudley joined the lengthening procession of rejected suitors and the 'lusty youth' Darnley comes upon the scene.

Darnley's brief greatness crowned the plots of twenty years. His mother, Lady Margaret, was daughter of Margaret Tudor, sometime Queen of Scotland, by her Douglas husband. His father Lennox, after a career of singular perfidy, had obtained reward, his wife's hand, from Henry VIII in 1544. The tools of Henry VIII, on good terms with Mary Tudor, the fortunes of the couple sank to their lowest under Elizabeth. Lady Margaret was

the hope of the English Catholics, her seat in Yorkshire the centre of their intrigues, and as her son grew to manhood her able, resolute personality schemed to gain for him the two British thrones to which he could advance a claim. Mary's widowhood in 1560 affording an opening, Lennox planned to return to Scotland to prepare the ground. Moray and Lethington were not opposed; Lennox would balance Châtellerault and the Hamiltons. Elizabeth winded the project and sent Lennox to the Tower. Why she relented is not clear. In September 1564, the Dudley match still in debate, Lennox arrived in Scotland, ostensibly on personal affairs, but with plans which Mary could suspect, if she was not already informed. He spoke for the English Catholics who, rejoicing at the abandoned Spanish match, favoured his son's pretension, whose alliance with Mary would preserve the British Isles from foreign meddlers, assure the union of the realms, and guarantee the old faith. Strong reasons urged Mary to consent. Her nature was not apt to brook failure. Great plans for her marriage had been thwarted by friends and enemies alike. Lennox offered an opportunity almost providential to accomplish her ambitions and encourage the cause for which she stood. Her French relatives and Spain being divided, and the English Protestants firm against her succession, it was prudent to woo the Catholics on whom she must depend.

Hence Mary's interest supported his father's to secure Darnley's presence in Scotland. Melville, already in London to inspect Dudley, was instructed to invite permission for Darnley to 'see the country and carry the earl his father back again to England.' That Elizabeth read the meaning of the request is exposed by her rejoinder to Melville's cold approval of Dudley, 'Ye like better of yonder long lad,' pointing to Darnley who was in attendance. Her consent to his departure is enigmatic. Mr Lang's supposition, that she dispatched him to be a lightning-conductor attracting Mary's affections from her own favourite is ingenious but not convincing. Randolph,

viewing the situation in Scotland immediately after Darnley's return, confessed his doubts of his mistress's wisdom, and that 'greater benefit to his queen's majesty could not have chanced' than the Darnley marriage promised. Elizabeth cannot have foreseen Kirk o' Field. But Darnley's character was known to her, and so was the situation into which she obtruded him. Darnley caused dissension from the moment he crossed the Border and Elizabeth deserves recognition of her perspicacity.

At Wemyss Castle in February 1565 Mary and Darnley met for the first time. He stood before her, a youth of twenty, three years her junior, 'the properest and best proportioned long man that ever I saw.' The words, her own, carry no gust of passion. Yet onlookers reported her seized in a whirlwind of desire. The idea is incredible. Darnley was personable, but vicious, dull, cubbish; 'lusty, beardless, and lady-faced,' Melville called him. His attraction for her was in the prospects marriage offered, not in his character, which was weak, or in his person, which was immature. None but he could help her win what Moray had offered and withheld. The outwitting, we can suppose, of Elizabeth spiced the pleasure of her choice. But it snapped her relations with Moray. The Hamiltons also were displeased and the nobility grouped themselves in 'bands.' The Kirk thundered against a Catholic consort, and, using a bolder tone (June, 1565), demanded abolition of the 'blasphemous Mass' and compulsory attendance of all at Protestant worship. Elizabeth uttered threats and warnings, offered to countenance the match if Mary abjured her religion, and, finding remonstrance useless, encouraged her cousin's enemies with advice and money. In April Moray left the Court, ready to become an avowed rebel. In May Darnley received the Earldom of Ross, and a Convention of notables at Stirling approved his marriage with the sovereign. On July 12 Mary reassured her Protestant subjects in a proclamation denouncing the reports of 'evill gevin personis' that she intended to impede their

religion and conscience. A fortnight later (July 29, 1565) she married Darnley, Randolph told his anxious mistress, 'with all the solemnities of the popish time.'

Mary tied herself deliberately to the worst of the Stewarts. Marking his insolence, Randolph, two months before the marriage, sent word to England that Darnley's subjects already wished him 'a short end,' foreseeing 'a miserable life to live under such a government as his is like to be.' At the outset his enemies were few. Besides Moray and Châtellerault they numbered chiefly foes of Lennox and the extremer Calvinists—Argyll, Glencairn, Rothes, Boyd, Ochiltree (Knox's father-in-law), and Kirkcaldy of Grange (Beaton's assassin). Darnley's Douglas blood secured him the Earl of Morton, uncle and guardian of the young Earl of Angus and leader of that house, Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, his relatives, and the Catholic faction among the nobility. Young Huntly and Bothwell, both of whom had a private quarrel with Moray, were adroitly restored, the one to his dignities, the other to the Lieutenancy of the Marches. The Catholic Atholl also returned to the sovereign's councils. Moray was impotent against so considerable a body. Towards the end of August, at the head of 1200 horse, he attempted to raise the Protestant flag in the capital. Coldly received, he fell back on Dumfries in convenient touch with the Border. Mary, having already passed sentence of outlawry upon him and his associates, pursued with unrelenting vigour. By the beginning of October the Roundabout or Chase-about Raid drove them to Carlisle. Moray, 'a sorely perplexed, poor gentleman,' submitted to Elizabeth's scoldings. Châtellerault visited his French estates for his better security. Argyll fled to his Highland strengths. Knox abode, but Mary's triumph was thorough; the Congregation was at her feet.

Coincidently, the French queen of Spain, with the Duke of Alva, met her mother and brother, Catharine de' Medici and Charles IX, at Bayonne to concert measures against militant Calvinism and, Protestants everywhere

believed, to prescribe the policy which led to the Bartholomew Massacre and Alva's Blood Bath in the Netherlands. Mary's success won the applause of Madrid and Rome, and throughout the Protestant world her secret association with the Powers of the Counter-Reformation was suspected. She was, in fact, in communication with Philip, alleging resolve to maintain the liberties of her threatened religion, emphasising its danger of obliteration, and the sacrifice of her hopes of England, unless she received aid. But triumph did not blunt her caution. Her proclamation of July 12 called upon both creeds to live and let live. On the eve of the Chaseabout Raid she again assured her subjects that 'their majesties' intended no subversion of the religion 'publicly and universally standing' at their accession, and that she looked to Parliament to confirm 'the free use of their conscience' to Protestant and Catholic alike. Writing to Elizabeth on Christmas Day 1565, Randolph reported that liberty for her own Church and 'freedom of conscience' for all was expected to be the decision of the Estates summoned for February 4, 1566, to which Moray, Argyll, Glencairn, Rothes, Ochiltree, Boyd and other fugitives were called to answer a libel of treason with penalty of forfeiture of life, lands, and goods. Mary probably meant to re-establish her own religion with toleration for the Protestants. But the Pope's plans for her and her own intentions were frustrated by events ushering a tragedy.

Within six months of their wedding the relations of Mary and her husband were intolerable. Writing early in January 1566, Randolph reported 'mislikings' between the sovereigns. Darnley was pressing for the Matrimonial Crown, such as Francis II had worn, which Mary was unwilling to grant till she proved him worthy. Three weeks later, not without satisfaction, Randolph sent tidings of 'contentions, quarrels, and debates' at Court. Later he hinted 'divers discord and jars' between the couple. Mary had seen reason to revoke the early favours conferred upon her spouse. He was absent from Court for

long periods—Rizzio is said to have had permission to use a stamp for impressing his signature. In royal charters, on the coinage, in the Register of the Privy Council, his name had precedence. But before the end of 1565 Mary no longer subordinated herself. Her name preceded his in a statute authorizing a silver coinage on which 'Maria' stood before 'Henricus.' Darnley's demands for the Matrimonial Crown to restore his diminished dignity consequently became louder. Searching for a victim he found Rizzio. The man had risen from the humblest position to one of authority, especially after Moray's fall. Lethington was still at hand, but aloof from projects Mary now had in mind and therefore unemployed. Rizzio took his place, approved the match with Darnley but was suspected to oppose the title on which the king was set. To devise his assassination was in the formal manner of political controversy. But a motive more respectable than Darnley could honestly allege was preferable. He therefore stooped to accuse his wife, now nearing her confinement, of familiarity with her Italian secretary. Others employed Darnley to their own ends. The Protestant exiles in England had strong inducement to welcome a *coup d'état*. The Roundabout Raid had sufficiently exposed their weakness in open fight with the queen. The Estates, postponed to March 12, could be expected to pass sentence of condemnation and forfeiture. Only a change in Mary's counsels could save them. Opportunely Darnley's revolt offered a way of escape. They could guarantee him the Crown Matrimonial, sacrifice the queen to his ends and their own, and exact restoration as their reward. Moreover, Rizzio was a zealous Catholic, held to be the arch promoter of Catholic intrigue and in close communication with Philip II—by whom in fact his name was not known. His death promised to advantage the cause of religion 'conform to Christ's Book.'

Towards the end of February 1566 the conspirators performed the preliminary to political murder customary,

a French historian supposes, in a society *encore sauvage et déjà formaliste*. Its contriving was Douglas artistry. Darnley, half a Douglas, through his uncle George Douglas informed Archibald, Earl of Angus and Lord Ruthven, George Douglas's brother-in-law, of his resolve to remove Rizzio, an impediment to his advancement to the Crown Matrimonial. Ruthven brought Morton, a Douglas, Lindsay, whose wife was a Douglas, Douglas of Whittinghame, Douglas of Lochleven, and others into the plot. Meanwhile Lethington gathered recruits elsewhere. Moray, Rothes, Glencairn, Kirkcaldy, and other Protestant exiles in England were made privy to the plot. Before the end of February they bound themselves in formal 'band' to assist 'the noble and mighty Prince Henry, by the grace of God King of Scotland,' to their uttermost power in all his actions, causes, and quarrels 'against whomsoever'; to grant him the Crown Matrimonial 'for all the days of his life'; to support his claim to the crown, failing issue to their sovereign lady; and by his help to fortify the Protestant religion. On his side, Darnley promised remission of all faults and crimes by-past and relief from the threatened forfeiture. On March 1 he signed another 'band' with his Douglas kin, mutually binding its signatories no longer to permit the queen 'to be abused or seduced' by certain privy persons, 'especially a stranger Italian called Davie,' and to accomplish a deed 'which may chance to be done [Rizzio's murder] in presence of the queen's majesty, or within the palace of Holyrood-house.'

Parliament was summoned for March 12, 1566. Moray rode northward to Berwick on March 9, ready at a sign to enter Edinburgh. The same evening, about seven o'clock, the conspirators burst into the queen's apartments at Holyrood, Morton and others from the main gallery, Darnley and Ruthven by the privy stair from the king's room beneath. Mary was at supper, Rizzio and a small household in attendance. Ruthven summoned the Italian forth to speak with him; Darnley, to Mary's interrogation,

denying knowledge of the purpose. She promised to submit Rizzio to Parliament if in any sort he had offended. Ruthven thereupon 'invaded' his victim cowering behind Mary's back. There was much confusion, the supper table was overthrown, violent hands were outstretched, and Rizzio, stabbed at over the queen's shoulder, was dragged resisting to the outer chamber. There he was dispatched and left with more than fifty blows and Darnley's dagger sticking in his mangled body. Bothwell and Huntly, in attendance below, escaped at a back window, Atholl by other means. Meanwhile the tumult roused the citizens, the town bell tolled, and anxious crowds gathered beneath Mary's windows. Darnley assured them all was well and bade them 'retire to quietness.' They obeyed, leaving their queen her husband's prisoner.

Futile in its other purposes, Darnley's murder closed the door on Mary's hopes to benefit her Church. The Pope in conclave praised this 'woman with a man's heart.' But her policy reverted to conciliation. From Darnley she wormed the details of his plot, dominated his weak purpose, and bent him to her own. Moray, presenting himself twenty-four hours after the crime, was graciously received. The plotters were moved to withdraw their guards and under cover of night Mary rode to Dunbar, in Bothwell's country, with Darnley at her side, pausing, says Darnley's father, at Rizzio's fresh turned grave to threaten that 'a fatter man than he should lie as low ere the year was out.' Bothwell, Huntly and Atholl joined the sovereigns. Glencairn and Rothes were won by pardon. Morton and Ruthven fled to Berwick. Both were outlawed, with their accomplices. In bitter wrath against Darnley, Mary already drew round her those he had betrayed. Joseph Rizzio succeeded David as her secretary, nursing vengeance for his brother's death. Moray, Argyll, Glencairn, were sworn of the Council, the first two having 'such misliking of their king as never was,' Randolph reported. Bothwell, Huntly, Atholl, were their colleagues and scowling faces met Darnley on every hand. To Mary,

in her own words, it was 'a heart break' to have him as her husband. Her son's birth in June invited reconciliation, but though she had forgiven, she told him she could never forget. Melville posted to England to advertise Elizabeth of the birth of a prince who, Mary hoped, 'shall first unite the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.' But Elizabeth's heir brought no reconciliation to his parents, though it greatly strengthened their position in England. In September Lethington was again in Mary's peace and Darnley nervously planned to 'go beyond sea.' He was dissuaded, encountered on all hands 'dishonourable disdain,' and absented himself from Court, bewailing 'his woeful miseries, as in a solitary desert,' writes Buchanan.

Meanwhile in Mary other passions worked. Since her marriage Bothwell had been always in her company and now possessed her heart. Some six years older than herself, she met him first in France in early widowhood when, in February 1561, she named him Commissioner to hold the Estates in Scotland. Even then his dare-devil nature was observed. In Mary's eyes his unfailing loyalty to her mother, Protestant though he was, marked him one on whom she might rely. He was sworn of her first Council after her return, but spent much time in exile or in prison following his alleged plot to carry off the queen to Dumbarton in 1562. His enmity towards Moray dated from the early days of the Congregation and Mary more than once intervened for his protection. She recalled him from France in 1565 to aid her against her brother, then in arms against her marriage. His own to Huntly's sister, in February 1566, on the eve of Rizzio's murder, suggests he had not yet raised eyes to his sovereign. But lacking her brother's counsel, and mated to such a spouse as Darnley, Mary, her bark tossed on troubled waters, submitted herself to Bothwell's piloting. His reputation for gallantry would not be disagreeable to his mistress. Their common love of France made strong appeal upon her interest. He was cultured, educated beyond the standard

of his unlettered order, handsome, loyal and reckless, a man of the world to whom a young queen might lose her heart, rich in his lands, powerful in his Border Wardenship. When gratitude ripened to affection and affection swelled to passion cannot be known. In October 1567, at news of his severe wounding by a Border raider, she rode sixty miles in a day to visit him, and thereafter lay in a long swoon, 'her members cold, eyes closed, mouth fast, and feet and arms stiff and cold.' She came to love him passionately, as her letters to him attest. To his feelings for her nothing gives a clue beyond his one criminal service.

After Mary's recovery events hurried to the approaching tragedy. Lennox, Darnley with him, watched the situation from Stirling. Moray, Maitland, Argyll were with the queen. Her desire for release marched with their aversion for one whose sovereignty had ever been unwelcome, whose treachery had betrayed them to the queen. Towards the end of November the Court was at Craigmillar Castle, near Edinburgh. The records are contradictory or suspect. But it may be held established that Maitland proposed divorce from Darnley, and that Moray, Bothwell, Huntly, and Argyll approved. Mary objected that divorce would bastardize her son, a contention certainly untenable. Maitland assured her that means could be found to release her without prejudice to her son. She asked that nothing should be done to burden her honour or her conscience. Maitland reassured her: 'Madam, let us guide the matter among us, and your Grace shall see nothing but good, and approved by Parliament.' The inevitable 'band' was prepared and signed. A month later Morton, Ruthven, and other active participants in Rizzio's death received their pardons and returned, an event of ominous import. At the same period Mary restored to Archbishop Hamilton his Consistorial jurisdiction, a step towards Bothwell's release from his Gordon wife. But no means were taken, in Parliament or elsewhere, to advance the Craigmillar plan. Bothwell, it

must be supposed, was already resolved, perhaps from the outset had intended, to use other ways. That they were known to others cannot be doubted. Were they known to Mary herself? Her letters to Bothwell, seized in their silver casket after her fall, cannot be advanced against her. The absence of their originals robs them of credit and the balance of authority finds them in measure forged to prove her *particeps criminis* of Darnley's death. On her actions she must be judged, and they condemn her as consenting partner of a reckless man whose actions she must have known bent to one determined end, to summon murder to release her from one she loathed and give her to the man she loved.

Darnley and his father realized their insecurity. Rumours were rife of the king's intended arrest, of an intention to stab or shoot him if he resisted. Hence, when his infant son was christened 'Charles James' at Stirling on December 17, 1566 with full Catholic rites, Darnley was not present. A week later Morton and his band of exiles returned, swelling the ranks of the king's enemies. Their restoration hastened Darnley's retreat to Glasgow, where he joined his father. There he fell ill, apparently of small-pox. His relations with Mary were still uncordial. On January 20, 1567, she complained to the Archbishop of Glasgow of a suspected plot to abduct the infant James. A few hours later, Bothwell with her, she rode to Glasgow to visit the sick man, found him convalescent, but weak, and pleading for forgiveness. Craigmillar was suggested for his convalescence, Holyrood being denied him for fear of infecting his son. Disliking Craigmillar, the queen's frequent country seat three miles from Edinburgh, Kirk o' Field was named, a small building, once the residence of the provost of the Church of St Mary in the Fields and close to the city wall of Edinburgh. Its owner was Robert Balfour, brother of the drafter of the Craigmillar 'band,' an adherent of Bothwell. Buchanan knew and describes its lonesomeness: 'a house lately of old priests, among graves, between the ruines of two temples, itself also

ruinous, near to the theifis haunt, and itself a receiver of thieves.' Such a house, in 'the most desolate part of the town,' can have been chosen for but one purpose. Mary's interest, as at Craigmillar, was so to act that no spot might fall upon her honour. On the last day of January the dismal mansion received its victim. For the next ten days the queen assiduously nursed her invalid. Gunpowder was stored, and the night of February 9, when festivities at the Palace were arranged, was chosen for the crime. About two o'clock in the night the house was shattered by an explosion. Other hands already had made 'siccar': Darnley's body and that of his servant were found in the garden, untouched by gunpowder; strangled, Buchanan alleges.

That Mary wished her husband's death is indubitable. Her actions after the event condemned her in the judgment of friends and enemies alike. Public opinion fastened at once upon Bothwell as author of the crime. Lennox demanded judgment. Mary refused to prosecute, named April 12 for the trial, but permitted Bothwell to overawe the Court. Lennox, the prosecutor, did not appear, and judgment went against him by default. Parliament, which had not met since the Darnley marriage, assembled and did him honour. On the evening of its rising a number of lords met him at Ainslie's Tavern, where they entered into a 'band' to maintain his innocence and procure his marriage with the queen (April 19). Five days later, intercepting her as she rode from visiting her son at Stirling, he carried her to Dunbar, whose castle the recent Parliament had granted him. There she waited while Bothwell procured divorce from his wife. It was granted on May 3. On May 12, Mary created Bothwell Duke of Orkney and Zetland, and three days later married him, 'not with the Mass, but with preaching.' She had the husband of her choice and wrecked her career. Neither from Spain, France, nor Rome could she expect countenance of her match with a heretic. Her Catholic supporters in England were dumfounded, and

Elizabeth, the circumstances apart, could not receive Bothwell, whose Anglophobia was notorious. The Pope, who had been preparing to send an envoy, drew back. Mary had dealt an irretrievable blow against the hoped-for restoration of the faith: 'one cannot as a rule expect much from persons who are the slaves of their passions,' the Cardinal Secretary of State commented severely.

In Scotland, Mary's marriage to the man universally held her husband's assassin produced as marked a revulsion of feeling. Moray was no longer at Mary's side; he left for France after the tragedy, when Bothwell's star was clearly in the ascendant. Lethington and Atholl deserted her. Only the Hamiltons, out of hatred of Lennox, Moray, and the other Stewarts, stood by her. In June Mary in a short petticoat kilted to the knee took the field with her husband. At Carberry Hill (June 15), under a banner showing Darnley's infant son praying for vengeance beside his father, dead beneath a tree, the insurgent lords confronted her. Mary offered to surrender if Bothwell was permitted to escape. He rode from the field and out of her life while she was brought to Edinburgh, where 'the common people' assailed her with vile names. Thence she was removed to Lochleven, whose castellan, Sir William Douglas, was Moray's half-brother. For nearly eleven months she remained his prisoner, while opinion hardened against her. On June 20 one of Bothwell's men was captured in possession of a silver casket containing her letters to the Earl. Before the month was out it was told in Edinburgh and London that they proved her clear complicity in Darnley's death and justified her deposition. Knox, who returned to Edinburgh from the country, whither he had fled after Rizzio's murder, denounced her from the pulpit. She was openly called a murderess and the General Assembly raised an accusing voice. Feeling ran violently against her and the lords in power determined to take decisive action. On July 24, 1567, she was forced to sign her abdication under protest, and five days later James VI was crowned. Moray, fresh

returned from France, was named Regent. His sister's cause was lost. France was plunged in civil war. Spain was involved in the Netherlands. The Pope refused to have relations with her. Only from Elizabeth, moved by womanly concern and indignation at her treatment by her subjects, came a word of sympathy and protest. Mary turned hopefully to the unlooked-for gleam. On May 2, 1568 she broke prison at Lochleven. Hamiltons and others rallied to her, and at Langside, now Glasgow, in considerable force she faced her brother (May 13). Routed after a short encounter she rode for the Border, crossed the Solway on May 16, and looked on Scotland for the last time.

CHAPTER XVI

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

THE twenty years (1568–87) of Mary's exile in England coincided with the active period of the Counter-Reformation. Its beginning was from the accession of Pius V (1566), a most vehement enemy of heresy, and followed the Council of Trent's (1545–63) definition of Catholic doctrine, removal or mitigation of mediaeval errors, and strengthening of the Church's central discipline. The Inquisition and Society of Jesus were its instruments, the Guises and Philip II its captains. Under Pius V's ardent inspiration France was embroiled in civil war, the Netherlands drenched in blood, Elizabeth deposed, Protestantism removed from Italy as already it had been eliminated in Spain. The Massacre of St Bartholomew (1572), the Spanish Fury in Antwerp (1576), the assassination of William of Orange (1584), and plot after plot against Elizabeth's throne and person were incidents in its unflagging vendetta. Mary Stewart was its most precious asset. She claimed her 'bastard' cousin's English crown and had the devotion of no mean part of her subjects. Once its British fortress fell, heresy perished in the West, Alva triumphed in the Netherlands, the French Huguenots succumbed to the Guises. As in 1559, mutual danger drew the British governments to close accord, till Mary's death in 1587 and the Armada's humiliating failure in the following year defeated Philip's aim, conserved their independence, and assured their common faith. Only in context with these larger happenings is Britain's insular history intelligible during the twenty years in which Mary's son outgrew his cradle and developed to complacent manhood.

Not for refuge but for vengeance Mary entered England,

seeking assistance she had been encouraged to expect. 'I will require the Queen my good sister,' she told Sir Francis Knollys, 'that either she will let me go into France, or that she will put me into Dumbarton. I will seek aid forthwith at other princes' hands that will help me, namely, the French king and the King of Spain, whatsoever come of me, because I have promised my people to give them aid by August.' Knollys reported admiringly to Cecil her 'readiness to expose herself to all perils in hope of victory.' 'The thing that most she thirsteth after,' he added, 'is victory; for victory's sake pain and peril seemeth pleasant unto her, and in respect of victory, wealth and all things seemeth to her contemptuous and vile.' The mood accords with her buoyant spirit throughout her career. Her party in Scotland was considerable. In Elizabeth she detected reflexions moving in her favour, sympathy for a sovereign of her own sex, disinclination to permit rebellion to triumph over princes. But she soon outraged Scottish sentiment and miscalculated the permanence of Elizabeth's concern. Determined to conquer by any means, and rejected by France, she carried her cause to Spain, raised the banner of the Pope on English soil, bequeathed to Philip II the crowns she failed to win, and passed to the Great Armada the legacy of her own defeat.

Mary's arrival in England presented a dilemma to Elizabeth. If she offered hospitality Mary might seduce the English Catholics and use their sympathy to rally Scotland. If she passed to France she had equal opportunity there to marshal forces favouring her candidature for the British crowns. Restored to Scotland she would assuredly destroy those whom Elizabeth was being forced to hold her friends. Elizabeth's strength—the Psalmist's counsel—was therefore to sit still, waiting upon the issue in France and Flanders. Her object, so soon as Cecil convinced her to subordinate womanly sympathy, was interpreted by the Spanish envoy, 'so to manage Scotch affairs as to keep that country friendly with them, in the

belief that, whilst the two kingdoms are in accord, they have nothing to fear.' One of her servants phrased his advice bluntly: 'It is expedient for your Majesty to accept and allow of the State as you find it, that is, of the regiment established in the young King of Scots. Of the validity or invalidity of his title your Majesty hath not to dispute, in my poor opinion, but to take him for a King as you find him.' While Elizabeth admonished Moray and the Marians to refrain from mutual hostilities, Mary was allowed to understand that before she could be received by her cousin she must be cleared of charges against her character. Moray was summoned to justify his treatment of his sovereign. Both were invited to stand a political trial in England upon the circumstances of Darnley's death, a proposal agreeable to neither and hinting revival of England's pretensions to suzerainty. Moray's record, elaborately protected by *alibis* on the dates of Rizzio's and Darnley's deaths, would not bear minute investigation, his associates' still less. Mary, guilty or not, aware that her enemies would stop at nothing to convict her, resented a tribunal which heard her subjects as her accusers. Neither could be sure of Elizabeth's purpose, and Scottish opinion could object that its highest Court already had pronounced sentence.

But neither side dared to reject Elizabeth's invitation, and at York, early in October 1568, Commissioners assembled. Elizabeth's were empowered to settle 'all manner of hostilities, differences, controversies, questions, matters, debates, and contentions' at issue between the Scottish parties. Mary's representatives were expressly debarred from touching 'the title of her crown or sovereignty thereof,' and, in anticipation of the production of the Casket Letters, were instructed to demand the originals for her inspection, and to affirm in her name she 'never writ ony thing concerning that matter [Darnley's murder] to ony creature,' and that if writings were produced bearing that construction 'they are false and feinzeit, forgit, and inventit' to dishonour and slander

her. For, she maintained, 'there are divers in Scotland, baith men and women, that can counterfeit my handwriting, and write the like maner of writing quhilk I use as weill as myself, and principallie sic as are in cumpanie with thameselfis' her accusers. She referred to the new Italian hand which, like Bothwell, she employed. Her accusation of forgery already had been raised by her adherent lords in Scotland, who declared the incriminating letters forged, not in their entirety, but 'in substantious clauses,' an allegation probably correct. The Scottish Commissioners, who included Moray and Morton, were briefly instructed to explain the causes why 'divers of our [James VI's] nobility and good subjects' had placed their queen under restraint.

Moray was reluctant to submit the evidence Mary impugned before receiving assurance that Elizabeth was more disposed to pursue his sister than himself, Morton, and Maitland of Lethington, whom the evidence might incriminate, and would not abandon them after their charges had estranged them irrevocably from their sometime queen. Suspicion of Elizabeth's motives, and the possible divulging of his own collusion in the crime, induced Maitland, who accompanied Moray, to work for a compromise. In that direction Elizabeth's inclinations also were found to lie. Her interest too clearly was to stand beside Moray and the forces he represented to permit judgment against him. On the other hand, she was obstinately fixed to maintain the irresponsibility of kingship and to assert that alleged misrule could not justify its challenge by subjects. None of the parties being inclined to expose the whole truth, the enquiry did nothing to establish it.

Elizabeth's meticulous care for the sovereign dignity of her cousin demanded that Mary should appear as accuser and Moray be heard in his defence. Mary's Commissioners therefore opened with a charge of rebellion, beginning the narrative with the encounter at Carberry Hill and so evading reference to Darnley's murder, the

point at issue. Moray, equally concerned to avoid the crucial circumstance, mentioned the murder as the cause of events that followed, attributed it to Bothwell, interpreted his own intervention as demanded by the queen's unfortunate position, and explained her imprisonment as the consequence of his compulsion to 'sequestrate' her person 'for a season.' His conduct had the approval of the Estates; the subsequent encounter at Langside was due to certain evil-minded persons whose impatience 'to see justice proceed as it was begun' impelled them to attempt the queen's reinstatement contrary to Act of Parliament. Moray was not ready to advance an open charge of murder until he had a categoric undertaking that, if it was proven, Mary would either be delivered to her former subjects' custody, or be detained in England out of mischief. But to impress the English Commissioners with the evidence in his possession, the Casket Letters, perhaps the originals (in French), translations certainly, were unofficially exhibited. Their effect was overwhelming. Norfolk and his colleagues, on October 11, declared the documents to disclose 'foul matter and abominable to be either thought of or to be written by a Prince,' 'inordinate love' of Mary for Bothwell, and her 'loathsomeness and abhorring' of Darnley. Elizabeth was informed that the producers of the documents were able to prove them authentic, but that only their word was behind the allegation that they were in Mary's handwriting. The effect was as Moray desired. Elizabeth declared her Commissioners authorized to pronounce a verdict of guilty or not guilty, and that in the event of condemnation Mary would in no wise be permitted to menace the government established in Scotland.

At this stage, in November 1568, the conference was withdrawn from York to Westminster, in order that the enquiry might be held before the queen in Council; Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, having been appointed with others to preside over proceedings which from this point assumed the appearance of a trial at law. Mary protested

against her cause being heard in buildings used as courts of justice. Hampton Court consequently was substituted for Westminster. On November 26 Moray openly formulated an 'Eik,' or additional charge of murder against his sister, accusing Bothwell as Darnley's 'chiefe executor' and herself 'of the foirknawledge, counsal, devise, perswader and commandar of the said murder to be done.' Mary answered (December 1) in a passionate countercharge alleging the accusations 'calumnious and false inventit bruitis.' Moray produced his evidence, and Mary, denied a personal interview with Elizabeth, called on Huntly, Argyll and her friends in Scotland to publish her impeachment of Maitland and Moray as authors of the crime, named Châtellerault, now returned from France, Regent and her son's heir, and declared Moray and Elizabeth in collusion to procure the former's succession on James VI's death. To the charges against her she made no serious defence, but appealed to the passions of her people against 'the ancient and natural enemies' of her realm. Gleams of hope came from elsewhere. Spain intervened; in December Philip himself offered to marry Mary or to mate her with a Habsburg Archduke. Hence Elizabeth's offer of oblivion if Mary would resign her crown to James and permit his education in England was rejected proudly (Jan. 9, 1569): *Je suis résolu et déliberé plustost mourir que de* [*le*] *fair; et la dernière parole que je feray en ma vie sera d'une Royne d'Escosse.* ('I am resolved and determined rather to die than yield. The last word I utter shall be spoken as Queen of Scots.') On the morrow (January 10) the ceremonious play unfolded its last scene. Moray was summoned to hear Elizabeth's Solomonic deliverance. She found Mary's charges unproven against her subjects, 'for so much as there has been nothing deduced against them, as yet, that may impair their honour or allegiances.' On the other part, 'there had been nothing sufficiently produced nor shown by them against the queen their sovereign whereby the Queen of England should conceive or take any evil

opinion of the queen her good sister for anything yet seen.' Moray rightly interpreted the finding to express Elizabeth's promise 'to maintain the King's [James VI] authority and our regiment.'

Mary's flight plunged Scotland into civil war and anarchy. Before James reached man's estate four Regents in succession held authority and three came to violent ends. On the Hamiltons Mary chiefly relied. The duke was her heir but not her son's—Darnley's brother Charles stood in that relation to the infant James. Huntly, Argyll, bound to Châtellerault by kinship and estranged from his sometime friends by Mary's treatment at Lochleven, and most of the nobility challenged the legality of her enforced abdication and in varying degree were prepared to strike for her restoration. Returning from England early in 1569 Moray found her behests fulfilled. The North, where Huntly's power lay, the West, dominated by Argyll and the Hamiltons, were in open revolt. His integrity was assailed, collusion with Elizabeth to destroy his sister was supposed, his intention to deliver Edinburgh and Stirling to English garrisons was alleged. In February Châtellerault arrived with Mary's commission as her Lieutenant and the rival parties approached a test of arms. In March, Moray gathered his levies at Glasgow in the Hamilton country. The duke, outnumbered, made submission and Huntly and Argyll followed his example. In July proposals for Mary's restoration were rejected by a Convention at Perth, nor was her request entertained, that steps should be taken to procure her divorce from Bothwell, a necessary preliminary to the fruition of her design of marriage with Norfolk, leader of the English Catholics.

But elsewhere Mary's spells worked with effect: in 1569 Elizabeth met the crisis of her reign. Many causes contributed to produce it. Her refusal to marry, founded in wisdom, exasperated many, threatened a disputed succession, and inclined men to turn to Mary Stewart in spite of her alleged delinquencies. In the north of England

these views prevailed, and in the same region local particularism also survived, offering feudal opposition to the centralized rule the Tudors had established. 'Throughout Northumberland,' it was said, 'they know no other prince but a Percy.' Mary's arrival in England stimulated the forces of reaction. Philip II's diplomacy was active, and Mary promised restoration of the Mass within three months if Spanish help was forthcoming. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland were eager to act, and the Duke of Norfolk, opportunely a widower, was ready to make Mary his wife. Maitland of Lethington supported the proposal at York and Hampton Court, where Moray had not discountenanced it. Elizabeth's objections were stubborn. But their efficacy depended on Scotland's attitude. The Perth Convention gave her the assurance she required. On September 3, also, Maitland was conveniently removed to Edinburgh Castle charged with complicity in Darnley's murder. A few days later Elizabeth summoned Norfolk to abandon the match or take the consequences as a rebel. His courage failed him and early in October the Tower had him in its keeping. Philip also disappointed hopes founded on him. 'Secret favour' he lavished in plenty, but his Council and Alva held the situation not opportune to challenge Elizabeth openly. Hence in November the northern earls broke unsupported into rebellion, heard Mass in Durham Cathedral, burned the English Bible and Book of Common Prayer, and advanced to Tadcaster, aiming at Tutbury Castle, where Mary was now confined. Upon her release their prospect of success depended. Had she fallen to their power, or Scotland been obedient to her party, the issue might have been other than it was and have controverted Alva's anticipation, that 'the business would all end in smoke.' Informed in time, Mary's guards removed her to Coventry, while Moray watched the Borders. Taken between two fires the rebellion collapsed. The earls sought refuge in Liddesdale; Northumberland, betrayed by an Armstrong, becoming the Regent's prisoner at Lochleven. It was Moray's last

service against the 'abominable Mass.' On January 22, 1570, he was assassinated by a Hamilton—James of Bothwellhaugh, nephew of Archbishop Hamilton. Knox's funeral sermon at St Giles' drew tears from a congregation of 3000 people who mourned 'a good and godly governor.' Like other personalities in this contentious period Moray's character is disputed. His astutely contrived disappearances at moments of crisis, avarice, and meanness, cannot obscure his statesmanlike qualities, directed throughout his career upon two absorbing purposes, establishment of the Protestant faith, and union of the British kingdoms.

Moray's death was a sore blow to Elizabeth and to his party. Among his associates only Morton could aspire to his place. But his character, though courageous, lacked even a pretence to moral dignity. The queen's party, on the other hand, counted the majority of the nobility in its membership and had strong leadership from Archbishop Hamilton, Kirkcaldy of Grange, and Maitland of Lethington, whom Moray's death perhaps relieved of the consequences of his arrest. Kirkcaldy's defection from the king's party is not clearly explicable. His old friends alleged that he was bought. To this formidable body of opinion the king's cause opposed only the Protestant ministers and the commonalty. Their resources were inadequate to appoint a Regent in Moray's room, while in April 1570 their opponents, convened at Linlithgow, proclaimed Mary's restoration, and launched an appeal to arms in her behalf. For Elizabeth and Protestantism the situation was critical. In February Pius V at length had issued the Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* depriving Elizabeth of her 'pretended' right to the English crown. His action drew the domestic issues of British politics upon a European platform and made it impossible henceforth to reconcile schemes in favour of Mary's succession with loyalty to Elizabeth's person. 'Dumbarton and Edinburgh Castles were becoming in effect outposts in the great international war of religion which was raging round Antwerp or La Rochelle.' By the middle of May 1570,

English troops were in Edinburgh. Lennox and the king's lords joined the newcomers, drove Châtellerault from his Glasgow Castle, sacked the Hamilton country, and burnt Hamilton Palace. The Marians were dispersed and impotent. In July Lennox was named Regent, an appointment which carried a declaration of war upon the instigators of his son's assassination.

Mary's hopes, dashed by events in Scotland, were encouraged by the situation elsewhere. The collapse of the Northern Earls had not relieved Elizabeth's anxiety. The Pope's hostility had proclaimed itself in the Bull of deposition. Philip undoubtedly would strike when opportunity arose, and the French king, at peace with the Huguenots in August 1570, was preparing to intervene. In fear of France, Elizabeth inclined to accommodation with Mary, whose partisans in Scotland, dismayed by English intervention, invited that course. Regretfully in September 1570, Lennox agreed to an 'Abstinence' or truce while Elizabeth conducted negotiations at Chatsworth for Mary's restoration. Mary was ready to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, surrender her son to Elizabeth's care and upbringing, and to eschew proposals of marriage lacking Elizabeth's assent. But her hopes sank swiftly. Neither Charles IX of France nor his mother Catharine de' Medici shared Philip II's interest in her. Both feared Spain's aggrandisement more than the progress of Protestantism. The scheme of marriage between Elizabeth and Henry of Anjou, heir to the French crown, was revived, and though the religious difficulty proved insuperable, vigorous negotiations were conducted in the first part of 1571 and were superseded by proposals for a defensive alliance which produced a formal agreement in April 1572. The unexpected situation dashed Mary's prospects. She resumed her interrupted intrigues with Norfolk, lately released from the Tower, and committed her plans to Roberto Ridolfi, a Florentine banker acting in London as the Pope's agent. His master, Philip, and Alva were soon involved in a plot which contemplated England's

invasion, a Catholic insurrection, Elizabeth's assassination, Mary's union with Norfolk, and her accession to the English throne. In March 1571 Ridolfi left London to make preparations. His mission was suspected and its details were soon revealed to Cecil. Meanwhile the Chatsworth negotiations were abandoned and in Scotland civil war was resumed. In April 1571 an act of splendid daring deprived the Marians of Dumbarton, their port of entry out of France, and yielded prisoner Archbishop Hamilton, who was hanged forthwith as accessory to Darnley's and Moray's murders. Edinburgh Castle, held by Kirkcaldy and Lethington, remained the only stronghold of the queen's party. Châtellerault threw himself within its walls and from May till the following September Lennox vainly attempted its reduction. Towards the end of August the Regent summoned to Stirling a Parliament over which the six-year-old king presided and to which he uttered an unrehearsed oracular remark. Pointing to a flaw in the roof he said, 'There is a hole in this Parliament.' A few days later (September 4, 1571) Huntly led a sortie from Edinburgh, surprised the king's nobles at Stirling, and was not driven from the town before Lennox, the 'sillie Regent,' was pistolled and dead, consummating a career of treachery and ambition.

Lennox's office as Regent was assumed by the Earl of Mar, who held Edinburgh Castle against the Congregation in 1554 and since had followed open, honest courses. Behind him Morton guided their party and pursued the Marians with vindictive ferocity that has named the conflict the 'Douglas Wars.' Edinburgh Castle maintained its resistance. But in August 1572 the Regent was in possession of the city, which Châtellerault, Huntly, and the queen's lords evacuated. Mar's brief Regency is chiefly memorable for the adoption of a scheme, promoted by Morton, calculated to relieve his party's straits for money, for lack of which troops scarcely could be paid. The settlement of 1560, legalized in 1567 after Mary's fall, left to the surviving ecclesiastics of the Roman

Church the larger part of its great wealth. Morton's avarice and the necessities of the Exchequer recommended a plan which proposed to perpetuate administrative Episcopacy while abstracting its endowments. Alleging that 'the policie of the Kirk is not perfite,' Mar, at the instance of Morton, summoned an Assembly of the Kirk to Leith in January 1572, inviting it to retain the titles Archbishop, Bishop, Abbot, Prior, already abolished by the First Book of Discipline. There had been for some time past a reaction towards modified Episcopacy. Three of the Roman bishops had become Superintendents, and Knox never judged the bishop's office unscriptural. Hence, the Assembly resolved to approximate the functions of Bishop and Superintendent, the prelate being subject to the Assembly and associated with a clerical Chapter at each diocesan centre, whose advice he should accept for the admission of ministers and generally in his spiritual functions. Upon the endowments of the rehabilitated Sees Morton had designs, and Archbishop Hamilton's death afforded opportunity to reveal his method. Putting in an infirm minister of his name, whom he vainly called on Knox to induct, he retained to his own use the major part of the emoluments of the dignity. A witty preacher distinguished three sorts of bishops: 'My lord bishop was in the Papistry. My lord's bishop is now when my lord gets the benefice and the bishop serves for nothing but to make his title sure. The Lord's bishop is the true minister of the Gospel.' To the pseudo 'my lord's bishops' the name 'Tulchan' was found appropriate, the tulchan being a mock or changeling calf exhibited to cows recently calved to induce a flow of milk. Their institution initiated a long-drawn controversy.

While the Convention was debating Morton's proposals, Mary's fortunes developed to another crisis. On January 16, 1572, Norfolk was brought to trial for complicity in Ridolfi's plot, whose intricacies Cecil had unravelled. Mary's guilt had been extracted from her agent, the Bishop of Ross. Her execution was clamoured for by both

Houses of Parliament and her exclusion from the succession was demanded. Elizabeth shrank from either alternative, though Norfolk, after a period of indecision on Elizabeth's part, was sent to the block (June 2). Two months later the St Bartholomew Massacre (August 24) again brought Mary into peril and damned her cause in Scotland. The bloody deed was deemed the work of her friends, a warning to England not to be disregarded. In September communications were opened with Mar for Mary's surrender, trial, and execution in Scotland. They were not concluded in October when Mar died, and were abandoned after the first panic abated and Morton's firm hand at length made the Kirk secure. Kirkcaldy and Lethington stood isolated in Edinburgh Castle, and in May 1573 surrendered to the assault of an English force. Kirkcaldy was hanged, as Knox had predicted. Lethington died, it was suspected, by his own hand. Huntly and the Hamiltons already had accepted a pacification, fruit of a meeting at Perth (February 1573), and recognized the king's authority. Mary's cause was irrevocably lost and Protestantism as firmly assured.

Morton stood alone, last of the champions of a stormy generation. Moray, Lethington, Kirkcaldy, Archbishop Hamilton, Knox, were dead; Châtellerault followed them in 1575. An unaccustomed lull fell upon Scotland's troubled history. England had abandoned the earlier Tudor schemes of conquest. France no longer threatened interference behind Mary's cause. Mary herself, save as a sentimental memory, had eradicated herself from her country's affections. After the Ridolfi plot the Counter-Reformation recoiled for a later spring; political rather than religious forces ruled international relations. Mary withdrew into temporary retirement, until in 1579 a new period of storm began. But her ambitions survived. Philip's half-brother, Don John of Austria, governing the Netherlands in 1576, was ambitious to wed her and place his wife on Elizabeth's throne. Early in 1577 Mary willed her rights in England and Scotland to the Spanish king,

or to his nominee countenanced by the Holy See. Thus aided by circumstances, Morton ruled with vigour and ability and gave the country peace. To do justice to all men and heap up great treasure, a contemporary said, was the double purpose of his rule. He tamed the Borders; the Raid of Reidswire in 1575 was the last notable encounter between the two nations on their common frontier. The Kirk felt his firm, rapacious, hand in a re-settlement of the allocation of one-third of the ancient Church's revenues between the Crown and the ministers. The latter had benefited little from the fund; stipends were rarely forthcoming, and in the recent civil wars had been more irregular than ever. Morton, propounding a remedy, constituted himself collector of the 'thirds' and their distributor among a ministry whose numbers he arbitrarily regulated in order to reduce his contribution to their maintenance after satisfying his own rapacity. His pseudo-Episcopacy established in 1572 was notorious; his bastard children were in large measure supported by pensions charged against episcopal revenues. Under him the Kirk, surrendering ideals and early enthusiasm, was sinking into servile dependence upon the State. The evils of the pre-Reformation establishment were again prevalent and ignorance and profligacy marked the lives of those whom the State set in ecclesiastical authority.

> Had gude John Knox not yit bene deid,
> It had not come unto this heid;
> Had thay myntit till sic ane steir,
> He had maid hevin and eirth to heir,

sang a poet whom Moray banished. Another Knox was needed and in Andrew Melville, who returned to Scotland in 1574, another as uncompromising was found. He spoke the Kirk's dismay and enmity. Secular voices concurred. The commons groaned under the Regent's exactions, the nobles under his iron rule. Early in 1578 their intrigues came to a head. The young king was in hands hostile to Morton, whose intention to abduct his sovereign, in the

Douglas manner, was suspected. An insincere statement of his desire to be relieved of responsibility was seized on gladly. In March 1578, with blowing of trumpets and firing of guns, his Regency was proclaimed at an end.

Morton's overthrow filled Elizabeth with concern and facilitated a new move in the Counter-Reformation's patient effort to subject Scotland to its purposes. Only the comparatively trivial Reidswire Raid had disturbed Morton's partnership with England, whose interference in Scottish concerns contributed to his fall. His removal from office, though not from political activity, plunged the country into the confusion of aristocratic feuds from which he had extricated it. 'All the devils in hell are stirring,' the lively Randolph informed his anxious mistress. In truth Philip II, the Guises, and Mary herself discerned a promising situation. Philip seriously planned to send troops to Scotland for the comfort of the Faith. Mary put herself in communication with her French relatives, proposing that James should be passed over to their keeping. Even while she penned her suggestion their emissary was on his way to Scotland to further the ends Mary and Philip had in view. In March 1578, within a few days of Morton's fall, James lost his grandmother, Lady Lennox, who died in England. The earldom had descended to James, who conferred it on his uncle Charles, and in 1578 on his great-uncle Robert. To continue the title and acquire its English properties James called out of France in September 1579 his father's first cousin Esmé Stewart, Sieur d'Aubigny, a man James' senior in years, whose influence proved wholesome neither to the king's precocious character nor to his policy. He was a courtier, a Catholic, accomplished, a man of the world, 'of comlie proportioun,' a contemporary diarist describes him, 'civile behaviour, red-beardit, honest in conversatioun, weil lykit of be the king and a pairt of his nobiletie at the first.' To continue the Lennox earldom James had a natural reason for desiring his presence and for conferring his favour. But his surrender to him of Dumbarton Castle suggested

that the newcomer might repeat the rôle of Albany in an earlier reign and pick up the dropped threads of the Old Alliance. Meanwhile, six months after his arrival, the favourite received the Earldom of Lennox (March 1580), a title subsequently (1581) advanced to a dukedom.

Ever since Mary's flight to England in 1568 Elizabeth had kept close touch with Scotland. It was now broken, and at a critical moment. Only Morton could restore it. But without military help he was powerless, and Elizabeth could not bring herself to provide it. He therefore succumbed to Lennox's enmity. With cunning craft the favourite wooed the Protestant ministers, who at his coming suspected him as Rome's emissary. He attended sermons, professed himself an earnest Protestant, and boasted his call to 'a knowledge of salvation.' He was named High Chamberlain and received command of a bodyguard of nobles which gave him custody of the king. But while Morton lived his position was insecure. Implication in the murder of the king's father provided ready means for his removal. On December 31, 1580, he was arrested on that charge at the instance of James Stewart of Bothwellmuir, Knox's brother-in-law, a soldier of fortune serving in the king's bodyguard. Elizabeth moved busily in Morton's interest; a strong force was advanced to the frontier; the Douglases were encouraged to attempt a rescue, lay violent hands on Lennox, and even abduct James. Intercepted letters from France were submitted to James to prove Lennox the agent of the Jesuits. But these devices were unfruitful. Levies were summoned to watch English activities on the frontier. Stewart of Bothwellmuir was rewarded with the Earldom of Arran, and on June 1, 1581, a jury of his peers pronounced Morton guilty 'art and part of concealing the king's father's murder.' He was guillotined next day by 'the Maiden,' last of Darnley's murderers, a true type of his unruly house, whose attachment to the Kirk and the English alliance gives him, however, a place among the statesmen of his generation.

Released by Morton's death, Lennox invited the activities of the Counter-Reformation. The lull which followed Ridolfi's fiasco was ending: 'the state of Christendom dependeth upon the stout assailing of England,' an English Jesuit declared. Philip II was still the champion of the Roman camp. Portugal and her rich dependencies fell to him in 1580. Parma was steadily breaking Calvinism in the Netherlands. In France Philip's alliance with the Guises gave him their countenance. On every frontier of his great estate he faced England's dogged enmity and in defence again marshalled the battle against her. In 1580 his troops were defeated in Ireland and the Jesuits Parsons and Campion entered England, hoping to make 'every Catholic a conspirator.' In the autumn of 1581 a secular priest was dispatched to Scotland, obtained secret interviews with James, Lennox, and others, and reported the conditions favourable for a stroke. Later in the year the Jesuit Father William Holt discussed there the prospects of James' conversion. In February 1582 a more important Papal mission elicited from Lennox a definitive pledge to procure James' conversion, rouse the English Catholics, and restore England to Rome. Guise was ready to invade England, Spaniards to land in Scotland; Elizabeth's assassination was a detail in the ambitious design. But the Kirk's ministers already suspected Lennox's purposes. John Durie, one of the Edinburgh Presbytery, who openly denounced him and Arran as corrupters of the king's mind, was summoned before him, scolded as *un petit diable*, and 'invaded' by his French scullions with spits and knives. Elizabeth put herself in touch with the Earl of Angus in Northumberland, whose forfeiture on the charge of his English intrigues Lennox had procured, and through him with the remnants of Morton's English party. Money was distributed and a 'band' was formed for Lennox's ejection. No attempt upon his life was projected, nor was so extreme a measure required. His pluck lagging behind his cunning, he ensconced himself at Dalkeith, venturing forth only amid a phalanx of guards.

Lennox's seclusion facilitated a plot to snatch the king from his keeping and extricate him from contaminating relations with Guise and the Jesuits. On a day in August 1582 James, after hunting in Atholl, passed through Perth towards his palace at Falkland. As he rode out of the town the Earl of Gowrie, with others of the English party, surrounded the king, conducted him to Gowrie's Ruthven Castle, and thence to Stirling for security. James cried for anger, and was rudely answered: 'Better bairns greet than bearded men.' Arran was put in ward while Lennox abode in anxious security at Dalkeith. Had he shown resolution James' rescue should not have been difficult. But he feared to act and the raiders pushed their advantage. James was compelled to issue proclamations admitting his favourite's dealings with Spanish emissaries and Papal agents. Lennox, protesting that 'God having given him grace' to embrace the Reformed faith it was manifestly false to imagine his intention to subvert it, transferred himself to Edinburgh Castle, whence he viewed public signs of satisfaction at his fall. The Kirk's Assembly expressed thankfulness at the recent 'reformation' at Court. Ministers whom Lennox had expelled, returning to their pulpits, thundered denunciation of his Popish plots. Durie, the 'little devil,' after admonishing the king at Stirling, was brought to Edinburgh, escorted below the castle by a vast throng declaiming Psalm cxxiv:

> Bot loved be God,
> quhilk doth us saiflie keep
> From bludie teith
> and their most cruell voice,
> Quhilk as a pray
> to eit us wald rejoice.

The demonstration smothered the last spark of courage in Lennox's fainting spirit. 'The Duke,' Randolph reported to his government, 'was more afraid at that sight than at anything he had ever before seen, and rave his beard for anger.' He stole away to Dumbarton and thence to France, having first organized a 'band' for the king's

rescue, to be followed, he planned, by his own swift return. He died in 1583. James meanwhile found restraint intolerable. Scrawling on the wall of his room a lamentation, 'a prisoner I am and liberty would have,' he found it answered by a Calvinist hand:

> A Papist thou art and friend to a slave;
> A rope thou deservest, and that thou shalt have.

Speedy escape from such a gaoler was desirable. The Gordons, Setons, Grahams, Kers and others, determined enemies of the Reformation and its assertive Kirk, were scheming for his rescue. Lethington's younger brother assisted the intrigue, which James furthered by an elaborate deportment of reconciliation with his circumstances. On June 27, 1583, with a single attendant, he slipped off very secretly to St Andrews Castle. Huntly and the Gordons drew a cordon round him. Montrose and other Catholics flocked to him. The Ruthven raiders held an empty cage.

Of James, now entering his eighteenth year, an observing Frenchman flashes a brilliant portrait: 'The king is for his age one of the most remarkable princes that ever lived. He apprehends readily, he judges maturely, he concludes with reason. His memory is full and retentive. His questions are quick and piercing, and his answers solid. Whatever be the subject of conversation, be it religion or anything else, he maintains the view which appears to him to be true and just, and I venture to say that in languages, sciences, and affairs of state, he has more learning than any man in Scotland. In short, he is wonderfully clever, and has an excellent opinion of himself. Owing to the terrorism under which he has been brought up, he is timid with the great lords, and seldom ventures to contradict them. Yet his special anxiety is to be thought hardy, and a man of courage. He has so good a will that nothing is too laborious for him. Hearing lately that the Laird of Dun had passed two days and two nights without sleep, he passed three; but if he once finds

himself beaten in such exercises, he abhors them ever after. He dislikes dances, and music, and amorous talk, and curiosity of dress, and courtly trivialities. He has an especial detestation for ear-rings. From want of instruction, his manners are rough and uncouth. He speaks, eats, dresses, and plays like a boor, and he is no better in the company of women. He is never still for a moment, but walks perpetually up and down the room, and his gait is sprawling and awkward. His voice is loud, and his words sententious. He prefers hunting to all other amusements, and will be six hours together on horseback, galloping over hill and dale. His body is feeble, yet he is not delicate. In a word, he is an old young man. Three unfavourable points only I observe in him. He does not understand his own insignificance. He is prodigiously conceited. And he underrates other princes. He irritates his subjects by indiscreet and violent attachments. He is idle and careless, too easy, and too much given to pleasure, particularly to the chase, leaving his affairs to be managed by Arran and his secretary. Excuses, I know, must be made for so young a man; but it is to be feared that the habit may grow upon him. I once hinted something of this kind to him. He told me that whatever he seemed, he was aware of everything of consequence that was going on. He could afford to spend time in hunting, for that when he attended to business he could do more in an hour than others could do in a day. He could listen to one man, talk to another, and observe a third. Sometimes he could do five things at once. He said he was his mother's son in many ways. His body was weak, and he could not work long consecutively, but when he did work he was worth any other six men put together. He had sometimes tried to force himself,'and had continued at his desk without interruption for a week, but he was always ill after it. In fact he said he was like a Spanish jennet, which could run one course well, but could not hold out. This was the very expression which he used.' Ten years before this acrid eulogium was penned an admiring minister marked

James' wisdom and thought him the 'sweetest sight in Europe for ingyne [*ingenium*], judgment, memory, and language.' He could *extempore* translate the Bible out of Latin into French, and from French into English. George Buchanan, his mother's reviler, gave him his Latinity. His tutor, Peter Young, a pupil of Beza, cultivated his theology. To the laureate Alexander Montgomerie he owed his facility in verse. But at bottom he remained a sententious prig, opinionated, self-confident, meddlesome, endowed with native shrewdness which the circumstances of his upbringing intensified.

James by conviction was a Protestant. His intellectual bent inclined him to Calvinist dogma and he found little satisfaction in the aesthetic atmosphere in which the older faith survived. His interests, moreover, clashed with Rome's, and at no time was he seriously disposed to change his creed. His one clear purpose was to be master in his own house, using his liberty to secure succession to the English crown, which, it was said with little exaggeration, he was ready to take from the devil himself. Only the blatant Hildebrandism of the Kirk under Andrew Melville's leadership, and a habit of familiarity which permitted a minister to address the king as 'God's silly vassal,' drove him to parley with Rome and to oppose Episcopacy to a Presbyterian establishment. He interpreted his monarchy as moderator between extreme factions, resented the hectoring tones of the Kirk, envied Elizabeth's easy control over an episcopal system, and was resolved to give the Scottish crown an equal advantage. Too cautious to emerge as a commanding personality, though complacently satisfied with his attainments, James refrained from carrying his purposes with a high hand, but inclined his influence now on one side, now on the other, resolved not to submit to the tyrannies of Rome, the Kirk, or his nobility, but to pursue a middle course, rule as 'universal king,' sovereign of his people, not the figurehead of a Church or faction, in hope one day to unite the British realms.

Release from Gowrie's control left in James bitter feelings towards Elizabeth, whose encouragement of his gaolers he suspected reasonably. Early in August 1583, Arran returned to Court, was reinstated in the Privy Council, and until his fall in November 1585 dominated James as completely as had Lennox. For the moment James followed a course of his own. Like his mother, he was set upon securing from Elizabeth recognition of his heirship to the English throne. To give it Elizabeth steadily refused. She disappointed him on another matter. 'Money and preferment,' said a French visitor at this time, 'are the only Sirens which charm the lords of Scotland.' The indictment touched James himself. He had demanded £10,000 down and £5000 a year. Elizabeth's parsimony rejected the bargain and proposed a pension derided by James as 'too small.' In the first flush of resentment and recovered liberty, determined to show Elizabeth that others could advance his ambitions, James wrote to his cousin of Guise declaring his proposal to send troops to Scotland 'most agreeable to me.' He would accept it or not 'as circumstances shall require.' He was pleased that Guise's agent had observed and reported 'the virtues and rare qualities which God has bestowed upon me,' and felt the more bound to emulate 'the ever memorable deeds of my ancestors of the noble house of Lorraine.' He was confident that Guise's purpose was to set his mother free and establish 'our united right' to the English crown. 'I admire your object. I approve of the means which you intend to use,' he concluded. In February 1584 he wrote to the Pope, 'advised by my dear cousin of Guise, by whose counsel I am at present acting.' He described himself as the recent victim of 'the faction who expelled my lady mother' acting in collusion with Elizabeth, 'who has encouraged every bad enterprise attempted in this country throughout her reign.' His extremity was such that he might 'soon be forced to play into the hands of your Holiness' worst enemies and mine.' He looked forward to 'satisfying your Holiness in all other things,

especially if in this my great necessity your Holiness stands my friend.' Guise added his entreaty that Gregory XIII would befriend 'the poor young man.'

James' letter to the Vatican, characterized as 'astounding' by Dr Hume Brown, by no means implied an intention to carry Scotland over to the Roman camp. Playing a lone hand for big stakes it seemed to James sensible to set off Pope against Presbyter and, true to his theory of monarchy, to take his weapons from whomsoever would serve his ends. Elizabeth, vastly perturbed by James' independence, and suspecting collusion with his mother's Catholic allies, dispatched her Secretary of State, Sir Francis Walsingham, to explore the situation on the spot. He described James (September, 1583) as 'full of contempt' for his mistress, misled by Mary and her friends, 'who put him in hope of a great party in England,' and 'depending on Spain and the Pope.' Walsingham used his opportunity to sound Gowrie's associates upon the feasibility of a new effort to seduce James from his Catholic friends. But Elizabeth was chary of promises and niggardly of financial aid. James' recent captors therefore were left to his wrath. In December a Convention condemned them. Mar and the Master of Glamis were placed in ward, but escaped to Ireland. Angus was banished beyond Spey. Gowrie, who professed contrition, remained at Court.

The arrest and revelations of Francis Throckmorton, an agent of Guise, in November 1583, added fuel to Elizabeth's fears, and incited the Kirk to action. Andrew Melville dared to liken Mary Stewart to Nebuchadnezzar, denied the jurisdiction of the Privy Council, before which he stood, and flinging his Bible on the Council table, 'There,' said he, 'are my instructions and my warrant.' Only flight saved him from punishment. Durie was expelled to Montrose for expressing approval of the Ruthven Raid. Public opinion was in a nervous state, the worst was suspected of James and his favourite's policy, and the arrival from France of Lennox's son, to whom his father's honours were restored (November

1584), thickened the cloud of suspicion. Mar, Angus, and Glamis set a conspiracy on foot and found unlooked-for allies in Châtellerault's sons, who, Catholics though they were, robbed of their estates by Morton, kept out of them by Arran, were eager to strike a blow. James was to be abducted, Arran removed, and the kingdom pulled from the brink of Popery. On April 17, 1584, Mar and Glamis seized Stirling Castle, but failed to arrest the king. Thence they summoned their well-wishers to rescue the realm from its bondage to 'a young and insolent company of papists, atheists and furtherers of the bloody Council of Trent.' Elizabeth's failure to support the effort, and Arran's activity, doomed it to failure. By the end of the month James was before Stirling, whence Mar and his associates had fled. The castle surrendered, its castellan and chief officers were hanged. Gowrie, who had been waiting on events before declaring himself, was arrested, made a full confession, and went to the block. He and Morton had extracted Mary's abdication at Lochleven. Angus and Mar and Glamis were proclaimed traitors: their estates, with those of Gowrie, were divided between Arran and young Lennox. The principal ministers, anticipating 'bloodie butcherie,' followed Melville to Berwick. James' triumph was complete.

The death of Gowrie, exile of Angus, Mar, and Glamis, and flight of the preachers restored to James his liberty. To enlarge and complete it at the expense of the Kirk was a natural sequel, and Arran's interests coincided with the inclination. The circumstances of his marriage had exposed him to the censure of the ministers, whose champions were his enemies now in exile. His unpopularity was considerable and grew to be 'incredible,' in the observation of Elizabeth's envoy, who found him 'of more wit than courage, but of no faith, conscience, or honesty; insolent where he prevaileth, and of a restless and troublesome spirit.' He boasted the blood royal, though the descent of his house of Ochiltree from James II was blemished by the bar sinister. His wife's evil reputation challenged his

own; her rapacity was notorious; the Crown jewels, even Queen Mary's abandoned wardrobe, were objects of her desire. In popular reputation she was held a malignant witch. The couple, suspected by all, trusted by none save the king, were chiefly intent to exploit their spell of power to minister to their ambition and inordinate thirst for plunder.

The Kirk, which James now resolved to subject to his royal will, had since 1567 developed great and even menacing power. Mary's dramatic fall had procured for the Acts of 1560 Parliamentary approval (1567) till then withheld. Morton's pseudo-episcopacy ran counter to the convictions of a growing body which found a champion in Andrew Melville, returned in 1574 from Geneva and the society of Beza, Scaliger, and other notable humanists, to become the head of Glasgow University. In the General Assembly of 1575 he raised a controversy which divided Scotland for generations—Had the bishop's office the authority of Scripture? He held it inconvenient, unlawful, and in 1580 convinced the Kirk to confirm his opinion. Next year, the Assembly at Glasgow formally instituted the Courts known as Presbyteries, after which Scottish Protestantism has its name. The Courts, the unit of the entire ecclesiastical system, include a varying number of parishes, and to their members the supervision of the area and ordination of its ministers are entrusted. The Second Book of Discipline, sanctioned in the same year, threw down another challenge, in its condemnation of Episcopacy and assertion of the Kirk's *imperium* upon which the State might not trespass. Thus, in 1584, the Kirk's organization, from Kirk Session upwards through Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, to the General Assembly, expressed power which no other institution excelled. The hierarchy of the old church exercised influence as members of the Estates. The reformed Kirk preferred a Parliament of its own, and its theory of the simultaneous sovereignties of Kirk and State demanded one. Its Assembly's authority was imposing. It was representative, included the most

prominent laity as well as the clergy, claimed and exercised the jurisdiction of the old Church Courts over questions touching moral conduct, and fearlessly assumed its dread powers of excommunication.

At a period when religion and politics were inextricably confused, the Kirk's claim to withdraw itself from the *imperium* of the State, and from behind its own inviolable barrier to admonish, scold, threaten, and even defy the civil magistrate, was intolerable. To James especially the challenge, which had become noisy during his minority, was offensive. In May 1584 Parliament was convened to pass a series of measures whose assault upon the Kirk's sovereignty caused them to be styled the 'Black Acts.' The Kirk's insistence that the courts of the civil magistrate were incompetent to subject ministers to his authority was met by emphatic assertion of the sway of 'the royal power and authority over all states as well spiritual as temporal within this realm.' A second Act as positively condemned the legislative and judicial functions which the Kirk's courts arrogated, and forbade the convoking of Conventions or Assemblies without royal licence. An Act confirming the 'liberty of preaching the true Word of God,' and another depriving of their charges persons suspected of 'heresy, papistry, false and erroneous doctrine, common blasphemy, fornication, common drunkenness, non-residence, plurality of benefices,' did nothing to mitigate the severity of legislation which riveted the Crown's headship upon the Kirk, maintained its patronage of the Episcopal bench, and closed the pulpit as a platform for 'treasonable, seditious, and contumelious speeches' on public affairs. Nor were the new measures merely declaratory of royal policy. James used them to revive the moderate Episcopal party which suffered defeat in 1580, when the General Assembly condemned the 'pretended' office of bishop. He already had dispatched the Archbishop of St Andrews (Patrick Adamson) to England to report upon the system there established. In December 1584 he gave orders for every beneficed

minister between Berwick and Stirling forthwith to signify acceptance of the Black Acts and willingness to obey Episcopal authority. Deprivation was the penalty of refusal. The test was rigorously applied and many accepted it. The stubborn conflict between Kirk and State was fairly joined. Hildebrandine Presbyterianism was outraged, and already contemplated the prospect of a second Ruthven Raid.

Master of the Kirk, James was disposed to pursue still further his *via media* in imitation of Elizabeth's balancing policy. To put himself in dependence on Philip and the Guises was never his preference; their aid would ask his entry to the Roman fold, a step not seriously contemplated by him. Filial regard for his mother was too slight to make agreeable the subordinate position in which their plots would place himself. He neither wished to share his present throne nor suffer his mother's interposition between himself and that of England. Throckmorton's plot, moreover, depressed the English Catholics, and James could discern the madness of committing himself to high-flying Popish courses to capture a constituency whose effective aid was problematical. His chief purpose was so to walk that, whether the Reformation or Counter-Reformation triumphed in England, his succession to Elizabeth should not be imperilled. The Black Acts corrected a Calvinist system which Elizabeth hated as he did. If, after all, the Counter-Reformation triumphed, they would stand to his credit as expressing his aloofness from extremest Protestant opinion. Hence, James' inclination was to offer Elizabeth Scotland's alliance against his mother's friends abroad, in hope to receive her recognition of himself as her successor. Arran's interests supported that course. He wished neither for Mary's return nor her release. His very title made him the enemy of the Catholic Hamiltons from whom he usurped it. The ruin of the Ruthven raiders, Elizabeth's staunchest supporters, lay at his door. They were now in exile and, failing an understanding with Elizabeth, could be sup-

posed eager to take their revenge on him if opportunity served.

James' overtures divided Elizabeth's Council. Walsingham, fortified by his visit to Scotland in 1583, and convinced of James' implication in the Guise and Spanish plot, urged his mistress to take Melville and his fellows at Berwick under her protection, and to settle Angus, Mar and Glamis on Holy Island, whence they could be conveniently slipped into Scotland. Elizabeth, so far concurring, refused to surrender the refugee lords. But she would not be deterred by Arran's notorious character from negotiations which promised to detach James from his mother, give her Scotland's alliance, and extricate her from dangerous commitment to the Dutch rebels against their sovereign. The assassination of William of Orange on July 10, 1584, pointed the value of Scotland's friendship. In August 1584 Elizabeth's cousin, Lord Hunsdon, met Arran in Foulden Church, near Berwick, and was impressed by his 'princely presence' and 'one of the best tongues that ever I heard' to believe James' overture sincere. Arran was glib and fluent in assertion of his rectitude. Elizabeth therefore professed willingness to explore the relations of the two countries and agreed to receive as James' ambassador Patrick Master of Gray, an accomplished, treacherous, handsome youth, whose good looks made irresistible appeal to James, himself awkward and unprepossessing. Gray, who returned with the young Duke of Lennox from France, was a Catholic and in the confidence of Mary and the Guises, in whose service he passed to Scotland. He spent the winter in England as James' ambassador, and fulfilled a discreditable part. His ostensible mission was to withdraw Elizabeth's countenance from the refugee lords as the preliminary to a defensive alliance between the two Courts. But his private intention was to advance his own fortunes. He coveted Arran's influence and aspired to fill his place, designing as his instruments the lords whom his official instructions charged him to rescue from Elizabeth's dis-

favour. By revealing James' relations with the Guises, proving Arran a liar in his denial of them at Foulden, and betraying Mary Stewart, he won Elizabeth's favour. In January 1585 he returned to Scotland and reported his success. The exiled lords were removed from the Border, Mary Stewart to the dismal isolation of Tutbury, a position where she could no longer conspire; James was purged of suspicion of collusion with his mother. Gray's secret mission was not less successful. Elizabeth's confidence in Arran's plausible professions was undermined; the exiled lords were held in leash to be slipped at him when occasion offered.

The European situation rapidly moved to serve James' purpose. In January 1585 the Guises united their Holy League with Philip to exclude the Protestant Henry of Navarre from the throne, instancing the example of England, Denmark, and Sweden to show that a Protestant king would impose his religion upon his subjects. Every Protestant throne was menaced, and in April Elizabeth sent Edward Wotton to form a counter-association with James, whom Guise and Navarre already were courting. Wotton brought presents of buck-hounds and horses and a promised pension of £5000. On July 31 an offensive and defensive union against the common Catholic enemy was ratified by the Estates and James promised to be guided by Elizabeth in his marriage. His title to the English succession was tacitly recognized; his mother was not mentioned. Arran's ruin followed swiftly upon negotiations in which he had no share and carried obvious menace to himself. He invited the favour of the Guises and received monies from France. His correspondence with them was known and a fracas upon the Borders in which an English noble was killed was laid at his door. Elizabeth demanded his surrender by James, who 'shed tears like a child newly beaten' at the demand, put him under guard, but soon released him. Gray now urged Elizabeth to 'let slip' the banished lords from Westminster. The exiled Hamiltons also held the occasion favourable to

challenge the favourite. In the middle of October, Angus, Mar, Glamis and others arrived in Berwick. A fortnight later they were over the Border moving to a rendezvous of their friends at Falkirk. On November 2, 1585, they appeared before Stirling. Arran fled, James was again in the hands of the Protestant lords, and a faction which had distracted Scotland since Morton's death four years before at length was dissipated.

The treaty with England, confirmed at Berwick in July 1586, and the disappearance of Arran, associated with James' traffic with the Roman camp, confirmed the king upon the middle course he already had begun to pursue. His new Council associated the banished lords with Huntly and the Catholic faction. The Black Acts were maintained, though James' attachment (1587) of all ecclesiastical property to the Crown put beyond possibility the establishment of such a political episcopacy as prevailed in England. With Mary James had conclusively broken. In her bitterness she wrote to Elizabeth (May 1585) threatening to disown, curse, and disinherit her son. A year later, in a letter intercepted by Walsingham, she fulfilled her threat and made over to Philip of Spain all her rights and claims (May 1586). Her action both completed James' severance from a policy which, since 1580, had inclined him to the counsel of favourites like Lennox and Arran, and instructed his deportment in the last scene of his mother's stormy career. In the spring of 1586 her English adherents, eager to advance Philip's halting enterprise, desperately evolved a plot for the assassination of Elizabeth and her ministers. Anthony Babington and five other assassins undertook to rescue Mary after their bloody deed was accomplished. Mary incautiously communicated with Babington in terms which revealed fore-knowledge of what he proposed to do. Walsingham, well-served by spies, intercepted and copied her correspondence, and by its means convinced Elizabeth that her rival's death alone could relieve the realm and its religion of an implacable enemy. In October 1586 Mary was

indicted at Fotheringay under the Act 'for the surety of the Queen's Majesty's most royal person' passed in the preceding autumn. In February 1587, at Fotheringay, she met death with the undaunted courage which had supported her throughout her life.

Mary's peril at the bar of a foreign tribunal stirred Scotland, as nothing else could, with concern for one who was but a memory to a generation grown to manhood since her flight. The stalwarts of the Kirk voiced their satisfaction. But Bothwell's nephew and heir bluntly warned James that he deserved to be hanged if he abandoned his mother. Even Angus desired him to understand that the nobles would 'not endure that the Queen of England shall put her hands in his mother's blood.' Neither chivalry nor courage was conspicuous in James and filial affection made feeble appeal for a mother whom he had not seen for twenty years, whose most recent acts had been inspired by enmity to himself. In January 1587, before the execution, Gray and others were sent to London on a mission which Gray described as 'modest, not menacing.' The phrase characterized James' deportment. His commissioners were empowered to suggest Mary's surrender to himself, upon his assurance that she would resign her pretensions to the English crown in his favour. Elizabeth rejected the compromise and James drew aside. That Gray in an interview or by letter urged Elizabeth not to spare her enemy, reminding her *mortui non mordent* (the dead don't bite) is generally stated. There is nothing in his character to render it improbable, but Mr Lang undermines the story, and the fact that Arran's brother was first to make the charge does not strengthen its credibility. Scotland, like France, exhibited emotion on the news of her sometime sovereign's death. But there was little disposition to translate emotion into action, which, unless France and Philip supported it, had no likelihood of proving effective. Neither James nor his people were disposed to sacrifice the advantages of the recent treaty with England. And though a dramatic

moment occurred in Parliament on July 26, 1587, when the lords present fell on their knees and placed lands, lives, and goods at the sovereign's disposal 'touching a revenge for the death of the queen,' public indignation was neither deep nor durable. The slur on Scotland's honour was not avenged.

Only in Philip II did sympathy display itself in action. He was Mary's heir and proposed at once to avenge her, establish the triumph of his faith, and win the crown she had never worn. For years he had been preparing the great Armada which, in May 1588, set out upon its heavy course. Its advent moved the Kirk to urge James to activity against the Papists and to name Huntly and others in suspected communication with Parma and his master. James acted vigorously against Lord Maxwell, most formidable of the southern Catholics. But of Philip's galleons Scotland saw none but battered wrecks: *Flavit Deus et dissipati sunt* England inscribed on her medals of victory. With the Armada's shattering the cause for which Mary schemed and died sank also to its doom. Protestant Elizabeth sat securely on a throne whose foundations the Counter-Reformation failed to move. Within twenty years the son whom Mary disinherited held the sovereignty of the kingdoms she failed to win for her Church, a French sovereign gave toleration to his Huguenot subjects, and a new Protestant nation won its freedom in the Low Countries. In Western Europe the Counter-Reformation had spent its ineffectual force.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CATHOLIC REVOLT

WHEN Philip launched the Armada at these islands, the Kirk, though powerful and established, was not yet supreme. One-third of the nobility still professed the faith of their fathers. On the Borders the Roman Church retained Dumfries and Wigtown, shires in which, a century later, the stern creed of the Covenanter found its sternest disciples. Caithness and Sutherland, at the northern extreme, also remained strongholds of the Catholic cause. From Aberdeen and Moray westward through Elgin, Inverness, to Skye and the Hebrides, Protestantism was little regarded by a population isolated from the moving current. Of the north-eastern provinces Huntly was almost sovereign. But everywhere the Mass was proscribed and the beliefs and ritual of centuries rested under the anathema of a recent creed. The sovereign had put his hand to a document which declared 'all kinds of Papistry damned and confuted by the Word of God and Kirk of Scotland,' refuted the 'usurped authority of that Roman Antichrist,' his 'corrupt doctrine,' 'blasphemous opinion of transubstantiation,' 'devilish Mass,' 'blasphemous priesthood,' 'praying or speaking in a strange language,' 'processions and blasphemous Litany,' 'shavelings of all sorts,' 'erroneous and bloody decrees made at Trent.' To acquiesce passively in so contemptuous a proscription would be craven. Without assistance Huntly could not overawe the State or establish the liberty of his Church. But he looked on the North Sea, offered a door of entry to the Catholic Powers, and excited the Kirk's lively fears. Hence, 'notwithstanding the Lord's judgments that year [1588] upon Papists,' the diarist Melville records, 'yet, after the spirit of the serpent where-

with they are led, although cut and deadly wounded in divers parts, nevertheless were ever stirring and menacing. So that divers practicers and traffickers, Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other emissaries of the Antichrist crape in [crept into] the country and kythed [produced] dangerous effects in divers parts, namely, in the North and South.' Their activities, the revolt of the Catholic population against Presbyterian tyranny, the Kirk's suspicion of James' collusion, and consequently its own fiery warfare with the Crown, fill the years which intervened between the Armada and James' departure to his English kingdom.

James' relation to Catholic unrest is not obscure. The belief was positive among the Jesuits, advanced guard of a Popish army that never came, that James would unite his fortunes with theirs if the alliance could promise him the English throne. He was not blind to their activities and was in friendly correspondence with the sovereign on whom they leaned. It was to his interest to present a sympathetic demeanour; for it promised to relieve him of Spain's hostility, and, within his own kingdom, to afford support on which he could rely to curb the Kirk's ebullient mood. His diplomacy was naturally deceitful and shifty, but, as one of Philip's spies informed his master, 'the Catholics recognize that he is clever and hope that some day he will open the doors to the light of truth.' On the other hand, being the sport of feudal turbulence, lacking an adequate guard to protect his person, bearded in his very palace by brawling nobles, James could not afford to make an enemy of the Kirk, whose extravagant pretensions on occasion might usefully serve his ends. Between two extremes he preserved a balancing equilibrium, seeing his goal clear ahead and destruction the consequence of deviation to either side.

Six months after the Armada was dashed by Protestant gales, rumblings of the coming storm were heard. Vigilant ministers, convened at Edinburgh in January 1589, petitioned James to dismiss Catholic sympathizers from his service, and proposed an inquisitorial committee to

observe the motions of Jesuits and other Romish agents. Events confirmed their suspicions. Elizabeth's secret service arrested one Pringle on his way to the Continent bearing letters of recent date from Huntly and Errol to Philip and Parma, regretting the Armada's fruitless effort, asserting the enthusiasm that awaited its arrival in Scotland, and advising methods to assure the success of a future venture. Elizabeth forwarded the letters to James, hinting at his connivance, and the ministers demanded instant measures. James, attached to Huntly, who recently had married Lennox's sister, reluctantly took action. Huntly was warded in Edinburgh Castle in brief detention. In a few days he was released, rode homeward to his own country, and, in April, with Errol and Montrose, was at the head of a considerable force. James behaved with spirit, encountered the Catholic army at Bridge of Dee, near Aberdeen, and saw it disperse. The leaders 'came to the king's will' and appeared before the Privy Council in May. For lesser crimes men had lost their heads. But James was not inclined to sanction severities which must displease the Catholics beyond the Border and raise a vendetta between the Crown and no inconsiderable section of its subjects. The earls were warded in different castles and by the autumn were again at large. The indignant Kirk found bare comfort in James' marriage to a Lutheran wife, Anne, second daughter of Frederick II of Denmark and Norway, a bride of sixteen, whom he brought back to Scotland in May 1590.

Trimming the balance disturbed by his leniency towards Huntly, James displayed marked cordiality towards the Kirk after his marriage. At the close of the General Assembly in August 1590, he praised the goodness of God who had set him to be 'King in such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world,' sneered at 'our neighbour Kirk in England' and called its liturgy 'an evil-said Mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings' [elevation] of the Host. Turning his eye on Geneva, which 'keepeth Pasche and Yule,' he asked, 'what have they for them?'

The Assembly glowed with satisfaction; for full fifteen minutes 'there was nothing but loud praising of God and praying for the King.' Another bond of union was found in James' zeal to investigate witchcraft, stimulated by stories, widely current, of wizards and witches convened at North Berwick under Satan's presidency to conjure the waves to engulf the king on his voyage from Denmark!

As the massacre of St Bartholomew, so the attempted invasion of 1588 played into the hands of the Protestant stalwarts. Taking advantage of the king's apparent good will, this body raised petitions in the Parliament of 1592 urging (1) the annulling of the Black Acts of 1584, (2) transference of the ancient Church's patrimony to its successor, (3) exclusion from Parliament of prelates not exercising power or commission from the Courts of the Kirk, and (4) institution of vigorous measures to cleanse the realm of 'idolatry and blood.' The second and third proposals were dismissed curtly. The fourth, sympathetically considered, was answered in a manner which hardly satisfied its originators, who failed to establish the 'trafficking' of Papal agents as treason unless the act could be held directed against the sovereign. The first petition invited debate. James was unwilling to recall the Acts of 1584 or to approve the Presbyterian polity which the Second Book of Discipline set up, having little reason to misjudge the manner in which the Kirk would use its liberty. But the incredible indiscipline of Bothwell, and Huntly's murder of the 'bonnie' Earl of Moray in February 1592, prompted concessions. Bothwell's strange antics, in particular his raid of Holyrood in December 1591, were regarded by the Kirk as acts of a special dispensation working in its behalf: a preacher interpreted the Holyrood escapade as 'God in his providence' demonstrating at James' very doors. The employment of Huntly to pursue Bothwell, and his slaughter of Bothwell's ally Moray, holder of a title dear in the recollection of the Kirk, increased the clamour against the sovereign. Hence,

James gave assent to a statute which has been styled the 'Golden Act' and 'Magna Carta of the Church of Scotland.' It superseded the Act of 1584 authorizing an Episcopal hierarchy and legalized the Presbyterian polity, General Assembly and subordinate Courts, but with a proviso, designed to protect the royal authority, upon which the Kirk in the following century waged eager warfare: the Act stipulated the presence of the king or his Commissioner in the Assembly, and prescribed that, before dissolving, the time and place of its next meeting should be named by royal authority. The laws against the Mass, resetting of Jesuits, seminary priests and trafficking papists, involving imprisonment, confiscation, exile, and even death, were at the same time confirmed. Their enforcement was contrary to James' wishes and, it is probable, beyond the Kirk's anticipations. But their confirmation was an act of war upon the religion they threatened and prompted its last and futile revolt against the tyranny of the Kirk.

The last days of 1592 disclosed a plot in which the Earls of Huntly, Errol, Huntly's neighbour, and Angus, newly entered on his title, resuming the correspondence of three years before, were involved. A report to Philip at the end of 1592 exposes their motives: 'The people generally outside the cities are inclined to the Catholic faith, and hate the ministers, who disturb the country with their excommunications, backed up by the power of the Queen of England, by aid of which they tyrannize even over the king and nobles. They have passed a law by which anyone who does not obey their excommunication within forty days loses his rank and citizenship. This is enforced by the aid of the dregs of the town and the English ambassador. The nobles and people are sick of this tyranny, and are yearning for a remedy. They are looking to his Majesty [Philip] for his support for the restoration of the Catholic faith.' As invariably, the English secret service winded the plot and a hint to Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley, put him on the road to detect it. Boarding a ship in the Clyde

he arrested George Ker, a Border Catholic of position, and found inside the sleeves of a sailor's shirt incriminating documents, including eight blank sheets bearing the signatures of the Earls and Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoune. Ker was conveyed to Edinburgh and lodged in the Tolbooth, while Angus, ignorant of his arrest, venturing into the city was warded in the castle. James, arriving a few days later, was importuned on all sides with demands to proceed against his 'unnatural subjects, betrayers of their country to the cruel Spaniard.' His first thought was to rebuke the Council for taking action in his absence. He was reminded that ceremonious procedure was dispensable when 'Religion, Prince, country, their lives, lands, and all' stood in jeopardy, and on January 5, 1593, published his discovery of the machinations of 'pernicious trafficking Papists' designing to bring in the Spaniard 'this next spring or sooner' for the suppression of his 'Highness and all professing the said true religion with him.' The possession of 'proof certain and without all doubt' was asserted. All persons were required to use vigilance against 'priests and trafficking Papists' and to be ready to defend the realm against their enterprise.

Whether in genuine fear or anxious to suggest his person in danger, James demanded the protection of a bodyguard. But neither the prompting of Elizabeth nor the demands of the ministers could stir him to proceed against the Earls. Graham of Fintry, a subordinate agent, alone was brought to trial and forfeited his life (February 15, 1593). Angus broke prison and George Ker followed him soon after. Huntly, Errol, and Auchindoune neither answered to their summons at St Andrews (February 5, 1593) nor were steps taken to punish their contumacy. The conclusion that the king was anxious to protect them was implicit in the circumstances.

Meanwhile, torture wrung from Fintry and Ker incriminating depositions which, along with the original Blanks and other materials, were published immediately

in Edinburgh and London. The Blanks, eight in number, were sheets of paper having neither designation, address, nor writing thereon other than the concluding courtesy customary in letters addressed to royalty—*de vostre majestie tres humble et tres obeisant serviteur*—followed by a signature. Two were signed by Angus and Errol jointly, two by Huntly, one by Angus, one by Errol, and two (in Latin) by the three Earls and Auchindoune. Of seventeen letters found on Ker at the time of his arrest four were included, along with others taken from Pringle in February 1589. None afforded clear evidence of treasonable intention, being for the most part commendatory of George Ker or entrusted to him by Catholic correspondents for conveyance to friends in Spain. It was therefore necessary to probe the purpose of the Blanks. Torture elicited an explanation from Ker and Fintry. The arch-contriver of the plot was Father William Crichton, an active Jesuit, implicated in Orange's assassination in 1584, and for the past two years domiciled in Spain. He had succeeded in persuading Philip to attempt another invasion, relying on the Scottish Catholics instead of those of England, who were represented as having failed him in 1588. It was proposed that a Spanish army 30,000 strong should land in Scotland and, after restoring the old faith, advance into England to exact vengeance for Mary Stewart's execution. James' assumed regard for his mother's memory was relied on to win his concurrence. To encourage or confirm Philip's resolution Crichton demanded a number of Blanks, bearing the signatures of prominent Scottish Catholics, to be filled in by himself when his negotiations with Philip were complete. Two of the Blanks were intended for use as proclamations and bore the seals of all four conspirators.

Apart from the inept device of the Blanks, Crichton's plot followed the beaten track of its predecessors and supposed James at heart staunch to his mother's religion. For reasons already exposed James was willing to convey that impression and thereby maintain understanding with

forces which conceivably might act to his advantage. Not only was he apprised in June 1592 of Ker's enterprise, but the latter actually was the bearer of a memorandum, apparently for Crichton's eye, from James himself, whether upon his direct commission is not ascertained. The document, which was not printed with the other letters, but 'withdrawn for safety of his Majesty's honour,' was drafted after the manner of Burghley's State Papers and weighed the arguments for and against his encouragement of a Spanish design in the summer. James' conclusion condemned it, partly because of his 'unreadiness,' partly for 'the Queen of England's suspecting of it,' partly because there were 'over many strange princes dealing into it.' His proposed course of action he indicated frankly: 'In the mean time, I will deal with the Queen of England fair and pleasantly for my title to the crown of England after her decease, which thing if she grant to (as it is not impossible, howbeit unlikely) we have then attained our design without stroke of sword. If by the contrary, then delay makes me to settle my country in the mean time; and when I like hereafter I may in a month or two (forewarning of the King of Spain) attain to our purpose, she [Elizabeth] not suspecting such thing, as now she does. Which if it were so done, it would be a far greater honour to him and me both.' Fintry and Ker were justified in their allegation that James was privy to the Spanish design. But the king was mistaken in his reading of its purpose. So far from proposing to set him on the English throne in Elizabeth's room, the plan held him at Philip's disposal, to be dealt with after Britain had been restored to the ancient faith.

The discovery of the Blanks placed James at the bar of public censure, and his obstinate leniency towards the Earls infuriated the Kirk. They were cited to appear before the Estates in July 1593, but irregularities in the libel delayed the process and caused it to be remitted to the king in Council, a procedure seemingly contrived in their favour—James, in fact, declared the evidence of their

guilt inadequate. Preachers prayed God to send 'sanctified plagues' to correct his obduracy. The Fife Synod summarily excommunicated the offenders and invited the Kirk to devise measures for the defence of religion. Alarmed by these evidences of public concern, the Earls presented themselves before James at Fold and craved pardon. They insisted that the Blanks were innocent missives directed to foreign princes asking recovery of monies advanced to Jesuits presently in their domains. Huntly explained his signature as having been given to advertise the imminent departure of his uncle, the Jesuit James Gordon, whom the severity of the laws no longer permitted to remain in Scotland. Elizabeth, to whom they were imparted, reasonably derided these explanations as 'childish, foolish, witless.' The Earls consented to stand a trial and meanwhile to ward themselves at Perth, an arrangement which augmented the Kirk's apprehensions. The accused would have the backing of their retainers at Perth and already were summoning them to force toleration for their religion. Hence, on November 17, 1593, ministers and others convened as a Committee of Security at Edinburgh required James to postpone the trial until the 'Professors of Religion' were in a position to prosecute the 'treasonable apostates.' Otherwise they proposed to assemble at Perth in force to 'pursue' the defendants 'to the uttermost.' The threat portended civil war and James intervened. In November the Estates propounded a compromise. On the one hand, it confirmed the proscription of the Catholic religion and called its professors to 'satisfy the Kirk' and conform by February 1, 1594. On the other hand, it declared the Earls 'unaccusable' in respect to the charges laid against them upon the evidence of the Blanks and intercepted correspondence, though future attempts of a similar nature would void the 'act of abolition.' Meanwhile they were asked to dismiss their Jesuit advisers, submit to Presbyterian instruction, and prepare for subscription to the Confession of Faith by the appointed date, or alter-

natively leave the country. Their choice was to be declared by the first day of the approaching New Year. The tenderness towards the Earls displayed by the proposal moved the ministers openly to threaten that James' reign should be 'troublesome and short' unless he withdrew it. In fact it lapsed by default. None of the accused made submission by the appointed date. They were ordered to ward themselves in separate castles. Not one gave obedience.

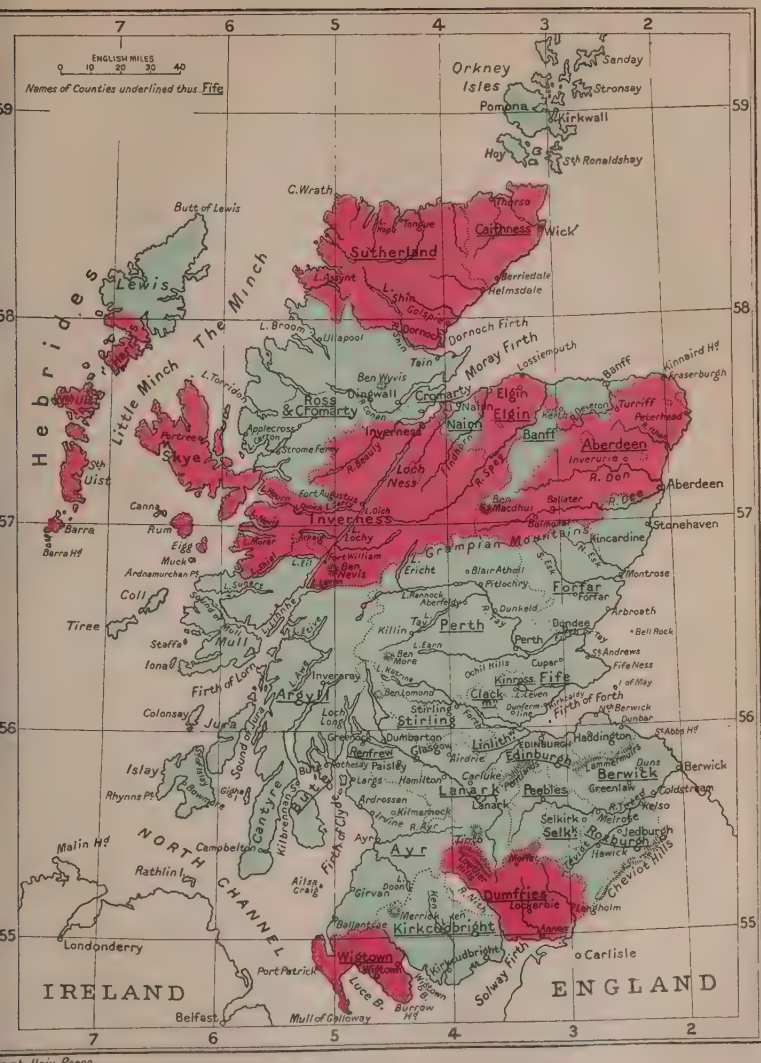
At this critical juncture Bothwell's indisciplined courses brought him into the quarrel. His mother, sister of Mary Stewart's husband, had borne him to a natural son of James V. Bothwell posed as his uncle Moray's successor, but lacked every quality of statesmanship. Fearing God as little as man he bore special hatred towards the Chancellor, Maitland of Thirlestane; while James, whose fear of him was first excited by his participation in the Ruthven Raid, believed, or affected to believe, that the Crown was the object of his ambition. After James' marriage he was outlawed upon an extravagant charge of witchcraft, defied every attempt to capture him, and more than once placed James in humiliating situations. In December 1591 he almost seized his sovereign at Holyrood. At Falkland in the following summer the attempt was repeated and punished by sentence of forfeiture. Aided by the Chancellor's enemies at Court, Bothwell on July 24, 1593 made another effort to secure James at Holyrood. With the support of Elizabeth's ambassador and of the preachers, to whom he was a chosen vessel, he extorted remission of the sentence against him and a promise to dismiss Thirlestane, obligations from which James quickly released himself. The Estates, convened in September 1593, quashed them as having been obtained under duress. Bothwell indignantly flew to arms, with the secret countenance of Elizabeth and the earnest support of the Kirk, whose ministers acclaimed him as champion of 'the good cause, to the king's shame, because he took not upon him the quarrel' against Huntly

and his Church. A single encounter, in the Raid of Leith, on April 3, 1594, engaged the two forces, and without result. Bothwell withdrew to his Border country, conscious of Elizabeth's waning interest, and passionately intent to pursue his quarrel with the king, whose troops in the recent encounter were provided by the preachers upon a royal promise to take the field against Huntly. Deserted on all hands, Bothwell dropped the pretence of Protestant enthusiasm, invited common action with Huntly and his party, and in September 1594 subscribed a 'band' with them to attain it.

Bothwell's sudden association with the Earls quickened James' halting purpose to correct them. He assured the Estates, soon after the Raid of Leith, that he had 'used plaister and medicine hitherto in dealing with the rebellious lords, but, that not availing, he was now to use fire, as the last remedy.' The Earls put it out of his power to refrain. In July 1594 Father James Gordon, their envoy to Rome, arrived at Aberdeen accompanied by a Papal Nuncio bearing an exhortation to James to embrace the Roman faith, and money for the Catholic insurgents. Upon the ship's arrival the magistrates seized the Nuncio, money, and letters, nor surrendered them until the Earls, assembling in force, threatened to fire the city. The challenge could not pass disregarded and James appealed to the clergy to assist the realm's delivery from Spain's 'cruel and unmerciful' nation and her adherents. The shire levies were summoned for the end of August, and meanwhile the youthful Argyll, acting under a commission of Lieutenancy, led the Campbells and Forbeses northward upon an inglorious campaign terminated by Huntly's defeat of them at Glenrinnes, or Glenlivet, on October 3, 1594. James received the news at Dundee, whence, attended by James and Andrew Melville to instigate his purpose, he advanced to Aberdeen. In spite of their recent victory the Earls refused action. James contented himself with the destruction of Strathbogie and Slains, the seats of Huntly and Errol, and in November returned

to Edinburgh, leaving Lennox as his Lieutenant in the north. Fully apprised of James' wish to exact the minimum penalty which would placate the angry Kirk, and by his leniency to retain the loyalty of the English Catholics, Lennox made an agreement with Huntly and Errol which permitted them to depart the realm, leaving their wives to administer their estates, with secret encouragement to return when Presbyterian rancour had cooled. In the spring of 1595 Huntly and Errol went abroad till the following year, when the prospect of their return engaged Kirk and Crown in a critical struggle. Bothwell also passed from the scene. His 'band' with Huntly proposed James' dethronement and the infant Prince Henry's instalment in his room. But, deserted by Elizabeth and under the ban of the Kirk (February 1595), Bothwell failed to fulfil his purpose. Retreating with Huntly before James' approach, he fled to Orkney and thence to France, where the winter of 1595 found him in desperate straits for lack of means. In spite of James' protest Henry IV refused to deny the fugitive 'the free air of his country.' Wearied of his bad entertainment, or pursued for brawling, Bothwell moved on to Spain and thence to Naples, where he died in poor estate, his Scottish lands having been divided long before among his neighbours the Homes, Kers and Scotts.

The fiction of Spanish potency bravely survived its exposure by the Armada. Philip, that fiery bigot, whose very personality spelled menace, still plotted in the Escorial. Neither Elizabeth, nor James, nor the timid Kirk realized that his sun had set. Rumours of mighty armaments imminent from Spain, reported by anxious spies, were merely exaggerations of movements for the defence of Spanish ports. For Spain's spacious days lay behind her. Her population was dwindling, her industries well nigh extinct, her agriculture in decay. Revenue from the Indies, her chief resource, was pledged years ahead. Her ships rotted in stagnant harbours; the pride and enthusiasm that once manned them were abated. In-



Camb. Univ. Press

Shires mainly Protestant coloured.....

,, ,, Roman Catholic coloured...

Map showing the relative numbers of Protestants and Roman Catholics about 1590.

surrection at home, intrigues in France, and the festering menace of the Low Countries added embarrassments to a kingdom whose nakedness Drake's sea-dogs had exposed. Yet the delusion of Spain's greatness obsessed her neighbours. Throughout 1593 and 1594 Elizabeth timidly forebore to provoke a crouching lion. The Spanish Blanks stood out upon a background on which Spain still figured as the country of Columbus and Cortes. In the summer of 1595, after Huntly and Errol were expelled from Scottish soil, petty raids on the Cornish coast excited ready fears of a new Armada. In the autumn news came from Madrid of Philip's intention to launch a greater force than any except the ill-fated fleet of 1588, 'a great bruit' of three hundred sail lying in Biscay ready at a word to ravage the narrow seas.

Upon a situation of tense apprehension, therefore, the memorable year 1596 opened in Scotland. Rumours of Spanish armaments, of the machinations of Errol and Huntly, of James' alleged communications with Rome and Madrid, excited popular fears and moved the Kirk to wrath and action. In a spirited proclamation James summoned his people to unite against the peril. Not as 'the beastly Indians' whose craven indolence delivered them to the Spaniard, but as 'the worthy ancient Romans' he called them to stand with England fronting a common foe. A general wapinschaw was appointed for the first week in February, whose musters proving inadequate in numbers and equipment, another was directed to be held in May. In the interval a proclamation of February 21, 1596, announced that Spanish armaments, long matured, at length designed 'with all convenient expedition to arrive in this island.'

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on March 24, 1596, a memorable body, the last, writes Calderwood mournfully, of the 'sincere' Assemblies of the Kirk enjoying 'libertie of the Gospell under the free government of Christ,' released from the overseeing authority of the civil power. The Kirk, in Calderwood's eulogistic

words, had 'now come to her perfectioun, and the greatest puritie that ever she atteaned unto, both in doctrine and discipline.' By Act of Parliament her Presbyterian polity was established. In the domain of religion and morals her supremacy was assured. Her Assembly wielded powers more awful than Parliament's. Its sentences exposed the wrongdoer to excommunication and summoned the State, as its servant, to outlaw the contumacious who disobeyed. Overweening assertiveness, and the difficulty of determining where secular actions passed from the supervision of spiritual authority, tempted it to a challenge of the State from which it emerged vanquished. Its ministers spoke in the tones of Hildebrand and Innocent III, summoning the civil magistrate to obey the pulpit, whose occupants, alleging direct inspiration, admonished and scolded as the prophets of the Old Dispensation chastened backsliding kings of Israel. The impotence of the constitutional Parliament and its unrepresentative character encouraged the Kirk's attempted theocracy. But, fortunately for the kingdom's welfare and release from pulpit rule, the Assemblies that so far confronted James were as little representative as the Estates whose functions they usurped. Presbyterian discipline sanctioned in 1592 acquired feeble hold upon the population beyond the Tay. It flourished chiefly in Edinburgh, the Lothians, Fife, and Ayrshire, regions which later maintained the Covenant, whose ministers were the most loud-voiced and assertive, whose laity were most subject to clerical bondage. The Kirk's tyranny was shattered when this, its most active, faction was balanced by the less blatant whose voices so far had been rarely heard. Hence, though the new year smiled upon a Kirk flowering in perfection, it ended in a sterner mood.

Though Elizabeth applauded, the preachers were not won by James' measures to thwart the Catholic plot, and called loudly for the extirpation of idolaters, among whom they numbered the sons of the old faith. James was held to have connived at the earls' escape from the death their

enemies demanded. Even their forfeitures were nullified by permission to their wives to nurse their estates. That James awaited opportunity to recall them was suspected; meanwhile they were imagined deep in Philip's counsels. Another suspicious circumstance was remarked. Chancellor Thirlestane, whom the Kirk associated with its Golden Act, died at the close of 1595. James did not replace him, preferring to appoint, he said, only such as he could 'correct or were hangable.' But the public finances demanded supervision, and to control them he appointed in January 1596 eight Commissioners, whom the country named the 'Octavians,' all of them distinguished, though their official career was brief and its harvest not considerable. Cecil styled them 'hollow Papists' and the preachers viewed them askance as portending a 'great alteration in the Kirk.' The taint of 'idolatry' attached to some of them; their most prominent member, Sir Alexander Seton, later Earl of Dunfermline, the son of Mary Stewart's devoted servant, and educated at Rome, was particularly obnoxious.

These reflexions induced an angry mood in the Assembly of 1596. The Moderator, a sane man in an extravagant assemblage, invited it to consider forthwith its 'first and chief' business, namely, to concert measures whereby threatened invasion could be thwarted. He was overruled. It was concluded that 'this present wrath of God' had been provoked by the 'chief and gross sins of all estates,' and that a national probing of conscience and humiliation would best provide 'a solid mean how to resist the enemy.' James, intervening on March 25, vainly sounded a call to practical courses. The brethren declined to discuss civil affairs until the process of spiritual cleansing was accomplished. Proceeding to the task, 'corruptions and enormities' in the ministry were exposed, a lacking of 'conscience, and feeling, and spiritual wisdom,' timidity in dealing with unruly 'deboshed men as make not conscience of their lives.' Holyrood was next inspected; general omission of 'reading of the Word at

table,' infrequent graces before and after meat, were remarked, and James' habit of florid profanity was condemned. The queen's neglect of the 'Word and Sacraments,' her amusements, 'night-waking and balling,' were reprehended. The 'common corruptions of all estates' were impaled—superstition, idolatry, blasphemy, profanation of the Sabbath, 'specially in seed-time and harvest,' sacrilege, gluttony, 'which is no doubt the cause of the dearth and famine,' 'excessive drinking,' the ill-example of idle persons 'without lawful calling, songsters, sorners, pleasants,' and others. On March 30 these searchings of heart gathered four hundred 'ministers or choice professors' in a service of humiliation, to which 'the like for sin and defection was there never since the Reformation,' Calderwood avers. At the Moderator's invitation all but one, whose consequently miserable death is pointedly recorded, 'held up their hands to testify their entering in a new league with God.'

Towards the practical purpose which summoned it the Assembly contributed no more than a demand that the recusancy laws should be executed rigorously and the estates of Huntly and Errol be sold to equip levies to confront the Spaniard. James paid little heed to these counsels. He was pursuing his own tortuous paths, instigated by a controversy in England which menaced his peaceful succession. The Jesuit Robert Parsons *alias* Doleman had published in 1594 a treatise entitled 'A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England,' in which he passed in review the several candidates. Against James he objected his foreign birth, remarked that Henry VIII's will preferred the House of Suffolk to the descendants of Margaret Tudor, and concluded that his mother's conspiracies forfeited James' claim by bringing him within the scope of the Association of 1584. Parsons, in the interests of his Church, preferred the candidature of the Infanta of Spain, a choice which gratified Philip, who ordered a translation of the treatise to be made. On other grounds Parsons contested James'

succession. He asserted that Scotland would bring into partnership with England 'no other commodities than increase of subjects,' instanced 'the aversion and natural alienation of that people from the English, their ancient inclination to join with the French and Irish against us,' and England's dislike of Presbyterianism. Parsons' preference for a Spanish princess had little vogue, but as a compromise between two 'aliens' many English Catholics were disposed to adopt Arabella Stewart, whose claims by descent were eventually (1610) strengthened by her alliance with a descendant of the House of Suffolk.

The controversy seriously alarmed James, inspired his apparent zeal against the Spaniard in hope to capture Elizabeth's favour, nerved him to his imminent challenge of the loud-voiced Kirk, with a view to closer approximation of the Protestant Churches of the island, stiffened his resolution to deal leniently with his Catholic exiles, and immediately floated him upon an underhand intrigue abroad in hope to win allies against the Spanish candidature. John Ogilvie of Pourie was sent to the Continent in his behalf at the end of 1595. In Flanders, where anti-Spanish feeling was strong, James' agreement with English and Scottish heretics was explained by his need to frustrate Philip's pretensions. In Venice and Florence Pourie repeated the plausible story, and at Rome invited the Pope's confirmation of his master's candidature, as well as a subsidy to enable him to overcome Presbyterian revolt. In Spain, on the other hand, whither Pourie proceeded from Italy in May 1596, he proposed an offensive and defensive alliance. How far he spoke for his master is questionable; his *bona fides* is suspect. Now or later he was in English pay. Meanwhile James' apprehensions were allayed by disaster to the Spanish fleet at Cadiz in June 1596, when seventy warships and merchantmen were sunk or burnt. Presbyterian suspicion was not abated by the opportune answer to its recent Covenant. Hints of James' secret diplomacy came from Elizabeth's ministers. Huntly returned in June and lurked in his county. Errol

was in the Low Countries ready to cross at a sign. Angus was urging the king to revoke his sentence.

Morbidly anxious not to alienate the English Catholics, James summoned the Estates to Falkland in September 1596 to consider Huntly's petition for the quashing of his banishment. Those present were 'by favour and friendship,' Calderwood asserts, 'joyned' to the excommunicated earls. No sooner had Seton, chief of the Octavians, formally moved the exiles' recall, hinting that like Coriolanus and Themistocles they might otherwise join the enemy, than Andrew Melville presented himself unsummoned and 'with plaine speeche and mightie force of zeale' protested against the return of men who 'sought to betray their citie and native countrie to the cruell Spaniard, with the overthrow of Christ's kingdom.' His protest was unregarded: the recall of the earls, immediately approved, was ratified in a later Convention at Dunfermline on September 29. In the interval Melville again confronted the king at Falkland. His brother had been appointed to speak the mind of the Assembly gathered at Cupar, his manner being 'mild and smooth, which the king liked best.' James, interrupting him, 'quarrelled' the Assembly as illegal and seditious. At the word Andrew broke in and 'bore down' the king. Shaking him by the sleeve he called him 'God's sillie vassall' and, amid hot reasoning and interruptions from James, whose demeanour was 'maist craibed and cholerick,' laid down the Kirk's doctrine of the relations of Church and State: 'Sir, as diverse tymes before, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdomes in Scotland: there is Christ Jesus, and his kingdome the Kirk, whose subject King James the Sixt is, and of whose kingdome not a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member. And they whom Christ has called, and commanded to watche over his Kirk, and governe his spirituall kingdome, have sufficient power of him, and authoritie so to doe, both together and severallie, the which no Christian king nor prince sould controll and discharge, but fortifie and

assist, otherwise, not faithful subjects, nor members of Christ.'

Melville's vehemence extracted from James an undertaking, that though the Estates sanctioned a reconciliation with the Catholic earls, they should 'get no grace at his hand till they satisfied the Kirk,' a promise not fulfilled in the ratifying Act of September 29. The pulpits again opened their batteries, protesting that 'the enemies of the truth have had liberty, without controlment, to return and remain within the country for accomplishing their whole wickedness, according to their old intentions.' Determined that Huntly and his fellows should 'conform' before they were restored to estates and liberty, the ministers gathered for a conclusive conflict with the Crown. A 'Council of the Kirk,' appointed to sit daily in Edinburgh with the Presbytery of the capital, summoned Seton before it to answer to his alleged dealing with Huntly. James vainly endeavoured to conciliate the moderate element. The Council threatened that if the earls were pardoned, the king 'had God and the country to answer unto.' James made a pertinent answer: 'There could be no agreement so long as the marches of the two Jurisdictions were not distinguished; that in their preachings they did censure the affairs of the Estate and Council, and in their Synods, Presbyteries, and particular Sessions, meddle with every thing upon colour of scandal, besides divers other disorders, which at another time he would propound and have reformed; otherwise it was vain to think of any agreement, or that the same being made, could stand and continue any while.' The pile was laid and David Black, Minister at St Andrews, fired the blaze. Late in October, he vented from the pulpit 'spite' against James, 'a devil's bairn,' his queen and officials, and spoke of Elizabeth as 'an atheist, a woman of no religion.' The English ambassador complained to James, who summoned Black before the Council on November 10, 1596. Black denied the competence of a civil tribunal to call his pulpit utterances in question, 'the spirits of the

Prophets being subject to them [the Prophets, *i.e.* his brother ministers] alone.' His contumacy sounded a challenge which James could not evade. He dissolved the Kirk's Council and banished Black 'benorth the North Water,' on pain of outlawry if he disobeyed. The Edinburgh Presbytery took up his banner. Fasts and sermons multiplied, denunciations of the Court, tales of plans to assassinate the 'choice professors' were bruited. Excitement and apprehension rose to frenzy and burst in storm on December 17. While a preacher incited an angry crowd with the story of Haman and Mordecai 'and such other pieces of Scripture,' the mob surged round the Tolbooth, where James was employed with the Lords of Session, demanding surrender of the Octavians as 'inbringers of the Popish lords.' The hubbub died down but accomplished an unexpected result. On the morrow James removed the Court and Lords of Session to Linlithgow. Within a twelvemonth he had curbed Presbyterian indiscipline and vindicated the authority of the State. 'Thus it proved true which Tacitus saith,' remarked Archbishop Spottiswoode in a later year, 'that all Conspiracies of the subjects, if they succeed not, advance the Sovereignty: for by this Tumult was the King's authority in matters ecclesiastical so far advanced, as he received little or no opposition thereafter.' As Calderwood sadly wrote, December 17, 1596, was an 'accursed wrathful day to the Kirk' and its extravagant pretensions.

The year 1597 proved 'God's sillie vassal' at least master of the Kirk. He had nothing to fear from the Catholic nobles, whom he had refused to sacrifice to the preachers. Bothwell had passed from the scene and was no longer a magnet drawing floating elements of disorder. Upon the nobility generally James could rely: he had gorged them with Church lands, annexed to the Crown by the Act of 1587. In the ministers beyond the Forth he discovered a constituency well-disposed towards Episcopacy, unreconciled to extreme applications of Presbyterian discipline, and already finding fault with

what it termed the 'Popery' of Edinburgh, which assumed to speak for the Church at large and had plunged it into courses of which northern Protestantism disapproved. James' appeal was to this body of opinion, allied to him by self-interest, or drawn to him by the extravagance of the 'Popes' of Fife and Lothian. Both could be relied on to act as 'courtiers' on the matters to be brought before them. In February 1597 James convened a General Assembly at Perth, a locality in touch with the constituency he desired to enlist. In unusual numbers northern ministers attended his invitation 'to have the Policy of the Church so cleared, as all Corruptions being removed, a pleasant Harmony might be settled betwixt him and the Ministry, to the glory of Almighty God, the content of all good men, and terror of the wicked.' James submitted resolutions whose adoption restricted the Kirk to its spiritual sphere. He was empowered to propose modifications 'in the external government' of the Church; the convention of General Assemblies without his authority was forbidden; the license of the pulpit to name and assail individuals was restricted; no ministers might be appointed in Edinburgh and the principal burghs without his assent; it was henceforth unlawful for ministers to challenge the acts and ordinances of the Crown until the Kirk's authorities had sought remedy through its licensed courts.

These conclusions were eminently agreeable to the king who, on his side, approved the terms proposed by the Assembly for 'reconciling' the Catholic lords to acknowledge the Kirk to be a 'true' Church and become members of it; to discharge from their company Jesuits, priests, and excommunicate persons; subscribe the Confession of Faith; acknowledge the justice of their excommunication; maintain the churches within their bounds; and entertain a minister in their own families. A letter from James to Huntly warned the earls that his interests required their submission. He had incurred 'skaith and hazard' in their cause, he remarked. 'Lingring of time'

could obtain no fairer proposals than those propounded; they must therefore satisfy the Kirk or 'make for another land' and 'look never to be a Scottish-man again.' The earls obeyed. Their submission upon the terms laid down was reported to a new Assembly summoned to Dundee in May, when directions were given for their absolution and reception into the bosom of the Kirk. A final flicker of the Catholic plot marked its collapse. Hugh Barclay of Ladyland, who had been intriguing in Spain and Italy, seized Ailsa Craig, off the Ayrshire coast, as a base for Spanish forces whose arrival was believed imminent. Spied by the ubiquitous Andrew Knox, detector of the Spanish Blanks, Barclay drowned himself and greatly depressed his party. The event disposed the earls more readily to make submission. On June 26 Huntly and Errol were received into the Kirk at Aberdeen. Angus made submission elsewhere. In November their forfeitures were revoked. Their apostacy was a sore blow to the Church they foreswore. Father James Gordon, who was in Scotland at the time, describes the regrettable results that followed: 'These three men were the only men of high rank who had hitherto remained sincere Catholics and defenders of the Catholic cause. The Catholic barons and nobles of inferior rank were thrown into great perturbation by this desertion of their leaders. Almost all have wavered, and most of them have trod in the footsteps of the two earls, and have either renounced their religion, or at least consented to attend heretical worship. Catholics everywhere yielded to grief and terror; every day we heard of some deserting their faith either by interior defection, or at any rate in outward profession. The ministers triumphed openly. Such was the state of things in Scotland when we arrived, and it is very little, if at all, improved now. The few of our Fathers who were left (three in all) had to fly for their lives and conceal themselves wherever they could.' Such was the fruit of the Catholic revolt, the permanent weakening of the ancient faith in one of its most stubborn strongholds.

Meanwhile from the Dundee Assembly James gained another significant concession. A Commission of 'the most wise and discreet Brethren' was appointed *inter alia* 'to give their advice to his Highness in all matters that might serve to the weal and peace of the Church.' Andrew Melville was conspicuously absent from the Commission of thirteen, which Calderwood derided as 'the king's led horse,' on whose advice James now adventured a covert reintroduction of Episcopacy. In December 1597, answering the Commissioners' advice that the Kirk should be represented in the National Assembly, an Act was passed by the Estates providing that ministers whom the king appointed to the dignity of bishop, abbot, or other prelacy should vote in Parliament as freely as at any past time. A General Assembly at Dundee in March 1598 confirmed the Act, by a narrow majority, and, accepting James' declaration that he was not minded to introduce 'papistical or Anglican bishoping' but to give the Kirk its fitting status in a National Parliament, settled the number of ministers to sit in Parliament at fifty-one 'or thereby,' a representation, judging from the rolls of Parliament of the seventeenth century, which promised a generous proportion of its membership. At an extraordinary Convention of the Kirk at Falkland in July James acquired further powers in an agreement that the General Assembly might nominate six persons from whose number he should appoint to a vacant Prelacy. The title Bishop was eschewed: that of 'Commissioner of such or such a place' was recommended.

At this period (1598) James privately printed his *Basilikon Doron, or His Majesties Instructions to his dearest Sonne, Henry the Prince*, offering in it an illuminating retrospect of the ecclesiastical situation which the Assemblies of 1597 and 1598 were correcting to his advantage: 'The reformation of Religion in Scotland, being extraordinarily wrought by God, wherin many things were inordinately done by a popular tumult and rebellion, of such as blindly were doing the worke of God,

but clogged with their owne passions and particular respects, as well appeared by the destruction of our policie, and not proceeding from the Princes order, as it did in our neighbour countrey of England, as likewise in Denmarke, and sundry parts of Germanie; some fierie spirited men in the ministerie got such a guiding of the people at that time of confusion, as finding the gust of government sweete, they begouth to fantasie to themselves a Democraticke forme of government: and having (by the iniquitie of time) beene overwell baited upon the wracke, first of my Grandmother, and next of mine owne mother, and after usurping the libertie of the time in my long minoritie, settled themselves so fast upon that imagined Democracie, as they fed themselves with the hope to become *Tribuni plebis*, and so in a popular government by leading the people by the nose, to beare the sway of all rule.' 'Take heede therefore (my Sonne),' James continued, 'to such Puritanes, verie pestes in the Church and Commonweale, whom no deserts can oblige, neither oathes or promises binde, breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies.'

A mysterious event in 1600 pointed the king's advice. Early in the year, the young Earl of Gowrie, son of the Ruthven of 1582, returned to Scotland after an absence of six years. He had associated with Bothwell, and apparently affected to don Bothwell's mantle now. The story is confused and obscure. On August 5 Gowrie and his brother lost their lives in an attempt to coerce the king at Perth in the old manner. The consequences were more important than the event. Like the Popish Riot of December 1596 James bent it to complete his ascendancy over the ministers. In October 1600 'Bishops,' not in episcopal orders, were appointed to the Sees of Ross and Caithness, the only ones whose revenues had not been distributed among laymen. Two others joined them in the following Parliament. The Kirk was at James' feet, crushed but not conquered, as the future showed.

Until the call to England came in 1603 James was truly

master of his house. He had conciliated the Catholics by leniency and words of hope and comfort in his *Basilikon Doron*. He had dragooned the Kirk into obedience and set up an episcopate which promised to assimilate the British Churches when the day of union arrived. To that consummation his chief thought was directed. Elizabeth was ageing. Her intentions were enigmatic but seemed friendly; as late as January 1603 she signed herself 'your loving and friendly Sister.' But Henry VIII's will was unrepealed and under it Lord Beauchamp, father of Arabella Stewart's future husband, was heir. Arabella herself was a rival, and James could neglect no opportunity to assure his candidature. He was in correspondence with the Pope in 1598, in close communication with the leading Protestants in England. When Burghley died in 1598, and the brilliant Essex made a bid to supplant his son Sir Robert in Elizabeth's favour, James approached a possible ally and sent up the Earl of Mar and the lay Abbott of Kinloss to inspect the situation. They found Essex in prison, whence he passed to the block, and remained to enter into communication with Cecil, who as a statesman held James the one possible successor to Elizabeth. The queen's policy for twenty years had prepared for him, and Cecil in 1602 began to correspond with a prince whom he expected shortly to call master. James on his side addressed Cecil as 'My dearest 10' (his cypher name), while Cecil guided his course by the conviction that 'the far greater part of the realm are for the King of Scots,' and virtually assured James' succession if he refrained from interference and left the situation in Cecil's own hands.

Early in 1603 it was known that Elizabeth's end approached. On March 23, her councillors gathered round her death-bed to learn her wishes for the succession. They named the King of France; she made no sign. They named the King of Scots; she did not stir. Only when they named Lord Beauchamp she broke out with her old spirit: 'I will have no rascal's son to sit in my seat, but one worthy to

be a king.' The outburst negatively preferred James. His lineage in the estimation of his period boasted ancestry by the side of which the Tudors and Plantagenets were *parvenus*. He was deemed a paragon of accomplishments; Henry IV's sneer at 'the wisest fool in Christendom' confessed his pre-eminence. But Elizabeth's assent or disfavour hardly affected the issue. As Cecil told Mar nine months earlier, 'the world doth universally bend their biasses to the Scottish side.' Already the Council had prepared for James' proclamation when, in the early hours of March 25, the queen expired. In less than three days, riding hard, Sir Robert Carey brought the news to Holyrood. Two days later official intimation of James' proclamation followed. On April 5 James set out to his new kingdom, promising to revisit Scotland every three years. He saw it once again.

CHAPTER XVIII

KING AND KIRK

SIR ANTHONY WELDON, clerk of the Board of Green Cloth, has left a portrait of James I as he appeared to his English subjects: 'He was of a middle stature, more corpulent through his cloathes then in his body, yet fat enough; his cloathes ever being made large and easie, the Doublets quilted for steletto proofe; his Breeches in plates, and full stuffed. He was naturally of a timerous disposition, which was the reason of his quilted Doublets. His eyes large, ever rowling after any stranger came in his presence, in so much as many for shame have left the roome, as being out of countenance. His Beard was very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him speake full in the mouth, and made him drinke very uncomely, as if eating his drinke, which came out into the cup of each side of his mouth. His skin was as soft as Taffeta Sarsnet, which felt so because hee never washt his hands, only rub'd his fingers ends sleightly with the wet end of a Naptkin. His legs were very weake, that weaknesse made him ever leaning on other men's shoulders. His walke was ever circular. He was very temperate in his exercises and dyet, and not intemperate in his drinkings. It is true he drank very often, which was rather out of a custome then any delight, and his drinks were of that kind for strength, that had he not had a very strong braine might have daily been overtaken, although hee seldome drank at any one time above four spoonfulls, many times not above one or two. In his Dyet, Apparell, and Journeys he was very constant. In his Apparell so constant, as by his good will he would never change his cloathes till very ragges, his fashion never. His Dyet and Journeys were so constant that the best observing

Courtier of our time was wont to say, was he asleep seven yeares, and then awakened, he would tell where the King every day had been, and every dish he had had at his Table. He was very witty, and had as many ready witty jests as any man living, at which he would not smile himselfe, but deliver them in a grave and serious manner. Hee was very liberall of what he had not in his own gripe, and would rather part with £100 he never had in his keeping then one twenty shillings peece within his owne custody. He would make a great deal too bold with God in his passion, both in cursing and swearing, and one straine higher vergeing on blasphemie, but he would in his better temper say, he hoped God would not impute them as sinnes. Hee was so crafty and cunning in petty things, as the circumventing any great man, the change of a Favourite, in so much as a very wise man was wont to say he believed him the wisest foole in Christendome, meaning him wise in small things, but a foole in weighty affairs. In a word, take him altogether and not in peeces, such a King I wish this Kingdome have never any worse, on the condition, not any better; for he lived in peace, dyed in peace, and left all his Kingdomes in a peaceable condition, with his own Motto: *Beati Pacifici*.'

James' uncouth, loutish exterior covered an exalted opinion of his prerogative, insistence upon which within three generations doomed his issue to political extinction. His ability was considerable, though the bias of Presbyterian pens has tended to deprive him of its recognition. His learning, clothed in pedantic expression, was beyond the contemporary achievement of royalty. After the bluff, unpretentious Tudors England faced a shambling pedagogue in their seat eager by speech and pamphlet to press home his favourite doctrines, political and religious, with the priggish pedantry which never fails to provoke. Perhaps because, as one remarked, 'he had been kept short of it in his native country,' James expounded the divine right of his office in its extremest form. The theory full-blown blossoms in his *The Trew Law of Free Monar-*

chies, written in 1598, the first and most comprehensive of his political writings. Monarchy, he wrote, 'is the trew paterne of Divinitie.' Kings 'sit upon God his Throne in the earth' and are accountable only to Him. The king is superior to the law which derives from and has its sole force in him. To him all other authorities in the State owe equally undeviating obedience. Prince Henry was taught in the *Basilikon Doron* to love God, first because He had made him a man, 'and next for that he made you a little God, to sit on his Throne, and rule over other men.' Kings, James insisted in his *Defence of the Right of Kings*, are 'the breathing Images of God upon earth.' In a Speech to Parliament in 1609 he elaborated his thesis: 'Kings are not onely Gods Lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon Gods throne, but even by God himselfe they are called Gods, for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of Divine power upon earth. For if you wil consider the Attributes to God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a King. God hath power to create, or destroy, make, or unmake at his pleasure, to give life, or send death, to judge all, and to be judged nor accomptable to none: To raise low things, and to make high things low at his pleasure, and to God are both soule and body due. And the like power have Kings.' To resist their authority was impious. 'Although there was never a more monstrous persecutor and tyrant nor Achab was,' James pointed out in *The Trew Law*, 'yet all the rebellion that Elias ever raised against him was to flie to the wilderness.' The relation of subject to Prince was established in 'the Law of Nature,' whereby 'the King becomes a naturall Father to all his Lieges at his Coronation.' Their rights were what a later age defined as 'unlimited right of expectation' and trust in the king's fatherly care. Such a theory eliminated the law of the land and the authority of representative institutions excepting as agents of the sovereign's autocracy. It asserted royal prerogative with a sharpness and emphasis that the Tudors, with home-bred wisdom, avoided. Throughout the long reign of

Elizabeth it could nowhere be objected against her that her quest of power pursued the magnification of her office. She sought greatness, but to make her people share it. James grasped at immoderate power in order to widen the distance which separated him from them. The challenge that Elizabeth avoided fell upon his successors and erased them from both their kingdoms.

James' theory of Church government was not based upon considerations of religion but resulted from his political convictions. His sneer at the English liturgy as an 'evil-said Mass in English' expressed temperamental aloofness from Anglican standards of 'decency and order.' He had as little sympathy with the champions of the divine right of Episcopacy as with high-flying Presbyterian Hildebrands, and on matters of doctrine little divided him from the Puritan divines who faced him in the Hampton Court Conference. It was as King, not as a Christian, that he opposed Puritan and Jesuit alike. In the *Basilikon Doron* he warned his son against the former, 'verie pestes in the Church and Common-weale,' who, 'crying, Wee are all but vile wormes, and yet will judge and give law to their King, but will be judged nor be controlled by none.' 'Surely,' he exclaimed, 'there is more pride under such a ones blacke bonnet then under Alexander the great his Diademe.' 'Suffer them not to meddle with the estate or policie,' he urged his son; 'but punish severely the first that presumeth to it.' Jesuits he defined as 'nothing but Puritan-papists.' Both types refused him recognition as 'Supreme Governor' in matters ecclesiastical. Episcopacy conceded the authority they repugned: hence his aphorism, 'No Bishop, no King.' 'If you aime at a Scottish Presbytery,' he told the English Puritans, 'it agreeth as well with Monarchy as God and the Devill.'

The Reformation engendered diversity of religious views. Yet everywhere men maintained the mediaeval conception of uniformity as logical and necessary. For religion was still the politics, the 'motive power,' of the age. Dissent was abhorrent to civil authority, for

whom uniformity expressed public order. The Tudors consistently acted on the German principle of *cuius regio eius religio*, and James followed their example. His successors pushed it to their destruction, and the Act of Settlement of 1701 finally interred it. Amid conflicting religious systems James' preference sought the one whose principles supported his political philosophy. Calvinism was anathema. The exigencies of politics and the growth of secular monarchies in the sixteenth century by the side of young national Churches drove it to disinter the ancient theory of Pope Gelasius and to assert a duality of divine authority, setting up Church and State as co-existing sovereignties, of the former of which, in Andrew Melville's famous words, the king was 'not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member.' Asserting a divine right to ecclesiastical independence, Calvinism contributed also to establish political freedom. Hence, though Stewart misrule worked through different channels in England and Scotland, it depended in both upon a collusive alliance with Episcopacy, united them in a solemn league of opposition, and invited a simultaneous decree of expulsion in 1689.

A Jacobite of a later generation tells the story of an old Fifeshire laird who, when James set out from Scotland towards his English heritage, appeared 'clothed all over in the deepest mourning.' Being asked why, when all were contending to appear most gay, he should be so singular, he replied, 'There is none of you congratulate his Majesty's good fortune more than I do; but since I look upon the procession as Scotland's funeral solemnity, I'm come to perform my last duty to my deceased and beloved country, with a heart full of grief and in a dress corresponding thereto.' Such elaborate pessimism was unusual. The fact that James now ruled their sometime enemy stirred the pride of his old subjects. To their ambitions his prosperity offered agreeable prospect of advantage, and his unhandsome disregard of his old capital and kingdom was not yet suspected. The enmity of England and her

insidious intrigue were at an end; Scotland entered into partnership with her as an independent kingdom without sacrificing her institutions or her pride; and if the association promised to subordinate her interests to those of a more powerful partner, it cannot be said that the threat was fulfilled. England's associates among the European Powers were those whom Scotland recognized as her natural friends; the possibility of violent revolutions in her foreign relationships was thereby averted.

Upon the domestic condition of Scotland the regnal union of 1603 had an effect altogether prejudicial. Admittedly immature in constitutional growth, the Court's departure subordinated every institution to a distant authority, and in a period of opportunity obstructed Scotland's progress towards a representative polity. 'This I must say for Scotland,' James told his English Parliament in 1607: 'Here I sit and governe it with my Pen. I write and it is done, and by a Clearke of the Councell I governe Scotland now, which others could not do by the sword.' The immediate instrument of his authority was the Privy Council, whose officials were his nominees, and its functions at once administrative, legislative, and judicial. In an earlier period the Council had been in some degree a Committee of the Estates. But the Estates no longer offered an effective check, nor was it in James' mind to constitute a powerful bureaucracy in his absence. The Council was an automaton, not his counsellor. The Scottish Parliament, never an effective body like its English counterpart, was without power or inclination to oppose the sovereign. Prior to the Restoration its membership exceeded 150 only on six occasions. Only the nobles were fully represented in it, and only on four occasions before 1661 did more than forty-four of their order attend. The Barons of the Shires and Commissioners of the Burghs were equally independable in their attendance. But the device of the Lords of the Articles chiefly afforded the Crown opportunity to impose its policy. This body comprised an equal number, usually eight, of each

Estate, along with certain Officers of State. Their election was a comedy of collusion: the Nobles chose the Bishops, the Bishops chose the Nobles, the Barons and Burgesses were nominated by the same constituency. But the Committee's power was absolute. The Estates adjourned during its deliberations and reassembled to witness ratification of the measures it proposed to pass into law. The Spiritual Estate was entirely at the king's service. The nobility was equally subservient; many were Catholics at heart; most resented the democratic tyranny of the Kirk; and the Act of 1587 put into James' hands means to purchase the concurrence of their order. Between 1587 and 1625 twenty-one abbeys, seven priories, six nunneries, two preceptories, and two ministries were distributed among various lay persons, with such effect that it required the provocations of Charles I and Archbishop Laud to call a baronial opposition into life. The General Assembly, until that act of provocation, was equally at James' orders. Liberty to convoke its members was withdrawn, its composition was manipulated, its procedure prescribed and regulated, its disciplinary powers transferred to Courts of High Commission upon the English pattern. Only the insane provocations of Charles I revived an opposition which his more astute father coaxed or stifled.

Before addressing himself to coerce the Scottish Kirk, attempting the harmonization of its polity with more agreeable Anglican standards, James invited his two Parliaments to accomplish an incorporating political union. His first Speech to the English Parliament, in March 1604, pressed the project upon its attention. Remarking that God had united his two kingdoms in language, religion, similitude of manners, and held them apart neither by seas, great rivers, mountains, 'nor other strength of nature, but onely by little small brookes, or demolished little walles, so as rather they were divided in apprehension then in effect,' he continued: 'what God hath conjoyned, let no man separate. I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawful Wife; I am the Head, and it

is my Body; I am the Shepherd, and it is my flocke; I hope therefore no man will be so unreasonable as to thinke that I that am a Christian King under the Gospel should be a Polygamist and husband to two wives; that I being the Head should have a divided and monstrous Body; or that being the Shepheard to so faire a Flocke (whose fold hath no wall to hedge it but the foure Seas) should have my Flocke parted in two.' He expressed conviction that 'in your hearts and mindes you all applaud this my discourse'; but his enthusiasm was shared by few. National enmities were too recent and accentuated by geographical contact to make union easy or probable. James' accession to the Tudors' seat actually threatened rather to exacerbate differences than to compose them. England apprehended invasion by hungry and ambitious adventurers. A lampoon of the period expressed the mood:

Bonny Scot, we all witness can
That England hath made thee a gentleman.
Thy blue bonnet, when thou came hither,
Could scarce keep out the wind and weather;
But now it is turned to a hat and feather:
Thy bonnet is blown—the Devil knows whither.
Thy shoes on thy feet, when thou camest from plough,
Were made of the hide of an old Scotch cow;
But now they are turned to a rare Spanish leather,
And decked with roses altogether.
Thy sword at thy back was a great black blade,
With a great basket-hilt of iron made;
But now a long rapier doth hang by his side,
And huffingly doth this bonny Scot ride.
Bonny Scot, we all witness can
That England hath made thee a gentleman.

In 1607 James addressed his English Parliament in tones of remonstrance, chiding those who talked of transporting trees out of barren ground into more fertile, or lean cattle out of bad pastures into better, figures of anticipated hordes of impoverished Scotsmen. Their poverty, ruder culture, turbulent disposition, preference for France's

friendship, and inborn antagonism were flung in the teeth of their nation. Scotland resented these reflexions upon her character, enlarged upon her alleged greater antiquity, and viewed union with little favour, passive rather than interested to promote it. In neither country public opinion was ripe for the accommodations which the experiment called for, and James' attempt to hasten it does little credit to his judgment.

Insistence so far prevailed that in 1604 Commissioners were appointed by both Parliaments, the Scottish negotiators being jealously empowered 'to confer, treat, and consulte upoun a perfyte unioun of the realmes of Scotland and England, not dirogating ony wayes ony fundamentall lawes, ancient privileges, offices, richtis, digniteis, and liberteis of this kingdome.' While the Commission was sitting, James by Order in Council assumed the style 'King of Great Britain,' a title objectionable to both kingdoms; adopted a Union flag quartered with the crosses of St Andrew and St George; and ordered the Scottish coinage to be brought into conformity with that of England in quality, weight, and token—in 1604 the English penny was worth twelve Scottish coins of that denomination. In December 1604 the Commissioners signed Articles of Union. They enumerated ten English and fourteen Scottish laws 'made and conceived, expressly by name, by England against Scotland as enimyes, or by Scotland against England as enimyes,' and reported them 'to be abrogated and utterly extinguished.' They recommended the establishment of free trade between the two countries, upon conditions neither regarded as satisfactory, Scotland and England alike complaining of the sacrifices required of them. The last point of discussion, the mutual naturalization of the subjects of both kingdoms, produced a recommendation that persons born after the demise of Elizabeth should be entitled to inherit and possess property and to receive offices, ecclesiastical and civil, under the Crown 'as fully and amply' as in the Kingdom in which they were born. Objection to the

proposal was strong on the side of England, where it was feared that naturalization of *Post-nati* would permit James unduly to promote Scotsmen to offices of position and profit. The English Parliament rejected the Commissioners' proposals in their entirety, with the exception of the suggested abrogation of hostile laws. Determined to procure the status of English citizenship for *Post-nati*, James encouraged a collusive action before the Court of Exchequer in the name of Robert Colvill, an infant born at Edinburgh in 1605, who claimed to be deemed a natural English subject. Ten of twelve Judges upheld Colvill's suit and decided the status of *Post-nati* as James desired. The Scottish Estates (August 1607) received the Commissioners' report in more amicable mood and on it framed an Act of Union, but made its operation conditional upon England's acceptance of reciprocal conditions. Consequently the expunging of the hostile laws and recognition of the common citizenship of *Post-nati* were the sole positive results of James' proposal. The project of union revived under other impulses half a century later.

While negotiations for political union pursued their fruitless course, James was following a purpose which lay as near his heart, the assimilation of the Kirk to an Anglican model. The perfection of the design required a diocesan episcopate, an innovation involving disturbance of Presbyterian discipline, and modifications in the forms of public worship. In the Parliament of 1612 James triumphantly concluded the first of his objects. From 1617 to the end of his reign he was intent upon the second. The first jeopardized the political influence of the clergy, who stood more or less isolated to bear its assault. The second challenged the laity in the accustomed fulfilment of their religious exercises and raised principles underlying the forms of public worship. The first action was fought round the General Assembly. Was it the competent authority of a self-governing Kirk? or was it subordinate to the Crown in such manner as the English Church was

controlled by the Act of Supremacy? Before James' departure the Assembly was appointed to meet at Aberdeen in July 1604, a locality where the 'Popes' of the south could look to find little support. Alleging the disturbing effect of the Court's departure, the Assembly was 'continued' to July 1605. As that date approached, rumours were spread of an intention to challenge the recent conclusions in favour of episcopacy. The Privy Council therefore prohibited Presbyteries from sending Commissioners to Aberdeen and announced James' intention to hear the differences among Scottish Churchmen argued before him in England. The greater number of Presbyteries obeyed. But on the appointed date nineteen ministers appeared at Aberdeen, constituted themselves a formal Assembly, and, in spite of the Council's order to disperse, asserted the Kirk's autonomy by 'continuing' the Assembly to the last day of September. They were forthwith denounced for disobedience and summoned before the Council. Thirteen confessed their fault and were pardoned. The rest denied the Crown's competency to judge them on a spiritual matter and were committed to several prisons. Towards the end of September 1605, James took occasion to protest that the rumour of his intention 'presently to intend a change of the authorized Discipline of the Church' was spread by 'malicious spirits, enemies to common tranquility,' and to 'stop the mouths of these unquiet spirits, raisers of that false scandal of Alteration,' appointed a General Assembly to be holden at Dundee in the following July, 'whereat we expect a reparation of these Disorders in as far as belongeth to their censure, and to be freed in time coming of all such calumnies.' The accused, unmoved by the declaration, continued to challenge the competency of a civil court and demanded license to plead before a General Assembly. Their action flatly challenged the Statute of 1584, which asserted the Crown's supremacy over 'all Estates,' and revived Melville's Gelasian hypothesis. In January 1606, they were convicted of treason 'for their contemptuous

and treasonable declining the judgment of Us and the Lords our secret Council.'

In the autumn of 1606, at the close of a Parliament whose proceedings materially advanced the king's policy, five Scottish bishops and several ministers, the two Melvilles among them, were called to England to debate their differences and also to offer opinions 'touching that meeting at Aberdeen, where an handful of Ministers, in contempt of My authority, and against the discharge given them, did assemble.' The bishops condemned it as 'turbulent, factious, and unlawful.' Melville refused an opinion, asking *Quis me constituit judicem?* Upon another matter he displayed his old confidence. James' plan, apart from debates and conferences between the two parties regarding the 'great disturbances' which he was informed had followed his departure, proposed to submit the ministers to personal experience of Anglican ritual and liturgy. Melville, infuriated, composed and circulated a biting epigram ridiculing the rites used in the sovereign's Chapel Royal. The gibe roused James' immoderate anger. Charged with an act menacing the well-being of Church and State, Melville defended his action, shook the Archbishop of Canterbury by his lawn sleeves, styling them 'Romish rags and part of the Beast's mark,' in his old manner, and was committed to the Tower. By an indefensible act of tyranny he remained there for three years and left it to pass into permanent exile. In 1620 he died at Sedan, Professor in that Huguenot College. James Melville was placed on parole in Newcastle. The king's intention from the outset had been to entice the stalwarts out of Scotland, where their opposition might prove inconvenient. To that end he dealt with the Aberdeen offenders. In October 1606 they were shipped from Leith under decree of perpetual exile to the remoter Isles.

With his chief opponents removed and their coadjutors under suspicious observation, James' design progressed smoothly. Parliament, assembled at Perth in July 1606,

passed two notable measures. One confirmed the royal prerogative over all estates, persons, and causes whatsoever, challenged by the ministers. The second, entitled the 'Restitution of the Estate of Bishops,' took from the Crown, to which they had been annexed by the Act of 1587, the temporalities of the Sees and transferred them to their incumbents who, for lack of adequate endowment, in the words of one of their order, were 'disabled to attend their service in the Church and State.' It remained to endow them with functions Presbyterian polity denied them, and to convert from titular into effective rule the authority of a bench whose numbers now equalled that of the pre-Reformation Church.

The Catholic Plot to blow up the Houses of Parliament in November 1605 was still a vivid memory when, a year later (December 1606), James summoned to Linlithgow one hundred and sixty-nine ministers and laymen whose conclusions were subsequently clothed with the authority of a General Assembly. Complaints offered to the king regarding the alleged 'insolency' of Papists indicated a suspicious mood which responded to James' proposals for its consideration. He suggested that 'till the present jarres and fire of dissension, which is among the Ministery, and daily encreaseth, to the hinderance of the Gospel, be quenched and taken away; and the Noblemen professing Papistry within the Kingdom be either reduced to the profession of the Truth, or then repressed by justice and a due execution of the Laws,' there should be nominated to preside over each Presbytery 'one of the most grave, godly, and of greatest authority and experience' of its members, for whom the title Constant Moderator was found convenient, and to whom a revenue of £100 Scots was assigned. The king desired the Bishop to act as Moderator of the Presbytery in whose bounds he resided, and, of greater significance, that he should preside *ex officio* as Constant Moderator of his Synod. The proposal gave the episcopate status within the Presbyterian system and also took the Kirk's presiding ministers into the king's

pay and power. It was accepted, not unanimously, and with minor qualifications. Throughout 1607 the king's resolve to set bishops over the Synods excited disorder, particularly in Perthshire, Fife, and Lothian, where efforts were made to resist the Crown's insidious policy. But James' judicious association of Constant Moderators with the pursuit and correction of Papists conciliated many. He played on the same prejudice in the Parliament of 1609, which conceded to the bishops execution of the penal laws against Catholics, besides restoring their ancient jurisdiction over probate and divorce.

James' patient progress approached its goal. He was, says Archbishop Spottiswoode of Glasgow, 'daily urging the Bishops to take upon them the administration of all Church affairs.' Unwilling to make any change without the knowledge and approbation of the ministers, the bishops desired the convention of a General Assembly, which met at Glasgow in June 1610. Its clerical delegates were nominated by the two Archbishops, and a sum of money was allocated to assure the presence of dependable persons. Its conclusions therefore were agreeable to James' purposes. The dependence of the Kirk's Assemblies on the Crown's summons was asserted and the Aberdeen 'conventicle' of 1605 condemned; Synods under the bishops' moderation were directed to sit twice annually; sentences of excommunication or absolution were forbidden without their sanction; presentations to vacant livings were henceforth at their disposal. Under pain of deprivation ministers were inhibited from challenging these conclusions publicly or disputing the 'equality or inequality of Ministry.' These sweeping changes were accompanied by the institution of Courts of High Commission, subsequently united (1615), in each of the two archbishoprics, with disciplinary powers over offences 'in life and religion.' Their erection completed the process by which James, leaving its lower courts untouched, imposed episcopacy upon a Presbyterian polity. But it lacked the spiritual authority which consecration at the hands of

prelates themselves consecrated alone bestowed. To recover the continuity of succession the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishops of Brechin and Galloway were summoned to London in October 1610 to receive consecration from three English bishops. Upon their return they consecrated the other holders of Scottish sees. Ministers were not called on to submit to re-ordination; the argument being accepted that Presbyterial ordination must be held lawful in conditions 'where Bishops could not be had,' since otherwise reformed Churches might be unable to assert a lawful vocation in their clergy. In future ministers, after 'an exact trial' of their fitness, were to be ordained by the bishop 'and two or three ministers whom he shall call to assist the action,' a phrase purposely vague, in accordance with a form of ritual to be prepared and precisely followed.

The ratification of the Glasgow Assembly's conclusions by Parliament in 1612, and its rescinding of the Act of 1592, with all others that conflicted with them, gave Scotland the ecclesiastical polity James required. Future events demonstrated amply that it lacked the foundation of popular approval, less because of its demerits to this point than of its association with subsequent and more provocative innovations. For the moment Presbyterian discipline was disturbed, but not uprooted. Its Courts still functioned, though the highest met by royal favour and the High Commission usurped some of its offices. The bishop so far was anathema only to his clerical colleagues, who resented the sacrifice of ministerial parity and the elevation of one above his fellows with monopoly of ecclesiastical direction. The laity as yet were not outraged on matters which excited passion or prejudice. The ritual of Presbyterian worship had not been called in question. The Fasts and Feasts of the ancient Church continued to pass unheeded; the Churches were appointed with a severity befitting an austere ceremonial; the 'whites' or surplice were not recommended to replace black Genevan gowns as the minister's uniform; natural postures of

reverence sanctioned by the habit of ages were disregarded, and the Lord's Supper was received in easy, seated attitudes; Knox's *Book of Common Order* and the colloquial oratory of impromptu prayer broken by the singing of Psalm and Paraphrase provided the apparatus of public worship. Had James and his son been wise to reflect that the forms of devotional ritual are the reflexion of individual character, to be invaded only with the certitude of opposition unstirred by innovations in ecclesiastical government and authority, the history of Scotland in the seventeenth century must have run another course.

A lull preceded James' adventure upon the second and more provocative stage in the harmonization of the ecclesiastical systems of his kingdoms. After six years' interval a General Assembly met in the summer of 1616 at Aberdeen, whose episcopal atmosphere and remoteness from the more aggressively Presbyterian south made it an appropriate stage from which to announce the reforms he contemplated. As in 1606, Popish 'insolence' provided a preliminary topic of debate and invited precautionary measures. The Assembly proceeded to a more intricate task. It produced a Confession of Faith more constructive than that of 1581; a new Catechism, for use in schools, significantly entitled 'God and the King'; and a new Liturgy and form of public service to replace Knox's Order, but leaving the minister license to 'conceive his own prayer.' A proposal regarding the confirmation of young children James rejected as 'mere Hotch-potch.' On that matter and four others he proposed Articles for insertion among the Acts of Assemblies to be accepted as Canons of the Church. They prescribed that (1) the Holy Communion must be received kneeling, and (2) might be administered to the sick in their homes; (3) the Sacrament of Baptism should not be deferred beyond the Sunday after the child's birth and might be administered in private houses; (4) the Festivals of Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday, and also Good Friday must be observed; (5) young

children were to be confirmed by the bishop after instruction by their parish ministers.

Spottiswoode, recently translated to St Andrews, 'in an humble letter' represented the impossibility of summarily inserting the Acts as Canons in a proposed *corpus* of the legislation of the Kirk's Assemblies. James concurred, and, alleging salmon-like instinct to revisit the place of his breeding, announced an intention to appear in Scotland imminently. In preparation for his arrival English workmen, dispatched to repair the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, brought carved figures of Patriarchs and Apostles to set up in the stalls and pews. Foolish rumour, spreading tales of 'images erected for worship and adoration,' suspected the Mass about to follow them. Four bishops concurred with clergy of the capital in urging James not to chafe popular prejudices, and though he replied 'full of anger' and lectured his prelates upon their ignorant confusion of mere 'pictures intended for ornament' with 'images erected for worship and adoration,' the Patriarchs and Apostles were not set up to offend the scrupulous. But upon his arrival in May 1617, accompanied by Bishop Laud, Presbyterian feeling was outraged by the use of Anglican ritual at Holyrood, while James' tone of condescension, as of one since advanced to higher position revisiting a humble home, which deprecated the 'barbarities of the country' and desired to fulfil Augustus' boast *ut iure sit gloriatus marmoream se relinquere quam latericiam accepisset*, further provoked popular feeling. The Crown's nominees as Lords of the Articles in Parliament were protested, and James' intention to procure an Act asserting his prerogative, 'with advice of the Archbishops and bishops,' to legislate for the Kirk was challenged by the bishops themselves, who insisted that the advice and consent of a 'competent number' of other ministers than those who represented the First Estate in Parliament was required. The Article was not pressed. Insisting that his only intention was to maintain 'true worship and a decent and comely order in the Church,'

James harangued bishops and presbyters upon their 'causeless jealousies' of him and demanded reasons against the Five Articles and his prerogative to legislate with episcopal advice for the Kirk's government. All concurred in recommending the summons of a General Assembly and most gave promise of obedience in it.

An angry minority denounced the Five Articles as *tricas Anglicanas* and the promised Assembly failed to give James, already returned to England, the concurrence he had been encouraged to anticipate. 'Since your Scottish Church hath so far contemned my Clemency,' he wrote to the archbishops, 'they shall now find what it is to draw the anger of a King upon them.' He threatened to dock the stipends of recalcitrant ministers who refused the Articles, and ordered the bishops, 'as you will avoid our highest displeasure,' to 'preach at their Sees' on the approaching Christmas Day. The bishops again represented to their angry sovereign the wisdom of caution and held out hopes that in their Synods they would succeed in bending the ministers to his will, provided the threat to their stipends was withdrawn. James assented, and after the spring and summer had passed in attempts to recommend his proposals, a General Assembly met at Perth in August 1618. Influence was exerted to procure the attendance of persons well-affected to the Articles, and the 'inconveniences' to the Kirk likely to follow their rejection were enlarged upon by the Primate. By a majority of more than two to one the Articles received the Assembly's approval, the votes of the bishops and laity contributing chiefly to a decision which appeared to give James complete victory over the Presbyterian clergy. But he roused a new enemy. The laity had accepted episcopacy without active opposition, but were fixed in their refusal to countenance innovations in public worship. In Edinburgh the magistrates connived at people's 'straying' from churches whose ministers conformed. Preachers energetically denounced them in wordy pamphlet warfare. The Easter Communion of 1621 was either neglected, or

observed in the forbidden posture; fines and sentences of banishment were frequent. James was not in a mood to conciliate opposition whose reasonableness he refused to admit. The bishops were goaded to 'go forward in action' against Papists and Puritans alike. 'Papistry,' wrote their royal instructor, 'is a disease of the Mind, and Puritanism of the Brain.' The antidote of both was declared to be a 'grave, and well-ordered Church in the obedience of God and their King.' Having given the Five Articles the sanction of his prerogative and of the Kirk itself, James summoned his last Parliament in 1621 to fortify them by the approval of the Estates. They were passed on a day of torrential rain and at the 'very moment' of 'an extraordinary great lightning.' But opposition was not abated, and conforming ministers were 'greatly vexed by a sort of mutinous people, who, separating themselves from the public assemblies, kept private conventicles.' James pursued his course with threats, as once before, to remove the Courts from Edinburgh. His criticism of Laud is not less apt turned upon himself: 'he knew not the stomach of that people,' else he had turned aside from a needless course of provocative folly. His successor followed it with an even greater measure of unwisdom, and at length provoked an angry people to arms.

The relations of King and Kirk, and premature steps towards the political union of his kingdoms, mark the chief activities of James' reign, but were far from exhausting the tireless interest of a king whose serious view of his calling and earnest intention to promote the prosperity of his native country are patent as his errors of judgment. Meeting Parliament face to face in 1617, after a long interval, he claimed credit for 'preserving of peace and the keeping of the laws in due regard,' reminding his hearers that he had 'long striven to have the Barbarities of the Countrey, which they knew to be too many, removed and extinct, and in place thereof Civility and Justice established.' The deplorable condition of Scotland at the beginning of his reign is frankly revealed by a

contemporary politician: 'The Islanders oppressed the Highlanders; the Highlanders tyrannised over their Lowland neighbours; the powerful and violent in the in-country domineered over the lives and goods of their weak neighbours; the Borderers triumphed in the impunity of their violences to the ports of Edinburgh; treasons, murthers, burnings, thefts, reifs [robberies], hearships [plunderings], hocking of oxen, breaking of mills, destroying of growing corns, and barbarities of all sorts, were exercised in all parts of the country, no place nor person being exemed or inviolable, Edinburgh being the ordinary place of butcherly revenge and daily fights; the parish churches and churchyards being more frequented upon the Sunday for advantages of neighbourly malice and mischief nor for God's service; noblemen, barons, gentlemen, and people of all sorts being slaughtered as it were in public and uncontrollable hostilities; merchants robbed and left for dead on daylight, going to their markets and fairs of Montrose, Wigtown, and Berwick; ministers being dirked in Stirling, buried quick [alive] in Clydesdale, and murthered in Galloway; merchants of Edinburgh being waited in their passage to Leith to be made prisoners and ransomed.' Such were the 'abominations settled by inveterate custom and impunity,' said the writer, which James set himself determinedly to cure.

Repression of anarchy required an active judicial system. At James' accession it did not exist. The Court of Session founded by James V was corrupt and inefficient, and during the reign of Mary Justice-Ayres ceased to be held. The Burgh Courts and feudal Courts of Barony alone were available to preserve order outside the category of high crimes which lay under the Session's cognizance. In 1587 Justice-Ayres were ordered to be held by competent Commissioners twice a year in every shire. In 1609 English example moved James to set up Justices of the Peace, charged with all the duties of magistracy outside the competence of the higher Courts or other constituted jurisdictions, and served by two constables in each parish.

'Let not Gentlemen be ashamed of this Place,' said James in 1616; 'for it is a place of high Honour, and great reputation. Yea, I esteeme the service done me by a good Justice of Peace, three hundred miles, yea sixe hundred miles out of my sight, as well as the service done me in my presence: For as God hath given me large limits, so must I be carefull that my providence may reach to the farthest parts of them.' Lord Binning's compliment to James, declaring disorder 'abolished by your Majesty's care, power, and expenses,' was not undeserved.

James' passion for public order naturally directed him to the Highlands, Islands, and Borders; for they were pre-eminently the 'peccant parts' of the kingdom. In the Highlands and Isles, where Presbyterianism had not penetrated and Catholic missionaries were infrequent, there was little influence to curb the natural propensity of Macleods, Mackenzies, Macgregors, and others to pursue private vendettas and harry their neighbours. None exceeded the Macgregors, a 'wicked and unhappy race' they are styled, in disorderliness. In February 1603 they burst from their glens into the Lennox and after a desperate contest made off with hundreds of cattle and horses. James decreed their unruly stock unworthy to exist, ordered the abolition of their name, and entrusted Argyll with the mission of vengeance. Throughout the reign a remorseless vendetta pursued the 'nameless clan,' of whom but a remnant survived. In 1608 a punitive effort was projected against the Macleans, Macleods and Macdonalds of the Inner Hebrides, who in the following year accepted the Statutes of Icolmkill [Iona], binding the chiefs to profess and support the Reformed religion, to establish inns and hostelries for travellers, to dismiss idle and masterless vagabonds, to deal with beggars and sorners [takers of free quarters] as thieves and oppressors, to discourage excessive drinking of wine and whiskey, to send the eldest son or daughter of every yeoman to school in the Lowlands to acquire English, and to surrender firearms even for sporting purposes. The Statutes were

effectual, promoted steady social improvement in the Islands, and through contact with the Lowlands very possibly engendered a devotion to the Stewarts which survived their fall. The Orkneys were another disturbed area. The earl, a grandson of James V through his father, 'having undone his estate by riot and prodigality, did seek by unlawful shifts to repair the same.' His tyranny and oppressions were proverbial, his power considerable. In 1609 he was lodged in prison while the bishop was commissioned to bring his disturbed diocese to order. In 1611 the earl's bastard son raised a revolt and invited decisive action on the part of James. The earldom was permanently annexed to the Crown in 1612, and in 1615 the earl and his son were executed.

The pacification of the Borders naturally followed the union of the British Crowns. Having for centuries followed their lawless courses on the circumference they became the 'heart' of a united Empire. For nearly half a century before 1603 their inhabitants had been deprived of opportunity to plunder under cover of national service, and the union of the Crowns, a further provocation, prompted an immediate incursion of the 'loose and broken men in the Borders,' particularly Armstrongs, into English territory. Hence, while the two Parliaments were considering the uneasy problem of union, James took steps to establish law and order throughout the 'Middle Shires.' In 1605 a mixed Commission of five from each kingdom was appointed to disarm the population and deal summarily with the unruly. A company of mounted police was at its disposal, whose 'Jeddart Justice'—hang first, try afterwards—passed into a proverb. By 1609 the work was effectually accomplished, and the Chancellor, reporting to the king, was able to announce that the Commission had repressed 'the insolence of all the proud bangisters [disorderly persons], oppressors and Nimrods, and but [without] regard or respect to any of them, has purged the Borders of all the chiefest malefactors, robbers and brigands as were wont to reign and triumph

there, as clean and by as great wisdom and policy as Hercules sometimes is written to have purged Augeas, the King of Elide, his escuries.' The Thirty Years War invited the least tractable to other fields of disorder and by the end of James' reign the Borders, like the Highlands and Islands, were on the road to quietude.

James' wider authority as 'King of Great Britain' permitted him to direct his native subjects to two new fields of activity. For generations Scotland's poverty had driven her sons into the service of foreign states, Russia, Sweden, Finland. William Lithgow, visiting Poland in 1616, called it 'Mother and Nurse for the youth and younglings of Scotland, who are yearely sent hither in great numbers, thirty thousand Scots families that live incorporate in her bowells.' In 1609, following an abortive rebellion, the six Irish counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Armagh, Coleraine, Cavan, and Fermanagh escheated to the Crown, and for their peace James adopted an experiment of colonization already followed in the Lewis. English and Scottish settlers were invited to purchase parcels of land varying from 1000 to 2000 acres in extent, torn from the Irish, upon the conditions that a fortified castle should be erected on each property and the land be neither alienated to Irishmen nor cultivated by them as tenants. In the autumn of 1610 fifty-nine Scotsmen took up some 80,000 acres in Ulster. Probably they were not all of the highest character. But the development of Stewart ecclesiastical policy made Ulster, like New England, a refuge for Calvinism, and consequently impressed upon the province a character which it never lost.

A desire to admit his northern kingdom to the colonial activities of its neighbours caused James in 1621 to grant to Sir William Alexander the 'isle and continent of Norumbega,' or Acadia, on the St Lawrence, to the peninsular portion of which the name Nova Scotia was attached, a designation it never lost in spite of Alexander's failure to retain territory to which France advanced earlier claims. He was authorized to divide his concession

into a thousand allotments and to offer the dignity of a baronetcy to all who provided money or labour. But the attempt to place Nova Scotia by the side of New France and New England had no success: in 1632, by the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Acadia was restored to France. Scotland awaited the Union of 1707 for the colonial heritage of England to be thrown open to her profit and its no less benefit.

In March 1625 James' long reign ended. It presents a remarkable record of success in circumstances of peculiar difficulty. He had brought his nobility to heel, averted the tyranny of the Kirk, introduced order into regions hitherto turbulent, transformed a loose and ineffectual monarchy into a paternal despotism, and by wise measures greatly enlarged the commercial welfare of the kingdom. He is, admittedly, one of the oddest figures encountered in the pages of history. But grotesqueness is not incompatible with ability, and James was able, knew his people, was sincerely devoted to what he held their interests, though neither nice nor scrupulous in his statecraft, and vastly more sensible than his son and grandsons who followed him on the throne. Spottiswoode calls him the 'Salomon of his age, admired for his Wisdom.' His generation's deepest impression of him was the peace in which he maintained his kingdoms. One of many 'doleful epitaphs' runs:

> Death's iron hand hath clos'd those Eyes
> Which were at once three Kingdoms' Spies,
> Both to foresee and to prevent
> Dangers as soon as they were meant.
> That Head, whose working Brain alone
> Wrought all men's quiet but its own,
> Now lies at rest. O let him have
> The Peace he lent us in his Grave.
> For Two fair Kingdoms joyn'd in One;
> For all he did, or meant t'have done;
> Doe this for him, write on his Dust,
> *James the Peacefull and the Just.*

CHAPTER XIX

THE COVENANT

'THOSE who make any enquiry into the history of King James' reign,' wrote Edmund Ludlow, fifty years later, 'will find, that tho his inclinations were strongly bent to render himself absolute, yet he chose rather to carry on that design by fraud than violence. But King Charles having taken a nearer view of despotick government in his journey to France and Spain [in 1623], tempted with the glittering shew and imaginary pleasures of that empty pageantry, immediately after his ascent to the throne pulled off the masque, and openly discovered his intentions to make the Crown absolute and independent.' The judgment is superficial. Charles I was in his twenty-fifth year when James' death gave him the British Crowns. His opinions had been formed already in a school whose chief pedagogue was his father, and for the first time since Robert III's death in 1406 Scotland received a sovereign who did not step from the nursery to his throne. Charles was nurtured on the maxims of the *Basilikon Doron*, a work written to instruct his elder brother, Prince Henry, who died in 1612. His inclination to 'despotick government' was not the inspiration of a hasty visit to the Habsburg Court, but of daily and hourly contact with a father whom in some respects he resembled. His bent was serious—his brother once threatened to make him Archbishop of Canterbury. He inherited his father's studious temper and interest in theology. But while James' conscience waited obediently on his political creed, Charles' piety was deep and expressed a nature which found its surest consolation in the offices of religion, fanatically faithful to those forms of ecclesiasticism which satisfied itself. To elaborate ceremonial he was devoted

and himself supervised the services of the royal chapel in the spirit Milton touches in *Il Penseroso*:

> But let my due feet never fail
> To walk the studious cloisters pale,
> And love the high embowed roof
> With antic pillars massy proof,
> And storied windows richly dight,
> Casting a dim religious light:
> There let the pealing organ blow
> To the full voiced choir below,
> In service high, and anthems clear,
> As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
> Dissolve me into ecstacies,
> And bring all heav'n before mine eyes.

His personality was reserved, even chilling. 'This king,' said a foreign visitor, 'is so constituted by nature that he never obliges anyone.' Too assured of his own rectitude to probe the standpoint of others, he was tactless in his treatment of the problems which met him. From his father he inherited inability to deal with them frankly and a preference for oblique action and subterfuge which founded a reputation for insincerity, unreliability, and even dishonesty, though in his private relationships there was none more honourable. A profound belief in the divine right of his office also was his father's legacy. His nature and convictions established on an equally irrefragable foundation the sanctity of Anglican episcopacy and ceremonialism. In both beliefs he was an idealist gifted with authority to force them upon subjects who profoundly misliked them.

Extremes beget extremes. 'The history of Scotland, from the death of James VI to the Revolution of 1689,' Mr Lang remarks, 'is that of a battle between two tyrannies, the lion and the serpent [of Sir Thomas Malory's tale], the Tudor despotism in Stewart hands and the Knoxian despotism of the ministers of religion. These two forces destroyed each other. The triumph of the Presbyterian ideals, the claims to bind and loose, to ruin and excom-

municate, to sit in the seats of the Apostles and judge mankind, to carry a crusade of compulsory Presbyterianism into England and even abroad, and to extirpate idolaters, endured but for ten or twelve years (1638–1650). It could only endure, that triumph, while the nobles, irritated by Charles' despotism and illegal measures, were at one with the Kirk, terrible as an army with banners. When once the Estates differed from the Commissioners of the General Assembly; when once the Kirk, thwarting the State, had brought the Cromwellian conquest on Scotland, the ranks of the Covenanters were split in twain. Under the persecutions and indulgences of the Restoration, the enormous majority of Presbyterians—ministers and flocks—learned to submit to compromise, which was only resisted, and vainly resisted, by the extreme left wing of the Covenanters, the societies of Cameronians, and especially of Renwickites. Among them alone survived the pretensions that had rent Scotland for more than a century. Meanwhile the Catholic despotism of James VII ruined the cause of royal tyranny. The lion and the serpent had destroyed each other.'

Charles, says Clarendon, 'was always a great lover of the Scottish nation.' The statement is merely rhetorical. Left behind in delicate health when the Court removed to England in 1603, Charles followed his father and mother over the same route twelve months later. He was then in his fourth year, the last of Scotland's kings born on her soil, his impressions of his native land neither many nor profound. Thirty-three years old when he revisited it in 1633, he never returned, save once in 1641, and then merely as a recruiting-sergeant to enlist his northern subjects against the English Puritans. He lived to reckon Scotland his bitter enemy, and though she produced Montrose, the single heroic champion of his cause, he reproached her with an act of base betrayal in 1647. He neither understood, nor seriously endeavoured to understand, the 'stomach' of his Scottish subjects. The bare, unlovely ritual of their worship grated on him. That it

spoke for them the homage to God which the elaborate ceremonialism he preferred expressed was an admission he could as little make as those by whom he was opposed. Their confusion of the ritual he preferred with Popery seemed to him, and was, narrow ignorance. But they viewed it in the reflected light of two facts indisputable: he was the son of a Catholic mother, a convert from the Protestant fold; he was the husband of a Catholic 'daughter of Heth' and barely had escaped union with Catholic Spain, arch protagonist of the Counter-Reformation. King and people were divided by prejudices deep dug and stubborn misunderstandings. But Charles was aggressor in the effort to bring Scottish standards of public worship to conformity with those of the English establishment. His conscience and upbringing affirmed the maxim *cuius regio eius religio* and the virtue of uniformity as conducive to civil order. By methods grossly imprudent and provocative he worked to establish them, united all classes to a degree Scotland had not known since the distant days of Plantagenet menace, and so summoned again the interrupted tragedy of his house.

The first eight years of Charles' reign in England moved rapidly towards revolution. In Scotland he pursued his father's aims, but without displaying hasty intention to extend them. Conditional upon their being obeyed, the Perth Articles had been presented to the Estates in 1621 as James' last word in ecclesiastical innovation. Charles appeared to encourage that hope; proclamations, issued shortly after his accession, denounced 'false bruits' of his intention to introduce changes or connive at or tolerate 'the Popish profession.' In the summer of 1626 he sent down instructions in a conciliatory mood. Ministers ordained before the enactment of the Perth Articles were not to be coerced to adopt them, provided they refrained from opposing them actively. Ministers ordained since their enactment, on the other hand, were to sign a 'band' of conformity and be liable to episcopal censure if they failed to fulfil it. The Articles remained the law of the Church

and continued to excite opposition and remonstrance. Congregations and ministers demonstrated their apprehension in meetings of protest, and an angry spirit was engendered which Charles' descent upon Scotland in 1633 goaded to action.

With results Charles' blindness could not foresee, the new reign ventured a challenge to the nobility which James' wiser caution had avoided. In March 1626, Charles reconstructed the Privy Council which had served his father and, to this point, himself. He nominated forty-seven persons, Spottiswoode, the Primate, first among them, preceding even the Lord High Chancellor in rank. The presidency was committed to Montrose, father of Charles' champion. More significant than these appointments was the deliberate omission of the seven Ordinary Lords of Session, who sat in the former Council, and their replacement by five bishops. The political uses for which the king designed the episcopal bench were as yet undivulged. But the secular nobility resented the prominence conferred upon the spiritual Estate. In excluding the Judges of the Court of Session from the Council, Charles also provoked resentment. It was unseemly that persons should sit in thePrivy Council as administrators who acted in the Court of Session as interpreters, it might happen, of their actions in the other body. But Charles was not swayed by academic objections. In a body which functioned in his absence, and was only distantly subject to his control, an aristocratic clique was undesirable. Charles already (February 1626) had reconstructed the Court of Session in accordance with his resolution to keep the Court and Council distinct. The constitution of the new Council completed his purpose and removed the obstruction a powerful secular oligarchy might oppose to the measures he looked to carry by the bishops' votes. Their strength in the Council was gradually increased and early in 1635 Spottiswoode was appointed Chancellor. His advancement and that of his order roused deep prejudices. As bishops they were obnoxious to Presbyterian opinion; as

clergymen they were deemed intruders by the secular nobles they displaced and the judges they superseded; by the nation at large they were suspected as the Crown's minions in furthering innovations which emanated from England. Their new authority was emphasized by the inclusion of four of their number in a Commission of Grievances constituted in March 1626 'to cognosce and determine toucheing all grievances whiche salbe particularlie recommendit unto thame by ane warrand from his Majestie.' It promised to become the hated Star Chamber of England under another name, was 'sorely called out against by all honest men,' says the Lyon King of that year, and 'evanished in itself without so much as one meeting of the commissioners therein named.' The Privy Council's powers, in fact, made it redundant.

Even before the new Council was constituted Charles launched the principal measure of his early reign, whose consequence was to alienate the nobility from the Crown, snap the interested alliance between it and their order which alone had enabled James to bring the Kirk to his feet, and to unite them with the clergy on a common platform of opposition in the Covenant of 1638. In October 1625 an Act of Revocation recalled to the Crown all properties alienated from it since the death of James V in 1542. Acts of Revocation were neither unusual nor indefensible. Charles was the first of a sequence of eight sovereigns whose reign did not begin in a minority exploited by the nobility to their own ends. His predecessors usually found it necessary at their majority to revoke alienations which beggared the Crown in its period of helplessness. But Charles' Act was of more drastic scope. Upon the allegation of technical flaws in the original concession, it revoked transactions more than eighty years old, challenging the principle that long possession constitutes prescriptive right and is entitled to consideration. Over so extended a period the amount of land diverted from the Crown was enormous and included the bulk of the property of the pre-Reformation Church annexed to

the royal domain by the Act of 1587. By lavish grants James had bought the loyalty of the Second Estate, from whom the 'consideration' for their service was now withdrawn. The Act threatened almost every family of consequence in the kingdom. Dismay and indignation were general.

The first murmurs of opposition came from the unreformed Council in the autumn of 1625. Seventeen of its members were affected by the king's proposals and sought permission to approach him in conference. Early in February 1626 Charles by proclamation explained his intentions. He averred that he merely followed precedent, could 'lawfully' recover lands belonging to the ancient patrimony of the Crown, and aimed at no other. So far he administered cold comfort. But he announced a purpose altogether praiseworthy, whose accomplishment promised to rally to him interests his father had estranged. Having already given evidence of his princely care for the advancement of religion and justice, he expressed his concern to provide a 'competent maintenance' for ministers of the Gospel and, to that end, that 'the great disorders and incommodities arising about teinds may be redressed.' A large part of the revenues of the old Church was in the form of tithes, or 'teinds,' payable in kind, a tenth of the harvest of the land. In the confusion of the Reformation these revenues fell into the hands of lay owners, with the result, that while the land itself, or temporality, passed into the possession of *A* and his heirs, the teinds upon it might be owned by *B* and his heirs, who, known as the 'titulars of the teinds,' enjoyed the 'spirituality' of the property, *i.e.* the fund contributed by it to the maintenance of the clergy as a right inherited from the Jewish dispensation. At harvest time the titulars levied their tithes with a rapacity and inconsiderateness which the Roman Church never exhibited. As Charles declared, they 'did use and practice the uttermost of that severity which the law alloweth them; how they would not gather their tithes when the owners of the corn desired

them, but when it pleased themselves; by which means the owners, by the unreasonableness of the weather, were many times damnified to the loss of their whole stock, or most part of it.' Announcing his desire that 'the said teinds may no longer be, as they have been heretofore, the cause of blood, oppressions, enmities, and of enforced dependencies,' Charles proposed to give every landowner (or heritor) power to purchase his tithes from the titular 'upon reasonable conditions.' By that means the landowner would be freed from the annoyance of the tithe-collector, and the Church could hope that the teinds once more would be devoted to their historical use.

Charles was at pains to rally support to his proposals. In July 1625, placating opposition, he restricted the threatened revocation to Church lands attached to the Crown since 1540 and subsequently alienated, and to heritable offices which seriously impeded its direct authority. To the titulars he offered 'reasonable composition' if they made voluntary submission before the end of the year. The Articles of Perth were partially suspended, upon conditions already noticed, and amnesty was offered to ministers who had been proceeded against for contumacy. But the Council's reorganization in March 1626 lessened the need for conciliation, and in the following August the King's Advocate took measures to bring the issue to legal trial. The process known as a 'summons of reduction' was brought against titulars and owners of Church lands, styled 'lords of erections,' who had not made submission. Charged with unlawful possession of their property they were required to exhibit their titles.

The menace of Charles' intention being apparent, all interests hastened to represent their views to the sovereign. Owners of superiorities and teinds dispatched a memorial which Charles condemned as being 'of a strain too high for subjects and petitioners.' The bishops also were concerned to represent the special interests of the Church and clergy as they might be affected by the Revocation

Edict. If, as is probable, Sir William Alexander was the author of the scheme, his advice may have influenced Charles to temper his original proposals. In January 1627, abandoning his attack on heritable jurisdictions, he set up a 'Commission for Surrenders of Superiorities and Teinds,' representing the bishops, nobles, minor landowners, and burghs, with a view to settlement on the basis of compromise. Provided that its feudal superiority over the alienated Church lands was established, and its purposes in regard to the teinds were realized, the Crown was prepared to abandon a policy of confiscation and to compound with lords of erections and titulars on equitable terms. Meanwhile the interested parties were invited to execute, by the following August, a 'submission' of their claims to the Crown's arbitration and decision. 'Submissions' came in slowly, though some of the principal titulars set an example of punctuality. After long and tedious investigation the four groups interested in the complicated transaction—the superiors or lords of erections, the burghs possessed of Church lands, the bishops and clergy, and the titulars or tacksmen of the teinds—agreed to a submission of their claims to the king's award.

In September 1629 Charles gave his award in four 'Decreits Arbitral' addressed to the parties involved. Church lands were suffered to remain in possession of their then owners. But the Crown imposed a moderate purchase price equivalent to ten years' rental of them, established its feudal superiority over them, and its title to accustomed incidents. The teinds were dealt with in a more complicated manner. Their value was declared at one-fifth of the rental of the temporality on which they were levied, whose heritor was empowered to purchase them from the titular, where the tithe owner was other than himself, at nine years' purchase. If the heritor failed to exercise his option of purchase the teind was commuted into an annual charge upon the property, burdened with (1) an annual payment to the parish minister, and (2) another to the Crown. The transaction has been praised as the greatest

economic revolution recorded in Scottish history and as the one successful action of Charles' reign. It brought little money to the royal exchequer; for Charles disposed of the annuity from the teinds to discharge a debt of £10,000. But it enhanced his prerogative at the expense of the nobility, though its triumph was of short duration. The nobility, as lords of erections, were secured in lands whose confiscation they had feared, and were relieved of the competing rights of titulars. As tithe owners they received indefeasible title to a regular annual revenue, burdened with fixed annual charges. The Kirk eventually acknowledged the Act as having secured to it adequate and, as it proved, permanent endowment of its clergy. But at the moment its mood was one of disappointment. It had hoped to recover the full value of the teinds, but was answered bluntly that they were 'too great a morsel for their greedy mouths.' The nobles, unable to advance good reasons for complaining, none the less were alienated by the transaction, and, as the continuance of their heritable jurisdictions—which survived till 1747—had been raised, were rendered suspicious of the king's intentions. Consequently, the Act of Revocation cost the Crown the support it formerly received from their order against the ministers and other classes. The fact was very soon apparent. The nobles, it has been said acutely, 'became Protestants to get the Church property, and became Covenanters to keep it.' Meanwhile, apart from the enhancement of the royal prerogative, the Crown's profit from the transaction was acknowledgment of its feudal superiority over lands whose ecclesiastical character so far allowed them to evade it, and the promise of revenue derivable from feudal incidents.

More than once Scotland's anticipations of a visit from the sovereign had been disappointed. Now that the principles of the Act of Revocation were determined, the nobles, anxious that its legality should be established by Parliament's approval, urged Charles to celebrate his long delayed coronation and convene his Estates. Considera-

tions of another character also moved him to acquiesce. The proceedings of the English Parliament in 1629 completed his subjection to Laud. Recommended by his connexion with Buckingham, Laud had been brought to Court from a remote diocese as Dean of the Chapel Royal and in 1627 was sworn of the Privy Council. When, in the next year, he was promoted to the See of London it was already understood that the Primacy of England was his in reversion. His opinions and those of his sovereign were in complete accord. He was as lamentably wanting in imagination, as honest in his convictions, as narrow in his outlook. More than twice his sovereign's age, he exerted over him the influence of experience, agreement and ability. His industry was tireless, his grasp of method and detail unfailing. He asserted the doctrine of the royal prerogative in uncompromising terms and encouraged Charles' attacks upon the liberties of Parliament. He shared his antipathy for Puritanism, setting equal store upon the efficacy of ceremonialism in public worship and the need to harmonize the English and Scottish establishments. James halted at a point far removed from the conformity Laud aimed at. Charles, who inherited neither his father's caution nor his latent Calvinism, was as disposed as Laud to impose upon Scotland forms of public worship accepted in England. In 1629 he was discussing with him the draft of a Prayer-book for Scottish use. The coincident success of the Revocation Act possibly suggested the moment opportune for further innovations which it would be well to launch under personal observation. Delayed by various causes, Charles, with Laud in attendance, visited Scotland in June 1633.

The coronation, otherwise agreeable, gave concern to a population already apprehensive of 'further novation of organs, liturgies, and such like.' Before he arrived at Holyrood Charles received a remonstrance from Edinburgh ministers, protesting against illegal authority vested in the episcopal bench and condemning the Articles of Perth. Their views carried no weight with the king, whose coro-

nation ritual stimulated the identification of Popish allegiance with Anglican ceremonialism to which Presbyterianism was prone. Spottiswoode and his four colleagues were habited in 'white rochets and white sleeves and copes of gold, having blue silk to their foot.' One who was present observed a 'four-nuikit taffil [four-cornered table] maner of ane altar standing within the Kirk, haveing standing thairupone twa bookis at leist resembling claspit bookis [*i.e.* Missals], callit blynd bookis, with tua chandleris [chandeliers], and tua wax candles, quhilkis war onlichtit, and ane bassein whairin thair wes nothing. At the bak of this altar (coverit with tapestrie) thair wes ane ritche tapestrie, quhairin the crucifix wes curiouslie wrocht; and as these bischopis who wes in service past by this crucifix, they war sein to bow thair knie and bek, whiche, with thair habit, wes nottit, and bred gret feir of inbringing of Poperie.' On the following Sunday Charles heard a sermon in St Giles' by the Bishop of Moray, habited in his white rochet, a sight the venerable Church had not witnessed since the Reformation, even more provocative than the order to kneel at the Communion. The latter was celebrated infrequently, once or twice a year; the 'whites' promised to become a daily or weekly irritation to a people peculiarly suspicious of the ritual of a religion they deemed unchristian.

For the moment Charles' concern was with the Estates, who assembled immediately after the coronation. The selection of the Lords of the Articles put that important body entirely at his disposal. Bishops and nobles each chose eight from the other's ranks, the elected sixteen selected as many from the Commissioners for shires and burghs, and the king completed the Committee by adding eight Officers of State. Its deliberations produced a mass of legislation of which three measures bore closely upon the situation. The recent economic transaction affecting temporalities and teinds was approved. The Articles of Perth and other ecclesiastical measures of the late reign were confirmed. A third measure, with subtle intention,

revived the Act of 1606 asserting the royal prerogative and associated with it the Act of 1609 which authorized the Crown to settle the official apparel of clergy, judges, and magistrates. James had employed the Act to prescribe the costume worn by bishops and other Estates in Parliament. That Charles would put it to another use was foreseen, and the certainty stimulated opposition within Parliament itself, where the Earl of Loudoun, questioning the propriety of conjoining the Acts of 1606 and 1609 in such manner as to compel members either to vote 'undutifully on the sacred point of prerogative or unconscionably on Church novations,' Charles curtly bade him 'not to dispute but to vote' and marked down each member's reply as his name was called, expressing dissatisfaction with those who voted in the negative sense.

Before Charles left Scotland, Laud, preaching at Holyrood, enlarged on the excellence and propriety of uniformity, and in subsequent conference with the bishops and other clergy discussed a new Liturgy or Service-book. He was strongly disposed to introduce the English Prayer-book and was supported by the junior bishops. Spottiswoode and his more experienced colleagues scented the danger of that course, but either objected without emphasis or were overruled. Charles intimated his determination to replace Knox's Liturgy by another and ordered the bishops to concern themselves in its production.

Meanwhile, on his return to England, Charles pressed his determination to augment the political authority of the episcopal bench and to harmonize the public worship of his two Churches. Edinburgh, the political capital, so far formed part of the See of St Andrews. It was seemly to assert its dignity. In September 1633, the district from the Forth to the Border was constituted a separate diocese under Bishop William Forbes, who had pleased Charles during his visit by a sermon in which he called for 'one liturgy, one catechism, one Confession of Faith' to unite the two Churches. A fortnight later, executing the

authority conferred by the recent Act, Charles directed the archbishops and bishops 'in all churches where they come in time of divine service or sermon [to] be in whites, that is, in a Rochet and sleeves, as they were at the time of our coronation; and especially whensoever they administer the Holy Communion or preach.' Inferior clergy were permitted to preach in Geneva black gowns, but were directed to wear white surplices 'when they read divine service, christen, bury, or administer the Sacrament.' At the same time, the English liturgy was directed to be used in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood and the University of St Andrews. The order could be enforced. The direction regarding apparel was provocative rather than effectual and accentuated the bitterness with which the king's policy was regarded by those he termed 'Puritans.' That he would not brook opposition Charles declared by making Lord Balmerino defendant in a trial prolonged from June 1634 to July 1635. He was charged with publishing a remonstrance against Charles' proceedings in Parliament and of stirring enmity between the king and his subjects by false statements. Only by eight votes against seven the jury returned a verdict of guilty, a sentence Charles did not venture to execute. Public interest was keenly exercised on Balmerino's behalf, and plans were projected for his rescue. His pardon failed to recover for Charles the popularity his commutation of the teinds had procured him and widened the breach with the nobility.

While Balmerino's trial was in progress, by acts of summary dictation Charles clove his way to the goal he had in view. In October 1634 he set up a new Court of High Commission with powers in excess of those conceded by his father, adequate to ensure the operation of 'novations' to be launched imminently. In the following spring he sanctioned a Book of 'Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical,' introduced into Scotland a year later (1636). It affirmed the royal authority over causes ecclesiastical, upheld the episcopal office, placed the Holy Table at the

east end of the church, enjoined kneeling at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, directed the adoption of a new Liturgy shortly to be issued and the use of the English Authorized Version of the Bible, and caused the utmost dissatisfaction, partly from its alleged Romish character and assimilation to the English Canons, partly from its coercion of the Kirk to adopt a Liturgy not yet issued, chiefly because it was imposed by the king's authority without reference to General Assembly or Parliament. In the following November order was made for the publication, use, and purchase of the forthcoming Book of Common Prayer; every Parish was directed to procure two copies of it before Easter 1637. A few weeks later (December 20, 1636) the Privy Council directed the order to be published in the principal burghs, expressing confidence that the Book would be received 'with suche reverence as apperteanneth.' In March 1637 a last injunction paved the way for the new Liturgy. It prohibited the use of the 'Old Psalms' of the Sternhold-Hopkins version, which had been in vogue since the Reformation and, in spite of Charles' order, survived till 1650, and substituted a metrical version by James VI and Sir William Alexander, at whose 'harsh and thrawen phrases, new coined and Court terms, poetical conceits, and heathenish liberty' extreme Presbyterian criticism cavilled with little justification.

In May 1637 the long threatened Service-book, styled 'Laud's Liturgy,' was issued by Robert Young, the King's Printer in Edinburgh, a squat folio of xvi + 134 pages. Plentifully illustrated with wood-cut capitals, its title ran: 'The Booke of Common Prayer, and Administration Of The Sacraments. And other parts of divine Service for the use of the Church of Scotland.' Along with it were issued 'The Psalter, or Psalmes of David: According To the last [authorized] Translation in King James his time. Pointed as they shall be said or sung throughout all the Churches of Scotland,' and also 'The Psalmes of King David: Translated by King Iames.' The Prayer-book contained Prefaces, Calendar and Lectionary, Forms of

Morning and Evening Prayer, Athanasian Creed, Litany and Special Prayers, Collects, Epistles and Gospels for use throughout the Year, the Communion Office, Order of Baptism (public and private), Order of Confirmation (with Catechism), Solemnization of Matrimony, Visitation and Communion of the Sick, Burial Office, Churching of Women, and Commination Service. The new Liturgy replaced Knox's *Book of Common Order*, which, superseding the English Prayer-book of Edward VI, had remained in constant use for nearly one hundred years. At the moment when Laud's Liturgy was imposed upon the Kirk its Sunday worship followed a uniform ritual: first, set prayers, followed sometimes by the Decalogue and Creed; large portions of the Psalter, followed by the 'Gloria'; chapters from the Old and New Testaments; the Sermon, preceded by a 'conceived' prayer and the Lord's Prayer, and concluded by a set prayer for special seasons from the Liturgy, a psalm, and the Benediction. A simpler Liturgy than the English, it allowed larger latitude to the minister and derived its sanction from ecclesiastical authority. Objections to the new one were not inspired by hostility to a Liturgy *quâ* Liturgy but by other considerations.

The provision of a new Prayer-book was mooted by the General Assembly which met at Burntisland in 1601. But James VI's succession to the English throne and his assault upon the Scottish establishment smothered a general inclination among the clergy to improve the Knoxian Liturgy, and left it to himself to pursue the suggestion after episcopacy had been restored. He recommended in 1616 to the Aberdeen Assembly 'That a liturgy be made, and form of divine service, which shall be read in every church, in common prayer, and before preaching every Sabbath, by the Reader, where there is one, and where there is none, by the Minister, before he conceive his own prayer, that the common people may learn it, and by custom serve God rightly.' Though the term 'liturgy' was new to Scottish use, the proposal was

adopted and the preparation of a new form of common prayer was committed to a body of ministers whose selection suggests that the existing form of public worship was generally admitted to be in need of revision. The Committee expeditiously completed its task, and by the end of the year, or early in 1617, 'Howat's Form of Prayer'—Peter Howat was convener of the Committee—was prepared. It made provision only for ordinary public worship; Knox's forms were retained for the Sacraments and Marriage. The Perth Assembly in 1618 remitted the draft to a new Committee for revision. But James' provocations alienated many who to this point favoured a revised Liturgy; the revision therefore was continued only by those disposed to submit to the royal policy. By the summer of 1619 it was so far completed that the King's Printer was authorized to set it up in type. Meanwhile, opposition to the Perth Articles grew in intensity. James obtained their approval by the Estates in 1621 only on his express promise that 'his Highness would never burden them with any more ceremonies during his lifetime.' For the moment, therefore, the progress of the new Liturgy was stayed.

The early years of Charles' reign were too occupied by foreign affairs and the growing hostility of English Puritanism to permit him to take up his father's project. Not until Laud was installed in the Privy Council and See of London did he revive it. 'We,' his *Large Declaration* explained, 'succeeding to our royal father, resolved to pursue that his pious and princely design for settling a public Liturgy in that our Kingdom of Scotland, it having been so happily achieved, facilitated, and almost perfected by him.' But Charles proposed that the new Liturgy should conform to that of England, and in 1629 instructed the Scottish bishops to apply themselves to effect his design. Better informed than the king upon the feeling of their people, they preferred a form of worship 'framed by their own clergy,' and towards the end of 1629 presented a draft substantially embodying the views of

the Kirk. It was a compromise between the Knox and English forms and was virtually a Presbyterian revision of the English Prayer-book. Charles rejected it as altogether bare and inadequate and, with Laud's approval, concluded to impose the English Liturgy as it stood. During his visit in 1633 he ordered Spottiswoode and his colleagues to 'go about the forming of it.' But the older bishops were now disposed to resent any change whatever, in view of the king's intention and his rejection of their considered draft. They found notable defects in the English Book, *e.g.* its use of the older translation of the Bible, and its lectionary's inclusion of Apocrypha Lessons. They feared, too, that acceptance of it would bring 'dishonour' upon Scotland by subjecting her Church to 'English laws and government.' Charles yielded to their opposition. To this point he had supported Laud's desire to impose the English Liturgy without alteration. But on his return to England, while he gave orders that the English Prayer-book should provisionally be used in the Chapel Royal, University of St Andrews, and bishops' 'oratories,' he directed the Scottish prelates to draw up forms of public worship 'as near that of England as might be' (May 1634). At the same time he indicated for their guidance minor alterations which he was prepared to accept. Written into an English Prayer-book they were submitted to the bishops, who found it impossible to confirm them. Submitting a draft Liturgy in 1635, they explained apologetically that 'they had done all that was possible.' Charles therefore called in Laud and directed him to give the bishops his 'best assistance.' In April 1636 the modifications of the English Liturgy which he was ready to make were approved by the king, who, in October 1636, sent his final instructions to Scotland, commanding the bishops to retain the English Catechism, lectionary, and form of Ordination of Ministers. In April 1637 the Liturgy issued from the press and in May was in circulation.

The 'Booke of Common Prayer,' so momentous in its history, was substantially the work of Laud. Only a

minority of the bishops favoured it and many of them most opposed to it did not see it before publication. Hence, one of their order wrote on the loose leaf of his copy:

Hic liber ad pacem paratus bella paravit.

A few alterations distinguished it from its English original, *e.g.* the substitution of 'presbyter' for 'priest,' and a slight concession regarding the use of the Apocrypha. But these emendations were counterbalanced by changes of a character to suggest the Book a revision of the English Prayer-book in a ritualistic direction, and that Scotland was to be made the *vile corpus* of an experiment which, if successful, would encourage an effort to restore Popery in England as well. The suspicion rested on ignorance, but found support in the fact that for the act of consecration the Scottish Book placed the minister at the Holy Table with his back to the people instead of at its north side; that the injunction to communicants abandoned the paragraph of the English Liturgy which defined the act as commemorative merely; and that the term 'Holy Table' was substituted for 'Table.' In typographical detail, too, the Book was reminiscent of the Missals of the old Church. It was printed partly in Gothic black letter, obsolete for nearly eighty years. It outraged Scottish suspicion of pictorial illustration in books of devotion by including pictorial capitals, though the latter were secular and innocent of innuendo. A contemporary styled the Liturgy a 'Popish-Inglish-Scottish-Masse-Service-Booke,' adding that it was 'much more Popish nor the Inglish Booke, and much less Protestant.' 'The whole people thinks Popery at the doors,' said a moderate observer. The Book came from England, was imposed by royal authority under penalty of outlawry, and had not been submitted to the approval of the Kirk. On every ground it was obnoxious.

Charles' insane provocation of a people disposed to be loyal was the act of a man who misread their character and spirit. From his English domicile Scotland's poverty and political backwardness were very apparent. Neither

earlier feudal confusion nor James' imposition of royal authority favoured constitutional growth, in which respect Scotland lagged centuries behind her neighbour. Her society was feudal, her nobility retained the jurisdictions and leadership which their order long since had lost in England. That they would head rebellion against their sovereign was a supposition negatived by his father's later experience. But Charles was chiefly at fault in his inability to realize the intensity of Scotland's ecclesiastical life, to which she devoted the concern England expended upon her constitutional liberties. Grudgingly she had acquiesced in James' assimilation of her Church to English discipline. But the reception of the Articles of Perth warned innovators that tampering with the forms of public worship would call the laity to a conflict upon which to this point they looked with relative indifference. Under Laud's fatal influence, and blind to the lessons of his father's experience, Charles proposed to subvert a ritual of worship sanctified by nearly a century's experience, to replace it by a Liturgy which ignorance would confound with Popish tendencies, and to impose it arbitrarily by royal authority, without reference to Parliament or Assembly. The consequence was an explosion of passion which, until it occurred, must have been deemed impossible.

The first reading of the Prayer-book was appointed for Sunday, July 23, 1637. The order was general, but interest centred on, and the fate of the Liturgy was decided by, its reception at Edinburgh. The Primate was present in St Giles', the new Bishop of Edinburgh was announced to preach, and the sermon was to be preceded by the new Order for Morning Prayer. That opposition was organized is alleged and probable. Serving women occupying stools in waiting for their mistresses were present in numbers and 'the devouter sex' are credited with the disturbance that arose when the Dean read the opening sentences. A later apologist confessed the instruments of a righteous cause humble and likened them to Balaam's ass,

miraculously gifted with sudden and inspired utterance. 'The Mass,' they shouted, 'is entered amongst us.' 'False thief,' said one to a devouter neighbour, 'dost thou say Mass at my ear?' A stool was flung with such precision at the quavering Dean that the 'devouter sex' were suspected to be youths in disguise. Legend fashioned a mythical Jenny Geddes, protagonist of the fray:

> Put the gown upon the bishop,
> That's his miller's due of knaveship;
> Jenny Geddes was the gossip
> Put the gown upon the bishop.

The Primate called on the magistrates, present in state, to clear the rioters from the church. The disorderly body, gathering outside, flung stones at the windows, amid the crash of which the service proceeded to its close. Robert Baillie, visiting Edinburgh next day, found the people 'possessed with a bloody devil far above anything that ever I could have imagined.' At Glasgow the introduction of the Liturgy was attended by disorder. Opposition to it was reported on every hand, and the Bishop of Brechin, on the Presbyterian frontier, read the service with pistols on his desk and his wife and servants armed for action.

The Privy Council met on July 24, arrested some of the rioters, encouraged the Edinburgh ministers to read the Liturgy in public, and required the magistrates to protect them. The clergy had little confidence in the efficacy of municipal protection and before another Sunday dawned Spottiswoode influenced the Council to determine that old and new Service-books alike should be suspended in Edinburgh until the king's pleasure was known. Charles, in reply, indignantly rated the bishops for abandoning their alleged offspring and insisted upon obedience to his commands. But meanwhile, following a distant precedent, Presbyterian feeling throughout the country asserted itself. By petitions or supplications Mary of Guise had been urged to recognize the national will. Similar petitions now poured in on the Privy Council from all

classes, parishes, and presbyteries against the 'fearful innovation' of the Liturgy and Canons. Their general note was sounded by Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, one of three Fifeshire ministers who disputed the king's warrant to enforce the Service-book by letters of horning, a process of outlawry. Henderson contended that the Liturgy 'in material points' drew near to the Church of Rome, was authorized neither by Assembly nor Parliament, and was an invasion of the people's right to determine their religion. Letters from the provinces revealed widespread sympathy with him, and proved that in few places the Prayer-book had been read. The Council, of whom the larger number were half hearted in its championship, made abject surrender. On August 24 they decided the obligation to use the Service-book to be confined 'allenarlie to the buying of the saids books and no further.' To Charles they excused themselves on the ground that beyond expectation they had been assailed by 'clamours and fears' from almost all parts and corners of the kingdom, and left it to his royal judgment to provide a remedy.

In September the young Duke of Lennox, whose kinship to the sovereign suggested him as an agreeable ambassador, journeyed to London burdened with sixty-eight petitions from as many groups of Supplicants, whose representatives thronged the capital and patiently awaited an answer. On October 17 it was published. It ordered all strangers to leave Edinburgh within twenty-four hours on pain of outlawry; directed the removal of the Court of Session to Linlithgow and thence to Dundee, a step which had been efficacious under James VI; and denounced a pamphlet widely circulated—Gillespie's 'Dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies obtruded on the Church of Scotland.' The answer lashed to fury a population which looked for sympathetic reply to a well-nigh universal demand. On the following day Edinburgh witnessed another riot. The Bishop of Galloway was hustled and besieged in the Council house; the magistrates were

coerced to promise co-operation with the Supplicants; and high officials of the State were assaulted.

The situation called for the formation of a Committee of Public Security which the Council, sitting at Linlithgow, permitted the Supplicants to form. The expense of prolonged attendance at Edinburgh suggested to their leaders the convenience of a small body charged to watch the situation while the rank and file returned to their homes. The Council acquiesced. Some were eager to disperse an inflammable and dangerous mob; others recognized in them a power which they could not control; not a few sympathized with a cause of which in the future they became associates. Conducting themselves as a Convention of the national Estates, the Supplicants occupied the Parliament House, and dividing into the four classes they represented—Nobles, county gentlemen, burghs, and clergy—sat in separate rooms at separate tables—hence 'The Tables'—and elected four representatives of each class, authorized to act for the general body, who now returned to their homes ready to return at a call.

The formation of the Tables produced a new situation. On December 21, 1637, the Council at Dalkeith received a General Supplication or Protestation which carried a note of menace. Abandoning a defensive attitude, it retaliated upon the bishops the charge of law-breaking, demanded their removal from the Council, on the plea that they could not be at once judges and defendants in the issue before the country, and disclaimed responsibility if its representations were disregarded. The situation was critical. In Aberdeen, alone among the principal burghs, the Supplicants were in a minority, and Charles was warned that an army of 40,000 would be needed to enforce the Liturgy. But the recent decision of the judges affirming the legality of Ship-money had strengthened his position and he was less than ever inclined to recede in Scotland. In February 1638 his answer was received and on the 19th of the month was published at Stirling, where the Council resided in preference to more distant Dundee.

Charles' reply prohibited petitions against the Service-book, declared it his princely care to 'beate out all superstition,' insisted that the Book could not be withdrawn, and that continued opposition to it would be held treasonable. The Tables instantly answered the herald's reading with a protest. They refused to accept the reply as the sovereign's, declared it the utterance of his Council, declined to obey that authority so long as the bishops sat in it, and demanded permission to lay their grievances at the king's feet. Hundreds of Supplicants assembled to acclaim the protestation. At Linlithgow and Edinburgh similar protests followed the proclamation. Nowhere a Cavalier party raised its head, and at Edinburgh Montrose was among the Protesters. The nation was seemingly unanimous, and in February 22 'all who love the cause of God' were bidden repair to Edinburgh to prosecute the 'intended Reformation' on which their leaders were set. Within a week rebellion was consecrated by a popular 'covenant with God.'

The Covenant of 1638, most fateful of Scottish documents, has been called 'the outcome of passion more than policy,' a perverse appreciation. The Covenant was a political manoeuvre shrewdly contrived to entice popular support on a false issue. Charles and his advisers were guilty of indefensible assault upon a religion agreeable to the large majority of his Scottish subjects. The Canons and Liturgy had been approved by no constitutional authority and were imposed from England. A strong and valid appeal to the nation could have been made upon these grounds, and without abandoning the Covenant's fiction of alliance with the Crown against alleged danger to King and Kirk. The framers of the Covenant deliberately rejected that procedure. They realized their inability to frame a positive programme to which all shades of Presbyterian opinion could assent, and were not ignorant that the cry 'No Popery' would rally their ranks to a degree no other method could afford. Without the concurrence of the moderates opposition to the king must

shrink to dimensions relatively negligible; a revived crusade against Rome would capture their support. In order to placate them further the Hildebrandine or Melvillian doctrine of lawful resistance was tacitly abandoned. Professing loyalty and alliance with him, the nation ranged itself against and fought the sovereign.

'Bands' or associations for mutual protection were familiar to Scottish experience, not unnecessary in a country where life and property had inadequate protection. To link the nation in such a Band was natural and convenient. But the terms of association were disingenuously selected. Nearly sixty years earlier, during the ascendancy of the first Duke of Lennox, Scotland had been moved to utter a Confession of Faith at a moment when her Protestantism stood in sore danger. The Catholic League was vigorous in France, Mary Stewart weaved plots in England, Philip II was straining to launch the Armada from Spain, Huntly and the Catholics were active in the North. Menaced on every hand, suspicious of the Protestantism of the sovereign, Scotland, both king and people, in 1581, signed the 'Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland,' denouncing Rome in violent terms, pledging its subscribers to renounce Papal doctrine, and to defend the Kirk according to their vocation and power. Sir Thomas Hope, Archibald Johnston of Warriston, and Alexander Henderson, shrewd leaders of the Supplicants and Tables in this crisis, concluded to revive that negative, violent document, whose resuscitation would suggest a recurrence of the earlier danger. However remote its phrases might appear from the circumstances it was resuscitated to challenge, none would dare refuse assent; it presented, indeed, such a dilemma as Loudoun found in the association of the Acts of 1606 and 1609 by the Parliament of 1633. It had, moreover, the recommendation of confronting Charles with a document which bore his father's signature. Additions were necessary to bring present events within its scope. By February 27 they were complete and were submitted to some three hundred

ministers whom the summons had brought to the capital. On the following day it was expounded to, and signed by, a gathering of nobles, lairds, and laymen in the Church of Grey Friars. On March 2, laid out upon a tombstone in the Kirk yard, it was signed by a thronging multitude. Copies were made and carried throughout the Lowlands. Almost everywhere it evoked passionate assent. Every shire, all the burghs except Aberdeen, St Andrews, and Crail, and every Protestant noble but five, gave it their signatures. The bishops, suddenly a Church invisible, fled or made 'solemn recantations.' 'All that we have been doing these thirty years,' said Spottiswoode bitterly and truly, 'is thrown down at once.'

The document to which the nation so unanimously pledged its assent, after rehearsing the Confession of 1581 and the Acts which confirmed it, brought recent events within the scope of its vehement disapprobation and concluded with an oath of mutual obligation to support the king in defence of 'true reformed religion.' 'Before God, His angels, and the world,' its signatories pledged themselves to defend 'the aforesaid true religion,' reject the 'novations' already introduced till Parliament and Assembly had 'tried and allowed' them, and 'by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel, as it was established and professed before the aforesaid novations.' Alleging that the innovations of which their Supplications and Protestations complained 'have no warrant of the Word of God, are contrary to the articles of the aforesaid Confessions, to the intention and meaning of the blessed reformers of religion in this land, to the above-written Acts of Parliament, and do sensibly tend to the re-establishing of the Popish religion and tyranny,' they concluded arbitrarily that the innovations now challenged were as much to be held Popish as though they had been specifically scheduled in the Confession itself. They insisted: 'we have no intention or desire to attempt anything that may turn to the diminution of the King's greatness and authority; but, on the contrary, we promise

and swear that we shall, to the utmost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread Sovereign, the King's Majesty, his person and authority, in the defence and preservation of the aforesaid true religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom.' As Christians who had 'renewed their Covenant with God' all were mutually bound to endeavour 'to be good examples to others of all godliness, soberness, and righteousness, and of every duty we owe to God and man,' to the end that 'religion and righteousness may flourish in the land, to the glory of God, the honour of our King, and peace and comfort of us all.'

The Covenant menaced the Crown's civil authority, and so Charles understood it. To yield would be an act of abdication. 'So long as this Covenant is in force,' he wrote to Hamilton, 'I have no more power in Scotland than as a duke of Venice, which I will rather die than suffer.' He suspected collusion between English and Scottish Puritanism and the finger of France active in the crisis which had so suddenly matured. But being without material means to coerce popular opinion, his immediate purpose was to gain time, to push his preparations before the Covenanters—the name now supplants Tables and Supplicants—were ready to strike. 'Any thing to win time,' was Hamilton's positive instruction. To this point the Privy Council had been the medium of Charles' commands. But the flight of the bishops left in it only the secular element on which he could least rely. To pursue a deliberate policy of delay he selected the Marquess of Hamilton, and dispatched him to Scotland in June 1638 as his High Commissioner, 'with power to settle all.' Closely akin to the royal house through his descent from James II, and, as heir of James VI's mother, the one to whom, if the Stewart line failed, the crown of Scotland would fall, he was qualified by position to act as the king's representative. He was in Charles' intimate confidence, and had scanty sympathy with the Covenant. 'Our countrymen,' he remarked, echoing Robert Baillie's

words, 'are possessed by the devil.' He brought to Scotland two forms of a declaration, one of which he was instructed to make public according to the situation which confronted him. One categorically demanded surrender of the Covenant, a condition, Spottiswoode warned the king, which would effectually close the door against negotiation. The other rated his subjects for disobedience, scouted their foolish suspicions of his inclination to Popish superstition, and assured them that neither now nor hereafter was it his intention to press the Canons or Service-book 'but in such a fair and legal way as shall satisfy all our loving subjects that we neither intend innovation on religion or laws.' Hamilton found a situation which made even the king's more conciliatory message inadvisable. Nothing short of the withdrawal of Canons, Liturgy, Perth Articles, Court of High Commission, and instant summons of an Assembly and Parliament would satisfy the Covenanters. Hamilton warned his master that he must prepare military force to answer his subjects' 'impertinent and damnable' demands.

After publishing the milder of the proclamations on July 4, Hamilton returned to England, having fulfilled his instructions to prevent the Covenanters from perpetrating 'public follies until I be ready to suppress them.' Charles' plans proposed to garrison Berwick and Carlisle, call out the trained bands of the northern counties for a summer campaign in 1639, and the simultaneous release of a fleet against Scottish ports. Early in August 1638 Hamilton returned to Edinburgh with concessions which, Charles was hopeful, would give his preparations time to mature. The Marquess was authorized to promise a Parliament and an Assembly exclusively clerical in which the bishops would take their place. Since his adversaries would not abandon the Covenant, Charles devised a substitute which, though more congruous to the crisis he had provoked, was little likely to commend itself to those it was designed to capture. The 'King's Covenant,' as it was known, was based on the original Confession of Faith of 1567, to

which was added a bond pledging its subscribers to defend the king's person and the laws and liberties of the country under his sovereign power. Outside Aberdeen it had little vogue and was at once amended. Nor was Hamilton successful in his efforts to divide the Covenanters by insinuating to the laity the inconveniences of clerical tyranny. His utmost success was to draw an undertaking not to institute unlawful elections to the promised Assembly till September 21. Meanwhile he returned to England to report his failure to break up the opposition. Four days before the appointed date he returned to Edinburgh charged to announce complete surrender. He was authorized to revoke the Service-book, Book of Canons, High Commission, discharge the practice of the Perth Articles if the Estates thought fit, convoke an Assembly on November 21 and the Estates on the following May 15. Charles, moreover, withdrew his Covenant of 1567, substituted that of 1581, omitting Warriston's additions, and added a clause pledging the subscribers to stand by the king in the suppression of Popery, promotion of 'true religion,' and generally to inculcate loyalty to the sovereign 'in all the countries and corners of the realm.' The new Covenant was held redundant or a snare and was generally disregarded. Aberdeen and its neighbourhood provided 12,000 signatures; only 16,000 were drawn from the rest of the kingdom.

The General Assembly had not met since that at Perth in 1618. In convoking a new one Charles intended to provide himself with such a manageable body as assisted his father. Episcopacy was the last thing he had in mind to abandon, and his intention to restrict the Assembly to clerical membership had been announced. The Tables, on the other hand, resolved to restore the Assembly in its fullest power, adopted the constitution prescribed by an Act of 1597, which allocated three ministers and one lay elder to each presbytery, one lay member to each burgh and two to Edinburgh. Under the supervision of the Tables means were taken to exclude all but whole-hearted

subscribers of the Covenant. The bishops urged prohibition of the Assembly before it met, a course Hamilton sensibly deprecated; had it been followed Charles' sincerity in summoning the Assembly would at once be questioned. But its constitution forbade him to tolerate it, while a charge against the bishops, of over-stepping the bounds of their authority, sustained by the Edinburgh Presbytery on October 24 and referred to the Assembly, added another reason for his eventual rejection of a body whose 'faults and nullities' he bitterly assailed.

On November 21, 1638, the Assembly was opened in Glasgow Cathedral, the only one of the great fanes of the ancient Church spared by the Knoxian fury. Two hundred and thirty-eight members, of whom ninety-eight were laymen, were seated in the chancel of the church, the noblemen and barons at a table on the floor, the clerical members in tiers on either side, an unruly crowd of onlookers in the side aisles, 'a great and confused multitude, and, I will add, a most ignorant one,' Hamilton, who attended as High Commissioner, reported to his master. Baillie as severely condemned the demeanour of the members, their din and clamour, and opined that his countrymen might learn 'modesty and manners' from Canterbury or Rome, and even from Turks and pagans. Alexander Henderson having been elected Moderator, and the Covenant's author, Johnston of Warriston, Clerk, days were exhausted in the verification of elections and rejection of protestations against lay membership. On November 27 the Assembly was regularly constituted. On the 28th a document signed by both archbishops and four bishops was read challenging the authority of the Assembly, a Declinator which touched the vital point at issue. The Moderator moved the Assembly's competence to submit them to its judgment. Before the question was answered Hamilton intervened. He rehearsed the concessions made by the king, and declared his willingness to subject the bishops to satisfactorily constituted Assemblies. The present one he refused to recognize;

laymen had had a hand in electing it and were members of it, and it proposed to challenge the validity of the episcopal office. He therefore declared it dissolved and ordered its members to leave Glasgow within twenty-four hours. Upon his departure, by a great majority, the Assembly voted its competence to continue, and for three weeks remained in session. When it rose on December 20, it had swept away the Service-book, Canons, and Articles of Perth, deposed and excommunicated the bishops, annulled the legislative enactments by which Charles and his father had established episcopacy, and restored the Kirk to its original Presbyterian constitution. 'We have now cast down the walls of Jericho,' said the Moderator in his closing address. They had also brought two kingdoms to the brink of revolution and civil war. With some lack of humour the Assembly parted after singing Psalm cxxxiii in the condemned Sternhold-Hopkins version:

> O how happy a thing it is,
> and joyfull for to see,
> Brethren together fast to hold
> the hand of amitie.

The issue passed to the field of war. From Charles' standpoint the Covenant not merely challenged his authority in Scotland. It threatened to stimulate Puritan resistance in England and, at the same time, support Richelieu's opposition to his Continental policy, which aimed at restoring his nephew to the dignities his father the Palatine's folly had forfeited. Early in January 1639 Sir Jacob Astley, a veteran from the Continental wars, was sent to muster the trained bands of the North. A month later a levy of 7000 horse and foot was ordered, while an additional force of 5000 was assembled on shipboard under Hamilton to be landed at Aberdeen in support of Huntly.

While Charles' preparations matured deliberately, his opponents carried out plans carefully prepared. Whatever their professions, they were ranged against constitutional authority and therefore needed to improvise an army and

a revenue. Eight collectors had been appointed in every shire to raise a 'voluntary' contribution calculated at one dollar for every thousand marks of free-rent. With the arbitrariness which distinguished both sides it was proposed, if necessary, to confiscate the means of those who refused the Covenant, as persons lawfully liable to support the champions of that document who put their lands and lives in jeopardy. The creation of a military organization was undertaken by a committee of laymen at Edinburgh superintending the local activities of parochial committees in every shire and presbytery. The provision of experienced officers was not difficult, though for nearly one hundred years Scotland had enjoyed peace. Seeking elsewhere outlet for their virility, her sons flocked to the wars of religion which decimated Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century, and swarmed in the armies of Holland, Sweden, Denmark, France, and distant Russia. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden alone employed 10,000 of them, one-third of the strength Scotland was able to put into the field during the Civil Wars. At least one hundred Scotsmen held Swedish commissions in 1632, one of whom, Alexander Leslie—illegitimate son of the Aberdeenshire Leslies of Balquhain—attained to the rank of Field-Marshal and the direction of the Swedish armies after Gustavus' death in that year. In the summer of 1638 he came home to 'settle himself,' 'an old little crooked soldier' of sixty years, not brilliant, but tactful and experienced. His opportune arrival met the difficulty of selecting from the Covenanting lords one to receive the command, and while he never showed himself a commanding figure, his shrewdness and authority inclined them to be guided by him 'as if he had been great Solyman.'

In March 1639 hostilities opened in the north. On the last day of the month Leslie and Montrose entered Aberdeen, under flags bearing the legend 'For Religion, the Covenant, and the Country.' The rank and file wore a blue scarf across the breast and under the left arm called 'the Covenanter's ribbon,' Montrose's device to answer

the royal red rosette Huntly and his men sported in their hats. Enticed to Aberdeen by Montrose, Huntly was scurvily arrested and put under lock and key in Edinburgh Castle. His allies, remaining defiant, fell upon their Covenanting neighbours at Turriff on May 14 and drove them from the place. The Trot of Turriff, the first skirmish in the Civil War, was followed by the Gordons' occupation of Aberdeen, whence before the end of the month they were driven by Montrose and the Earl Marischal. Meanwhile in the south affairs prospered for the Covenant. In March the strong castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton were seized. By May a force of 20,000 men was mobilized and Leslie was formally commissioned (May 9) to command it 'for the defence of the Covenant, for religion, crown, and country.'

Hamilton's arrival in the Forth on May 1—his diversion from Aberdeen being caused by Huntly's collapse—was the first overt sign of Charles' intention to oppose force with force. But the marquess's ill-disciplined and seasick troops, causing momentary alarm, were not permitted to draw Leslie from the Borders, to which Charles was slowly approaching with an army of inferior quality some 21,000 strong. Hesitating between negotiation and war, on May 14, from Newcastle, he issued a proclamation of his intention 'to give his good people of Scotland all just satisfaction in Parliament, as soon as the present disorders and tumultuous proceedings of some are quieted,' expressed his apprehension of their design, 'contrary to their professions, to invade England,' and required them to withdraw their forces ten miles from the Border under pain of punishment as 'rebels and invaders.' On the 30th of the month he encamped near Berwick. On June 5 Leslie established himself on Duns Law, some twelve miles distant, ready to negotiate, if peaceful counsels prevailed, or to be 'on their backs' if his enemy advanced upon Edinburgh.

With the royal standard fluttering almost within sight of their lines, the Covenanting leaders were moved

seriously to ponder the situation in which the king's neighbourhood placed them. Baillie, who was present in the army, frankly discloses their apprehensions. The dangers of an encounter could not be overlooked. Their success seemed probable; but a rout of the royal army carried consequences as disastrous as their own defeat in the concern it was likely to rouse in Scotland and the desire for 'revenge' it must excite in England. Moreover, many 'of the best note' in the Scottish camp were 'scrupulous in conscience to go into England,' whose bordering shires had been so exhausted to supply the king's commissariat that 'few nights' meat' could be looked for from them. That England would view invasion of her soil with unfriendly eyes was certain, and Flodden, Solway Moss and Pinkie were not forgotten. On his side Charles was little disposed to put his fortunes to the hazard of a dubious encounter. Wentworth was busy in Ireland and prolific in promise of an army if the king could 'spin out this summer.' Hamilton, joining his master, reported the unpromising situation in Scotland. Disinclination among the English ranks to fight in a cause which failed to elicit their enthusiasm, and the depletion of a treasury which the City was indisposed to fill, clinched the king's inclination to parley. On June 11, upon the overture of the Covenanting leaders, a conference was held in the English camp near Berwick. A week later terms were agreed. The Scots undertook to disband their forces within forty-eight hours, dissolve the Tables and other illegal organizations, deliver the royal castles, and carry themselves 'like humble, loyal, and obedient subjects.' Charles bound himself to withdraw his army, convene a General Assembly and Parliament in August, and though unable to assent to the competence of the Glasgow Assembly, accepted the principle that matters civil and ecclesiastical should in future be determined in Parliaments and Assemblies respectively.

The Pacification of Berwick brought the First Bishops' War to an inconclusive end. Charles had not undertaken

to abandon episcopacy, and nothing less would satisfy his opponents. When proclamation of the promised Assembly was made at Edinburgh a fortnight after the Treaty (July 1, 1639) it was found that the prelates whom the Glasgow Assembly had disestablished were summoned to attend. A riot ensued. Traquair, who replaced Hamilton as High Commissioner, was attacked in his coach and roughly handled. On his side Charles complained that the Tables were not dissolved, the army not completely disbanded, and that Leslie retained his commission. An invitation to a number of Covenanting lords to meet him at Berwick on July 16 was so sparsely obeyed, and his interview with those who attended so stormy, that Charles abandoned his intention to attend the forthcoming Parliament and returned to London. It could not be thought reasonable, he asserted, that he should trust himself to persons who so obviously mistrusted him. Lack of confidence in the honest purpose of their adversary was common to both sides.

The Assembly met on August 12. As at Glasgow, care had been taken to procure the attendance of uncompromising Covenanters. Once again, episcopacy and the other innovations of Charles and his father were condemned as alien to the constitution of the Church of Scotland. But courtesy was so far extended to the king that episcopacy and the discarded ceremonies were not abused as Popish. The Presbyterian discipline was affirmed, and episcopacy in such general disgrace that a visitor found the name 'grown so contemptible that a black dog, if he hath any white marks about him, is called Bishop.' In the flush of victory, the Assembly demanded that the Covenant should be made compulsory on all, an act as tyrannous as the power challenged in the Crown, and as ill-judged. It destroyed the unity which to this point confronted Charles and, with other causes, prompted the defection of the nobles from the popular cause. To this as to other measures Charles gave his assent, but with a determination, as he expressed himself to Spottiswoode, 'not to leave thinking

in time how to remedy' acts so prejudicial to the Church and his own authority. The Estates met on the day after the Assembly rose in a session short and acrimonious. Charles was willing to pronounce episcopacy contrary to the constitution of the Scottish Church, but refused to declare it unlawful in itself or to cancel Acts of Parliament confirming the proceedings of the alleged 'corrupt' Assemblies from 1606 to 1618, which, as he wrote for Traquair's private information, 'may hereafter be of so great use to us.' Patently he awaited opportunity to reimpose a system of Church government which the interests of the Crown required, a task which would be easier if Acts favouring episcopacy were permitted to remain on the Statute Book. Amid loud protests Traquair dissolved Parliament and appointed June 2, 1640, for its next meeting.

Before the Estates reassembled, pretence of amity was abandoned on both sides and preparations were in train for another appeal to arms. In May 1639, Montrose, Leslie, Loudoun and others instructed an agent to solicit the countenance of France and other Continental States, and in February 1640 dispatched him to Paris to invite mediation in the name of the Ancient League. The original letter, coming into Charles' possession, providentially supported his contention that the Covenant cloaked treasonable and secular designs. Loudoun was committed to prison. Parliament was summoned to receive the evidence of Scottish disloyalty and, Charles hoped, vote adequate supplies for its punishment. On April 13, 1640, the Short Parliament met for a session of three weeks. It refused to accept Charles' denunciation of Scottish treasons, refused him the subsidies he asked for, almost openly asserted the Scottish cause to be its own, and but for sudden dissolution (May 5) would have urged the king to satisfy his Scottish subjects. Fully apprised of the king's intentions, and disregarding his positive inhibition, the Estates assembled a month later (June 2). In a mood of defiance they made the Covenant compulsory on all

citizens under civil penalties, passed an Act establishing triennial Parliaments, and appointed a permanent Committee of Estates to act when Parliament was not sitting. Already (April 17) Leslie's commission had been renewed, a war fund raised, and experienced officers set to drill the shire levies. The Commander-in-chief's commission defended an appeal to arms on the allegation of Charles' 'full determination of the subduing, killing, and destroying of this land and nation without showing any just ground or reason of quarrel.' The Estates confirmed it on June 9 and Scotland's military preparations were complete. A force not less numerous and better equipped than that of 1639 was provided. Argyll was charged to watch the western coasts against invasion from Ireland, and the Earl Marischal was appointed to deal with the loyalists of the north about Aberdeen.

The campaign upon which Scotland was ready to embark differed in character but not in result from its predecessor. In 1639 Leslie was content to await Charles' arrival. In August 1640 he boldly plunged into England and for a year remained in occupation of one of its most wealthy districts. Such a step hardly could have been taken had not those who authorized it known that it would be welcomed. Informal negotiations had passed between the two oppositions, and while the English leaders were agreeable to the advent of an army which could effectually be employed to gain their own ends, the Covenanters, with native shrewdness, were not unwilling to lay on broader shoulders the considerable expense of armaments raised for their own purposes. Their maintenance, writes Baillie, 'was founded on the tenth penny of our estates, and hopes from England; the first came but slowly in; from England there was no expectation of monies till we went to fetch them.' The boldness of the design gave it success. It forced the summoning of the Long Parliament, transferred the struggle for the Covenant from Edinburgh to London, converted a Scottish into an Anglo-Scottish question, and laid the burden of the army

upon the ally who paid for it and the English counties that provisioned it.

On August 20, 1640, Leslie sent his army across the Tweed. Charles left London on the same day for the north, where Leslie's action had been foreseen. Lord Conway, in command, had at his disposal forces inadequate to hold Newcastle and the fords of Tyne against an army which, he reputed, was like to 'eat and fight devilishly.' Leslie marched unchecked through Northumberland, forced the Tyne at Newburn on August 28, and put Conway to 'the most shameful and confounding flight that was ever heard of,' in Clarendon's severe words. Conway rode helter-skelter to meet Wentworth in the rear at Darlington. Newcastle opened its gates on Sunday August 30, and the brief campaign was at an end.

Charles was at York with an army whose numbers justified a stroke against the invader. But it was badly furnished and its leaders were unreliable. Between the Covenanters and their English sympathizers agreement existed to accompany Leslie's advance by an English petition to the sovereign praying for a Parliament. On August 28, the day of Newburn fight, a body of peers addressed it to Charles at York, adding their wish that negotiations should be opened with the Scots, to the end that the kingdoms might stand united 'against the common enemy of their reformed religion.' A supplication from the Scottish camp, now advanced to Durham, seconded the petition and begged that their grievances might be redressed with the advice of the English Parliament. Vainly seeking a line of compromise, Charles summoned a Council of Peers to York at the end of September. But the demand for a Parliament was general and he bowed to the necessity. Meanwhile he invited counsel upon his attitude towards the invader and hoped for a reply which would justify a demand for liberality and support from Parliament. To his annoyance the peers urged an accommodation and named sixteen of their number, all of whom had been in communication

with the Covenanting leaders or were well-wishers, to negotiate with them. Early in October representatives of both nations met at Ripon to arrange terms between the king and his native subjects. After long and uneasy debate a cessation of arms was agreed to. The Scots demanded £850 a day for the maintenance of their army on English soil pending solution of the questions which had brought them into England. Charles, whose exchequer was empty, was forced to concede the condition, and the larger controversy was withdrawn to London, where, on November 3, the Long Parliament met.

The Ripon bargain made the Scottish army the stipendiary of an alien employer. The compact was between Scottish leaders and an English party willing to impose the cost, inconvenience, and indignity of foreign occupation upon English purses and honour in order to coerce the king and secure their particular ends. 'No fear of raising the Parliament so long as the lads about Newcastle sit still,' Baillie observed shrewdly. While he rested under the menace of a Scottish advance into the Midlands Charles was at the mercy of opponents determined not to abate their advantage until the chief agents of his tyranny, Wentworth and Laud, had met their doom or were like to receive it. The Scots in Northumberland and the Bishoprick supported Pym's assault upon Stewart autocracy. Wentworth (Strafford) was impeached and committed to the Tower. The Puritan victims of the Star Chamber were enlarged from their prisons. Laud took their place, and Alexander Henderson and his fellows in London watched with fervid interest a London petition advocating the 'root and branch' eradication of episcopacy. On May 27, immediately after Strafford's execution, a Bill was introduced in that sense and sorely divided the members, few of whom were prepared to hold the office of bishop contrary to the Word of God, and fewer still favourable to Scotland's Presbyterian polity. The Bill, acrimoniously debated, never emerged from Committee.

Coincidently the Scottish Commissioners of the Estates in London were pressing matters in which they were directly concerned. Nominally their negotiations were with the Crown. Actually the discussions interrupted at Ripon were taken up by the English Parliament, and were continued to Charles' exclusion. While Parliament pursued Strafford and Laud and other instruments of royal tyranny, it was natural that the Scots should invite a similar procedure. They demanded that his advisers during the recent troubles, and notably Traquair, should be called for trial at the bar of the Estates. Charles gave a categorical refusal and maintained it: the utmost he conceded was that he would not give position or favour to persons whom the Estates might condemn. He counted, not without reason, on a division in the ranks of his enemies so soon as Parliament was faced with the cost of 'brotherly assistance.' On January 12, 1641, it was presented. The Scots reckoned their charges at £785,628 sterling down to the Treaty of Ripon. Of that sum they were willing to write off £271,500. There remained £514,128, in regard to which they offered to bear such a proportion 'as the Parliament should find reasonable or us able.' More urgent were the expenses the army was still incurring. At £850 a day they already amounted to over £80,000. Even to their well-wishers a proposal to saddle England with two-thirds of the charges of an army raised to pursue their own quarrel was bold, and an Englishman who supported their demand confessed that the 'vast proportion startled [him] to think what a dishonour had fallen upon this great and ancient nation.' In pressing their demand the Scottish leaders were fully informed of Parliament's inability to refuse it. In spite of complainings from the English forces still on foot in the north, and a cloudy political situation which tied the purses of the city capitalists, a sum of £300,000 was voted as a Brotherly Assistance, apart from the debt the Ripon agreement was steadily augmenting.

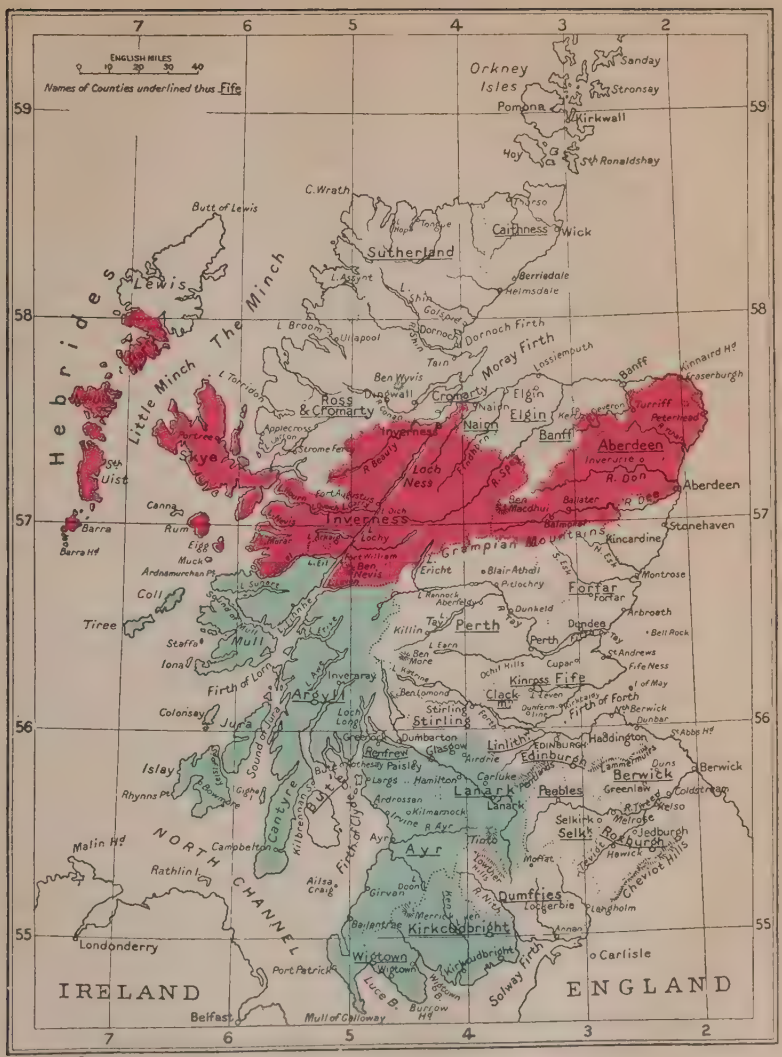
With satisfaction Charles noted signs of ill-feeling

between his English and Scottish adversaries. Hardly had the Brotherly Assistance been voted before the Scottish Commissioners, encouraged by the 'root and branch' Bill, directed Alexander Henderson to frame and circulate a Declaration urging the abolition of episcopacy in England. Henderson's paper, the Commissioners themselves admitted, 'offended many in the Parliament, even some that are not friends of Episcopacy.' The idea of a reformation wrought in England by the Scottish sword was displeasing, though Strafford and Laud were already in prison on the same sanction. A courteous answer was returned whose sympathetic acknowledgment of 'the affection of their brethren in Scotland' covered very vigorous dissent from the proposal. Nor were the two nations brought to the same standpoint upon a proposal, made by Scotland, of free commercial intercourse, nor upon a proposition that war should never be declared between the two kingdoms except with the consent of their Parliaments.

Encouraged by these circumstances, Charles, after Strafford's death in May 1641, let it be known that he intended to visit Scotland so soon as the obligations to her army had been discharged. In Scotland by judicious concessions he might discover resources which would permit him to defy the forces that pressed him so relentlessly at Westminster. Moreover from Scotland he received heartening encouragement. The Bishops' Wars had brought upon the stage two characters whose dispositions and characters differed as much as their fates were the same. Argyll, first marquess of his house, had made his confession of faith to the Glasgow Assembly and by temper and ambition was in tune with the party that hailed him as its chief. Montrose, his junior by fourteen years, also had sworn the Covenant and led its armies. But the proceedings at Westminster opened his eyes to the dangerous tyranny which he had given his sword to establish. In Scotland the Crown had abdicated to the Kirk's noisy ministers and their secular backers. In England it was as humiliatingly debased. Sovereign

power, he concluded and explained to Charles, must reside in every state. In Scotland it should be entrusted to the Crown, otherwise the public weal would be subordinated to the ambitions of an aristocracy which had not yet learnt the lesson of patriotism, or to a democracy controlled by the pulpit. He urged his master to show himself in Scotland, preside at the promised Parliament, abandon his injudicious assault upon his subjects' religion and confirm their just liberties. Their hearts would be his and his throne again secure. In England also reaction already swung in the king's favour. The priggishness of Puritanism already offended those whom it ruled from Westminster. The Scottish occupation of the northern counties was resented and irritating, and the pressure of taxation was heavy. Already, too, the threatened substitution of Parliamentary for royal autocracy excited disquiet.

In spite of advice and entreaty, therefore, Charles stood by his determination to appeal to the loyalty of his Scottish subjects. On August 10, 1641, he appeared at Westminster for the last time, ratified the Treaty with Scotland which assured to her payment of her Brotherly Assistance and expenses of occupation, and set forth upon his journey to the north. Three days later he reviewed at Newcastle the army to whose presence on English soil he owed his discomfiture. It followed him towards the Tweed, and on August 27, anniversary of the eve of Newburn fight, disbanded at Leith. At the cost of a few shot and a single skirmish it had carried a revolution in two kingdoms.



Camb. Univ. Press

Shires mainly Covenanting coloured ...

" " Royalist coloured.....

In other Shires the two parties were mixed in various proportions.

Map showing the division of Covenanters and Royalists from 1644.

CHAPTER XX

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE

CHARLES' visit to Scotland in August 1641, projected before the conclusion of the Treaty of Ripon, was adventured in hope to confound his English opponents by means of the very army which had facilitated their triumph, a force whose efficiency he reviewed appreciatively at Newcastle as he rode northward. That Leslie's disciplined regiments might be placed at his service was not an extravagant assumption. Scotland's 'brotherly assistance' kindled little gratitude and less affection in those on whom it was expended. Her occupation of northern England irritated its inhabitants and offended a wider public unreconciled to what appeared to be impertinent and unsolicited invasion. The adjustment of the financial relations of the allies had not run smoothly or to the satisfaction of either; while Scotland's intrusive insistence on England's adoption of Presbyterian discipline was frankly disagreeable to those on whom it was pressed. Pride in her royal house caused Scotland to remark with some dismay the proceedings at Westminster her army's presence facilitated. She herself was intent only to preserve religion in purity and her accustomed liberties in peace. But in England the monarchy itself was menaced. 'Yee are not lyk a trie lately planted, which oweth the fall to the first wind,' Montrose wrote to Charles in 1641. 'Your ancesters have governed there, without interruption of race, 2000 years, or thereabout, and taken such deep roote as it can never be plucked up by any but yourselves.' A kingdom where sentiments so loyal found expression promised a fair haven to a sovereign sore buffeted. Charles set his course for Scotland hopefully.

Many causes were at work in Scotland to shake the

Covenant's hitherto united ranks. Charles' humiliation evoked sympathy and recalled the nobility to their feudal loyalty. The dictation of the Kirk and its ministers was not agreeable to an aristocracy, one of whose members aptly phrased a general sentiment of repugnance: 'If this be what you call liberty, God send me the old slavery again.' But the principal source of division and defection was an Act of Privy Council making subscription to the Covenant compulsory upon the entire nation, an ill-judged, intolerant order prompted by the Assembly of 1639 and enforced throughout 1640 by military discipline upon Aberdeen, the Highlands, and other reluctant localities. It convicted the dominant party of the very fault of which they impeached the king. Had not rebellion impeded Charles in England, the forces rallying to his side might have given him victory over the Covenant in his ancient kingdom.

Pre-eminent among these recruits was Montrose. It is a superficial or biassed judgment that pronounces him a turncoat, alleging jealousy of Argyll and Leslie the motive of his conversion to Charles' service. Few men have left more convincing evidences of the motives that swayed their conduct, and in no particular do they contradict their writer's proud utterance to his accusers in July 1641: 'My resolution is to carry along with me fidelity and honour to the grave.' Montrose's political creed is stated unflinchingly in a memorandum of force and distinction addressed by him to a correspondent in 1640, at a moment when Argyll and the Kirk were masters of Scotland, when Strafford's head had fallen and the prerogatives of monarchy were passing in England to a determined band of Puritans at Westminster. Facing that outlook, Montrose penned his philosophical reflexions: 'Civil societys (soe pleasing to Almighty God) cannot subsist without government, nor government without a Soveraigne Power, to force obedience to lawes and just command, to dispose and direct private endeavours to public ends, and to unite and incorporate the several

members into one body politick, that with joint endeavours and abilitys they may the better advance the public good. This Soverainty is a power over the People, above which power there is none upon earth, whose acts cannot be rescinded by any other, instituted by God for his glory, and the temporall and eternall happiness of men—the truest image and representation of the power of Almighty God upon earth—not to be bounded, disputed, medled with at all by subjects, who can never handle it, though never soe warrily, but it is thereby wounded, and the publick peace disturbed.' Not more uncompromisingly had James VI affirmed the divinity of his office. In the light of these principles, Montrose observed the situation around him: 'Noblemen and gentlemen of good quality, what do you mean? Will you teach the People to put down the Lords Anointed, and lay violent hands on his authority, to whom both you and they owe subjection and assistance with your goods, lives, and fortunes, by all the laws of God and man? Do ye think to stand and domineer over the People, in an aristocratick way, who owe you small or no obligation? If their first act be against kingly power, their next will be against you; for if the People be of a fierce nature, they will cut your throats, as the Switzers did; if mild, you shall be contemptible, as some of ancient houses are in Holland—their very burgomaster is the better man; your honnours, life, fortunes stand at the discretion of a seditious preacher.' Scotland, as Montrose pictured it, invited to desert the traditions of legitimate monarchy rooted in centuries of practice, was being misled by ambitious noblemen, among whom he counted Argyll the ready tool of his abettors, and hot-headed preachers, whom he liked as little as the bishops in the councils of the State. 'You great men,' he asks, 'who aim so high as the crown, do you think we are so far degenerate from the virtue, valour, and fidelity to our true and lawful Sovereign, so constantly entertained by our ancestors, as to suffer you, with all your policy, to reign over us? Take heed you be not Æsop's dog, and lose

the cheese for the shadow in the well. And thou seditious preacher, who studies to put the sovereignty in the people's hands for thy own ambitious ends, as being able, by thy wicked eloquence and hypocrisy, to infuse into them what thou pleases, know this, that this People is more incapable of soveraignty than any other known.'

Montrose's opposition to Argyll's courses was declared in June 1640 when, in Parliament, he controverted arguments advanced to justify summons of a Convention without the king's authority. The disagreement did not sever his Covenanting oath; but he watched Argyll closely, defeated a proposal to establish him as dictator north of the Forth, and before entering England under Leslie's command, in August 1640, subscribed a 'band' with eighteen other nobles at Cumbernauld, the Earl of Wigtown's seat, designed to counteract Argyll's middle-class, pulpit-ridden rule. Alleging that 'by the particular and indirect practicking of a few' the country and the 'Cause now depending' were put in jeopardy, Montrose and his fellow signatories bound themselves to act 'in so far as may consist with the good and weal of the Public.' The 'damnable band,' Robert Baillie characterized it, was no sooner concluded than Montrose joined the army on the Border, was first across the Tweed, a distinction which fell to him by lot, and before the end of the month Conway's rout at Newburn declared Charles' cause undone. While Argyll and his colleagues joined the Puritan peers in denunciation of the king's policy and demanded the punishment of the principal 'incendiaries,' Strafford, Laud, Traquair, and Hamilton, Montrose chose the moment to assure Charles of his loyalty, a communication denounced by the Committee, whose members for some time had found his 'meaning very doubtsome.' His paper on Sovereignty, already quoted, explains his approach to the king's standpoint. Suspicion of him in the Covenant's ranks was intensified by one of its signatories' revelation of the Cumbernauld Band in November 1640. The disclosure exposed the existence of a party of 'Plotters' or

'Banders,' so they were termed, aloof from the dominant faction, a body whose views found expression in a remarkable letter addressed by their chief, Montrose, to Charles early in 1641. Scotland, he wrote, was 'in a mighty distemper.' It was incumbent on the sovereign to probe the disease, remove the cause, and prevent the infection of other dominions of the Crown. The exciting cause was 'a fear and apprehension of changes in religion, and that superstitious worship shal be broght in upon it, and therwith all there Lawes infringed and there Liberties invaded.' No other intention moved Scotsmen than to avert these menaces. To represent them as eager to overthrow the throne was a calumny; if any entertained the thought, 'certainly they will prove as vague as they ar wicked.' But Charles' presence was imperative: 'Now is the proper tyme of cure and the critical dayes; for the people love change and expect from it much good, a new heaven and a new earth; but being disapoynted, are as desirous of re-change to the former estate.' Montrose urged Charles to satisfy his subjects 'in poynt of Religion and Liberties,' adjured him to 'ayme not at absolutness,' to 'harken not to Rehoboam's conselers,' to practise the 'temperat government,' and to set in authority 'men of known integrity and sufficiency.' He concluded: 'So shall your Majesty secure your authority for the present, and setle it for the future tyme; your journey shal be prosperous, your return glorious.'

Montrose's letter weighed heavily in Charles' decision to seek in Scotland allies against England's Parliament. But when he entered Edinburgh on August 14, Montrose was under ward in the castle. His relations with Argyll had prematurely reached a crisis; the indiscretions of a confidant had revealed the grounds upon which he proposed to prefer a charge of treason against the Covenanting leader in the forthcoming Parliament. Already the revelation of the Cumbernauld Band roused angry calls for Montrose's death among the preachers and other fiery spirits. The Committee investigated the matter, caused the Band to

be destroyed, and extracted from Montrose a sort of recantation. In May 1641 he was more perilously involved, charged with accusing Argyll of intention to accomplish the king's deposition, a charge which broke down on the failure of Montrose's principal witness to substantiate it. A counter-charge of conspiring against the public weal was preferred against Montrose who, with his chief associates, was imprisoned (June 1641). He protested his innocence, and an eager search of his houses and papers brought to light no documents more incriminating than love letters of his earlier youth 'flowered with Arcadian compliments.' He was not enlarged until the termination of Charles' visit.

Charles' deportment showed him resolved to follow Montrose's counsel; the futility of conciliation was not immediately evident. He submitted to Alexander Henderson's pulpit exhortation, demanded neither liturgy nor 'ceremonies,' and humbly accepted reproof of his neglect of afternoon prayers: 'he promised not to do so again.' To the Estates, assembled for the first time in the new Parliament House, he declared his resolve 'to perfect whatsoever I have promised, and withal to quiet those distractions which have and may fall out amongst you; and this I mind not superficially, but cheerfully to do; for I assure you that I can do nothing with more cheerfulness than to give my people content and general satisfaction.' He dismissed the happenings of the past four years as 'unhappy mistakings,' 'unlucky differences,' and pleaded for goodwill. Lord Balfour, the President, offered 'a pretty speech' of welcome, and Argyll, following in agreeable mood, deftly compared his sovereign to a skilful pilot who had brought his bark to safe anchorage after jettisoning 'some of the naughtiest baggage to lighten her,' a reference to the 'Plotters' which Charles rather remarked than approved. Meanwhile he was impatient to obliterate the past. The chief cause of the late war had been his failure to ratify the Acts of 1639 against Episcopacy. More than thirty measures awaited

the touch of his sceptre and his eagerness to confirm them even chafed at the forms of Parliamentary procedure. He was in high spirits and confident; enjoying the situation the more because he was attended, and nervously observed, by representatives of both English Houses of Parliament, Hampden among them.

But the prospect was quickly clouded. On August 27, 1641, the anniversary eve of Newburn, Leslie's army was disbanded on the Links of Leith, only three regiments being kept on foot from those which had been quartered in Scotland. Charles' disappointment was keen; the hope of Scotland's active assistance faded, and the futility of the concessions he had made was apparent and disagreeable. Argyll's attitude was equally disheartening. He concluded that concessions extorted from the king were of no permanent value while the executive offices of State, Privy Council and Court of Session, were in his gift. The surrender of his prerogative of appointment and an undertaking that Councillors and Judges should be appointed by the Crown 'with the advice of the Estates' had been suggested at Ripon and was now demanded in Parliament. With reluctance and after 'tough dispute' Charles gave way. Argyll pushed his advantage. The principal offices of State were the Chancellorship and Treasurership. Loudoun's nomination as Chancellor was not contested; his devotion to the Covenant was notorious. The filling of the Treasurership brought Argyll and the king into direct conflict. A majority of the Estates would have welcomed Argyll's nomination. He had the nation at his back and was strong in the support of the country lairds and municipal burgesses. But Parliament contained a minority who shared Montrose's distrust of the earl and feared an increase of his already dominating influence. Associating himself with the objectors, Charles nominated the Earl of Morton, a strong royalist, Argyll's father-in-law. Argyll challenged the appointment on the ground of Morton's insolvency. Morton retaliated that Argyll owed to him his upbringing and present eminence, and

both indulged the Estates with an unseemly brawl. But Argyll prevailed; Morton withdrew his claims. Charles substituted Lord Almond, one of the signatories of the Cumbernauld Band. He was equally obnoxious to Argyll who again imposed his veto. As a compromise the disputed office was put in commission; Argyll was one of its members.

While these matters were in dispute an untoward event placed Charles under a cloud of suspicion and conclusively defeated the purposes which brought him to Scotland. Since his appearance as Charles' Commissioner in 1638, Hamilton had consistently guided his course with chief concern for his own welfare. As Charles remarked caustically, he was 'very active in his own preservation.' But in spite of his caution, his public record marked him an Incendiary, one of a small band whom the Covenanting lords and clergy especially distinguished by their execration. Alarmed by the fate of Strafford, Hamilton sought safety in close association with Argyll, an act of seeming apostacy which angered Montrose, who, though strictly confined, was in touch with affairs. Twice he communicated his doubts of Hamilton's honesty to the king. On October 11, 1641, he wrote a third time undertaking to 'acquaint his Majesty with a business which not only did concern his honour in a high degree, but the standing and falling of his Crown likewise.' He hinted the grave charges already brought against Argyll. Charles acted sensibly and straightforwardly. He had disregarded Montrose's earlier communications and now laid his statement before Argyll, Loudoun and others, inviting counsel.

But other brains than Montrose's were at work. The Earl of Crawford was a Catholic who had fought in the Thirty Years' War and inhaled its ferocity. Charles had employed him against Leslie in the recent campaign and Parliament since had dismissed him on account of his religion. Hot-headed and choleric, he formed or broached a plan to inveigle Argyll and Hamilton to Charles'

lodgings, at Holyrood, and, 'if the King was out of the way,' to seize and carry them on board a ship in Leith Roads. In case of resistance more desperate means were proposed. Crawford enlisted another veteran of the German wars who in his turn approached his kinsman Captain William Stewart. The latter, misliking a harebrained scheme, divulged its details, which found their way to Leslie, who communicated them to the threatened nobles. Hamilton hurried to Court and 'in a philosophical and parabolical way,' Charles told the Estates a few hours later, 'began a very strange discourse,' and craved liberty to leave the city. Argyll sent word of the plot to Charles next morning (October 12), and believing, or affecting to believe, his life in danger, fled to Kinneil, one of Hamilton's seats, with Hamilton and his brother Lanark, the last of whom was positive in his statement that all three would otherwise have had their throats cut.

The Incident, as the plot was named at the time, remains a mystery. Some, not without reason, attributed the pother to a few soldiers' 'drunken discourses.' Certainly Montrose was not involved in it; but whether its details rest upon fact or imagination is still debated. Its importance lies in its bearing on the king's position. On the afternoon of October 12 he rode to Parliament to acquaint the Estates with it, attended by a numerous cavalcade which included many whose enmity to Hamilton and Argyll was notorious and some whose implication in the plot was alleged. Such an attendance upon the sovereign was not unusual; in the circumstances it was indiscreet. Popular credulity at once associated Charles with the attempt upon Argyll; with tears in his eyes, says an onlooker, the king besought open investigation of the circumstances. 'However the matter go,' he said, 'I must see myself get fair play,' and again, 'By God! the Parliament behoves to clear my honour.' Suspicious of his collusion and fearing compromising disclosures, the House preferred a secret inquiry, which Charles indignantly called 'a private way to Hell.' It served only to establish

Argyll and his party, the completeness of whose victory was apparent in the return of the three noblemen to Court. Honours were showered on them. Argyll was created Marquess with a comfortable pension. Hamilton became a duke. Unlettered Leslie, who once boasted that his juvenile studies carried him into the alphabet as far as the letter G, was created an earl. Argyll wisely refrained from pressing his triumph unduly. Charles was exonerated of complicity in the Incident. Montrose was released, and Crawford got his liberty. In November Charles left Scotland for ever. His visit, writes Ludlow, had proposed 'to leave no means unattempted to take off that nation from their adherence to the Parliament of England.' It resulted, in Clarendon's reproachful words, in making 'a perfect deed of gift of that kingdom' to Argyll, the Parliament's ally, with what disturbing consequences the near future was to show.

At his leave-taking Charles found it convenient to declare that he departed 'a contented prince from a contented people.' If contentment reigned anywhere it was exclusively in the habitations of his subjects who, on every count, after four years' turmoil, had won victory for a popular cause. The royal experiment in ecclesiastical uniformity had failed dismally. Episcopacy was in the dust, the bishops a Church invisible, their emoluments in the purses of Argyll and his associates, who spared a few crumbs for the Universities. James VI's boast of a docile kingdom ruled by strokes of the royal pen from Whitehall or Hampton Court was no longer utterable. The apparatus of public administration, Privy Council, Court of Session, Parliament, obeyed the forces Argyll controlled. Councils into which the bishops had intruded now hearkened to the Hendersons, Gillespies, and Cants of their Presbyterian creed. The Covenant boasted an overwhelming triumph. All its desires had been attained. Satisfaction reigned; everyone, Montrose said at a later time, was sitting agreeably under his vine or fig-tree. Charles, on the other hand, not merely looked back upon failure more

complete than he could have thought possible when he entered Scotland in the summer, but faced a situation fraught with greater possibilities of disaster. Ireland was already in revolt and his collusion was suspected in a wild stroke of Catholic bigotry against the Puritan and Presbyterian Churches of his other kingdoms. London gave him loyal greeting, but there could be no reconciliation with the powers at Westminster except on the basis of complete surrender. The quarrel, interrupted by his Scottish adventure, was at once resumed. In his absence Parliament had drafted the Grand Remonstrance, a detailed indictment of his rule presented to him within a week of his return, with a demand for the exclusion of bishops from Parliament and appointment of counsellors agreeable to that body. A month later (January 4, 1642) he swooped upon Pym, Hampden and their fellow leaders, intending, in words attributed to the queen, to 'pull these rogues out by the ears.' In February the bishops' exclusion from Parliament was voted and both sides wrangled over control of the militia. In March Charles withdrew himself to a more friendly atmosphere at York with an eye on Hull as a port of entry from the Continent. In April Hotham denied him entrance there, and on August 22, 1642, at Nottingham, Charles at length raised his Standard. For eighteen years to come, with intermittent oases, the British kingdoms were torn by armed strife.

From the moment civil war was seen to be inevitable both sides sought Scotland's sympathy. In April, just before Hotham's repulse of him at Hull, Charles announced an intention to visit Edinburgh on his way to Ireland and invited concurrence in his opposition to Parliament. The Irish project had no friends. Upon the constitutional question Scotland's opinion was divided. Her quarrel with Charles and his father was mainly on a point of religion. She preferred monarchy to another system of government, was disinclined to explore the experiments on which England was embarking, and lacked the political experience the experiment required. More-

over the King of England was of Scottish birth, sprung from a line which heady patriotism assumed to fling back to a remote age before England had a name, and Charles, though misguided, had recently given his countrymen full contentment. The English Civil War therefore made confusing appeal to Scotland's interest, completed the scission already apparent in the ranks of the national party, and in the result delivered her Church and State to Cromwell's dragooning. For the moment these consequences were concealed. Argyll's present conclusions were those of Milton later: 'Woe be to you, Presbyterians, if ever any of Charles' race recover the English sceptre. Believe me, you shall pay all the reckoning.' If Charles triumphed over Parliament, whose pay Scotland already had taken, her new-won liberty might be deemed in jeopardy. So Argyll represented, and his view prevailed: Charles was urged to agree with his adversary quickly. The Hull incident, technically an act of rebellion against lawful authority, followed (April 23), and again, early in May, Charles invited the Scottish Privy Council to endorse his quarrel and condemn the Parliament's proceedings. The Plotters, his well-wishers, flocked into Edinburgh with great 'backs' of retainers, the customary scare of plots against the lives of Argyll and Loudoun was raised, and strong contingents from Covenanting Fife and Lothian poured into the capital to confound the 'wicked design.' A petition of the Plotters protesting against Scottish aid to Parliament was rejected and Charles was answered, that he must not count on assistance if he declared war.

A month before the outbreak of hostilities the General Assembly met (July 1642) at St Andrews. Argyll attended from the Presbytery of Inveraray and by his devotion to business dominated its counsels and won its plaudits. Both king and Parliament sent communications. The latter, over-confident of success in the imminent conflict, approached the Assembly not as a suppliant but with a statement of its case against the king. A body of

English clergy represented that 'the most godly and considerable part among us' was convinced that a Presbyterian establishment 'has just and evident foundation both in the Word of God and religious reason,' and desired agreement in belief, ritual, and government between the two Churches. The statement hinted a delusive prospect of ecclesiastical unity, an *ignis fatuus* which a year later drew Scotland into a war that little concerned and mightily damaged her. Encouraged, the Assembly addressed a supplication to Charles urging a 'blessed unity in religion and uniformity in Church government' between the two kingdoms, and at the same time appointed a standing Commission to represent its views to king and Parliament, a body which, with the Privy Council and Conservators of Peace (appointed by the Estates) guided affairs in the critical days ahead. Simultaneously the first blows in the civil war were struck, and to Charles' advantage. Edgehill was fought on October 23, 1642, and London was menaced by the king. The unexpected reverse brought Parliament a suppliant to Scotland, inviting assistance on the ground of common dangers and a common religion. In December Charles sent a third appeal. The Privy Council was vehemently divided upon the wisdom of intervention and the side to which it should incline. By a majority it resolved to publish only the king's appeal. At once the familiar processes of agitation were put in train. Petitions and counter-petitions assailed the Council, and the Plotters' demand that Scotland should not be lightly committed to abandon her loyalty to her sovereign was noisily denounced. The Council yielded to clamour on the point of publication and affected impartiality on the points at issue between the king and his English subjects. Opinion was not yet clear upon the propriety or advantage of direct intervention, and six months passed before circumstances encouraged Scotland to engage in an enterprise which her fervid enthusiasm pictured as a Crusade.

The campaign of 1642 made it clear that the war would

not be the short struggle the Parliamentary leaders anticipated. Early in 1643 a cessation of arms was proposed, preliminary to discussion of the points at issue, and the Scottish Commissioners with the king offered their mediation on the terms of a joint agreement to harmonize the English and Scottish ecclesiastical systems. The programme was agreeable to neither belligerent. Charles, expecting the arrival of an Irish army to confound his opponents, preferred the advice of Hamilton, again in favour, who slighted the chances of Scottish intervention. Montrose, with the queen at York, offered wiser counsel. He insisted, probably correctly, that an understanding existed between Pym and Argyll which sooner or later would bring Scotland into the open in Parliament's support. He urged an instant call to arms, while Argyll was unprepared: the Gordons were eager and the Macdonalds lay on the flanks of their Campbell foes. Hamilton prevailed. But Loudoun, Henderson, and their fellow Commissioners at Oxford found Charles 'intractable,' their own position 'uncomfortable.' Their collusion with Parliament was suspected and a desire to proceed to London was not gratified. The vitality of Charles' cause alarmed them and their eyes were shut to the truth he vainly emphasized—that his chief opponents were Sectaries little sympathetic to their Presbyterian system. Hence, upon their return to Scotland, Argyll secured an agreement to summon a Convention, influenced to that decision largely by apprehension regarding Montrose's purposes. It met on June 22, 1643, and, as Montrose predicted, concluded decisively to enter the war against the king.

Hardly had the resolution to summon the Estates been taken (May 10) before conclusive evidence of Montrose's intentions was secured. His plans, revealed by the capture of an associate, proposed a Scottish rising backed by Gordons and Irish Catholics. Before the end of June the news was known at Westminster, where Montrose was supposed to be in Charles' confidence and accident to have

revealed a plot 'to extirpate the true Protestant religion in England, Scotland, and Ireland.' But the memory of Scotland's expensive 'brotherly assistance' was vivid; her army's presence on English soil was not desired save as a last expedient. Her communication of Montrose's plans therefore was answered by a resolution to send a deputation to the Estates to receive their counsel, and an invitation to Henderson and other ministers to attend the Assembly of Divines about to meet at Westminster. But events inexorably drove Parliament to seek a military alliance; Waller's utter defeat at Roundway Down on July 13 made it imperative. A deputation, of whom the ablest was Sir Harry Vane, was dispatched to Scotland to solicit an army of 11,000 men. On August 8 it met the Estates and the divergence of view between the two Parliaments was at once apparent. 'The English,' commented Robert Baillie, 'were for a civil league, we for a religious covenant.' Scotland, disinclined to fight if her ends could be obtained by other means, preferred the rôle of mediator and hoped to impose upon the belligerents the Presbyterian uniformity she had already recommended. But as neither would accept her in that character, the alternative was to achieve in alliance with Parliament the settlement so ardently desired. To Vane and his colleagues the bargain was disagreeable. In their condemnation of episcopacy they were at one with the Scots. But the intolerable inquisition of Presbyterian courts was repugnant to English sense, and a vigorous development of English Puritanism aimed at an independent or congregational system as stubbornly opposed to Presbyterian as to Episcopal discipline. The pressure of military compulsion, however, was inexorable; Bristol had fallen, the Parliament's cause seemed hopeless in the West as in the North, and Scotland had her way. Civil liberty to this point was the principle on which Parliament took its stand. Military necessity insinuated another object impossible of attainment and ruinous to the alliance pledged to achieve it.

In accordance with Scottish custom the new alliance in the cause of religion was cast in the form of a Band or Covenant by Alexander Henderson—the General Assembly was also in session—who drafted 'A Solemn League and Covenant for reformation and defence of religion.' It pledged the allies to preserve 'the true Protestant reformed religion in the Church of Scotland' and to accomplish the reformation of religion in England 'according to the example of the best reformed Churches, and as may bring the Churches of God in both nations to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship, and catechising.' To this, the first and principal of the six clauses, the English Commissioners took exception. It committed Parliament not only to extirpate episcopacy but to combat the growing force of Independency or Congregationalism for which Cromwell later stood. Vane suggested an amendment of Henderson's phraseology, the need for which exposes the hollowness of the Solemn League to which he put his hand. He was willing to maintain the Church of Scotland 'in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government *according to the Word of God*' and to endeavour the reformation of the Church of England 'according to *the same Holy Word and* the example of the best reformed Churches.' Henderson could not reject the addenda, whose inclusion, as Baillie feared and Vane intended, kept 'a door open in England to Independency.' On August 17 the amended document was ratified by the Estates, who, with shrewd caution, named £30,000 a month the price of their assistance and demanded three months' payment in advance before their army could be permitted to move. By the end of the month the League was approved by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, with amendments calculated to leave undecided the form of Church government ultimately to replace episcopacy. Parliament received the document in September and also amended it. The phrase 'according to the Word of God' qualifying the Church of Scotland

was deleted as offensive to that nation. On the other hand the scope of the Covenant was extended to Ireland. On September 25 the House of Commons and Assembly of Divines gave it their oaths. A month later (October 15) the diminished House of Lords followed their leading. Two causes, distinct and inharmonious, were irrevocably joined in incongruous association. On November 29 a separate treaty adjusted the material details of the partnership. The Estates agreed to furnish an army of 18,000 foot, 2000 horse, 1000 dragoons, and a train of artillery. Parliament guaranteed a subsidy of £30,000 a month, a sum increased to £31,000 by a supplementary agreement. Leslie, now Earl of Leven, was again placed in command. 'The play is begun,' wrote Baillie, 'the good Lord give it a happy end.'

Leven was not in a position to move until January 1644. In the interval the war ebbed and flowed without decisive result; but Scotland's intervention inclined the balance heavily against the king. To that point the north of England, with a great wedge of territory between the Mersey and Humber southward to Derby and Nottingham and including the fortress of Newark, was held for Charles. Its reduction, and, in particular, recovery of the Newcastle coal-field and the north-eastern ports of communication with the Continent, were beyond Parliament's resources; the task was the immediate service looked for at the hands of its ally. On January 19, 1644, in bitter weather, Leven's cavalry crossed the Tweed. As in 1640 no serious opposition impeded his advance. But Newcastle, into which the royal commander, the Marquess of Newcastle, had thrown himself, offered resistance, and Leven, lacking material for its reduction, swept along the coast. Drawing the Marquess after him, he joined hands with the Army of the Eastern Association in the early days of June, and with it sat down to the siege of York. Prince Rupert's defeat at Marston Moor on July 2, to which the Scottish infantry materially contributed, was followed by the fall of the city. In six months the North of England

had been almost purged of its royalist garrisons. But Newcastle still flew the king's flag. In August Leven drew his lines round the city and in October received its surrender. Carlisle and a few insignificant garrisons alone stood for Charles at the close of a campaign which the allies could regard with almost unqualified satisfaction; the king's power was now confined to Wales, Devonshire, Cornwall, and the western counties. In their reduction Leven was invited to participate, with Parliament's New Model Army, in the campaign of 1645. The fall of Carlisle in June enabled him with less misgiving to venture so far from Scotland, where Montrose was active and successful. Moreover, Scotland's relations with Parliament were already straining. Her army was ill-paid, its wants inadequately furnished, the hope of ecclesiastical uniformity fading, while her obligations to England exposed her to Montrose's vendetta. Leven, in fact, guarded a double front and satisfied neither his own people nor his paymaster. Late in July he moved unwillingly to invest Hereford. But on August 15 Montrose's victory at Kilsyth destroyed Scotland's home army and created a situation of utmost peril. David Leslie and the cavalry were dispatched in all haste to Scotland, and Leven, abandoning the siege of Hereford, approached the North of England in readiness to enter Scotland should events demand his presence. The retreat was regarded with suspicion by Parliament, to whom the prospect of an agreement between Charles and the Scots on the latter's familiar terms was a prospect of increasing possibility and menace. 'They have lost affection here and will do more unless their armies engage more truly for the future, and their counsels and ours be more united,' a correspondent wrote to Vane. Their Commissioners protested that the army had received only one month's pay in seven months, and, disheartened by the incessant anxieties of his command, Leven desired to surrender his commission. Opportunely the horizon brightened, David Leslie ended Montrose's career at Philiphaugh on September 13, and

Leven consented to reduce Newark, the only considerable strength remaining to Charles in the Midlands. He appeared before it in November 1645, and the siege was still in progress when, on May 5, 1646, Charles, whose fortunes demanded a desperate measure, rode into the Scottish camp. Next day, at his bidding, Newark surrendered, and Leven withdrew northwards with his royal prize. The Army of the Covenant had done its last service.

More heroic warfare was waged on Scotland's soil. The conclusion of the Solemn League in September 1643 opened Charles' eyes to the fatuity of Hamilton's counsels. He found a prison in Cornwall and his brother Lanark transferred his sword to the Covenant. Montrose, then at the king's headquarters, was appointed Lieutenant-General in Scotland (February 13, 1644) while Leven was lying about Newcastle. Though the garrisons and passes of the Border were in the Covenanters' control, Montrose's spirit was indomitable. He proposed to cut his way through the Lowlands to his people beyond Tay, rouse the Gordons and Ogilvies, while Antrim brought in the Irish and Macdonalds, challenge Argyll in his strengths, and call a halt to Leven's invading force. Early in March 1644 he set out from Oxford, joined the Marquess of Newcastle at Durham, picked up recruits a few hundred strong, and was over the Border and settled at Dumfries in the middle of April. There he read his commission and raised his master's standard for the defence, he made proclamation, of 'the true Protestant religion, his Majesty's just and sacred authority, the fundamental laws and privileges of Parliaments,' and, he added, with the preachers in his mind, 'the peace and freedom of the oppressed and thralled subject.' Not a sword joined him. Huntly was easily repressed by Argyll, whom Montrose daringly summoned to his allegiance, and Antrim's reinforcements were not yet arrived. Perforce Montrose abandoned a hopeless venture, promotion to the degree of Marquess rewarding his fruitless daring. Falling back on Carlisle,

which still flew the royal flag, he harried Leven's communications in Northumberland, recaptured Morpeth and South Shields, and, to Baillie's dismay, threatened 'to make havock of the northern counties.' On Prince Rupert's arrival in the north, he rode southward to solicit reinforcements, arrived on the morrow of Marston Moor, and asked for a thousand horse, proposing to cut his way home to Scotland. Rupert could not spare him even a musket, and in great dejection, with others of the broken army, he set out to join the king at Oxford. But in his brain a sudden plan had formed. Refusing to hold Scotland impervious to an appeal, his pack-horses and servants jogged southward to the king, while he himself, in the guise of a groom ill-mounted and leading another hack, rode northward behind two companions garbed as Leven's troopers. Once he was recognized and greeted by name, and after four days' hazardous adventure was among friends near Perth (August 22), his year of victories before him.

Montrose's Year opened discouragingly. The headless Gordons were menaced by Forbeses, Frasers, and Grants, hereditary foes of their house. The Stewarts and Robertsons of the Atholl country were leaderless, and the Lowland episcopal gentry of Angus and the Mearns timidly withheld encouragement. Opportunely Alastair Macdonald, with some 2000 of his name from Islay and Kintyre, landed in Ardnamurchan, the diminished quota of the Irish force Montrose and his master so long had expected. Montrose met him at Blair Atholl and raised the king's standard over a small army which loyal Stewarts and Robertsons swelled to 3000, a fragile force to face a circle of enemies. Argyll was marching from the west. Lord Balfour watched at Aberdeen, and Lord Elcho guarded the Tay valley at Perth. Montrose struck swiftly at his nearest foe. With a force which contained no cavalry other than the three sorry hacks—*omnino strigosos et emaciatos*, his biographer calls them—which had borne him and his companions from England, he

challenged Elcho's larger force at Tippermuir, near Perth, on September 1, 1644, routed his raw troops with heavy slaughter, and by nightfall was master of Perth. He had not lost a man. Well-armed and clothed, their stock of ammunition replenished, Montrose marched his force out of Perth and a week later (September 13) summoned Aberdeen, invited surrender, and warned the inhabitants to leave the city or expect no quarter. Within two hours Balfour was in flight after a stubborn contest and Aberdeen a prize. Montrose would not, probably could not, restrain the ferocity of his Irish, of whom an Aberdonian wrote bitterly: 'to them there was no distinction between a man and a beast'—but neither side could claim a monopoly of inhumanity. He appealed to the Gordons to rise, but without success. Argyll and a larger force, lumbering in his rear, exacted free quarters in Aberdeen before he followed his elusive quarry, a 'strange coursing,' Baillie calls it, backwards and forwards through the autumnal Grampians. In December Montrose returned to Blair Atholl and Argyll to Edinburgh, where he complained much of inadequate materials and had 'small thanks' for his conduct of a campaign which amply demonstrated his inferiority as a soldier.

His activities to this point satisfied neither Montrose's abilities nor his eager service in his master's cause. Nothing short of wresting southern Scotland from the Covenant and Leven's compulsory evacuation of England could satisfy him. The clans loved a fighter now as later when Montrose lived again in Dundee. Hatred of the Campbells added spice to their loyalty. Soon Macdonalds from Clanranald, Keppoch, Glengarry, Glencoe, Camerons from Lochaber, Stewarts from Appin, and Farquharsons from distant Braemar flocked to Atholl eager to strike for the king at Argyll, their common foe. Vainly Montrose pointed to the Lowlands. Only against MacCalein Mor, snug behind his snowy passes, would they march. As Christmas approached, thither he led them and for more than a month wreaked vengeance on

Argyll and his clan: no quarter was given, not a homestead, not a head of cattle was spared. By the end of January 1645 the work of destruction was complete. Leaving a smoking waste behind him, Montrose struck northward through friendly glens, while Argyll, reinforced, followed hard in his rear and took station at Inverlochy on Loch Eil. Seaforth's Mackenzies were out on the Ness and Montrose's paltry force, 1500 strong with a handful of troopers, hung between two fires. On February 2, 1645, he hurled himself on Argyll at Inverlochy, exterminated two-thirds of his force, and sat down to pen a dispatch to his master in exultant mood. He had 'let the world see that Argyll was not the man his Highlandmen believed him to be,' had beaten him 'in his own Highlands,' and was 'in the fairest hopes of reducing this kingdom to your Majesty's obedience.' He concluded: 'Only give me leave, after I have conquered from Dan to Beersheba, to say to your Majesty then, as David's General did to his master, "Come thou thyself, lest this country be called by my name."'

Even with the prestige of resounding victories behind him Montrose dared not urge his darling venture, a dash on Edinburgh and the Lowlands, though little opposition threatened. Instead he faced northward on his interrupted march, was at Elgin in a fortnight and had valuable recruits in Huntly's sons. Grants and Mackenzies were added and a well-furnished troop of horse increased the efficiency of his growing force. The Kirk thundered excommunication against him and the Estates (February 11, 1645) added their malediction; henceforth he was 'that excommunicated traitor James Graham.' Argyll's incompetent leadership was superseded by General William Baillie and Sir John Urry, professional soldiers of repute and experience in the English campaign. But Montrose was not afraid to test the Lowlands. From Elgin he struck eastward, plundering and burning the territory of ill-wishers as he passed, and was at Dunkeld by the end of March. Baillie, a cautious veteran, gave no opening for

a second Inverlochy, and Montrose's Highlanders, whether to deposit their plunder or not seeing prospect of more, fared homeward to their glens after their manner. At Dunkeld Montrose mustered a shrunken army of 600 foot and 200 horse, but strong enough to fight and in a desperate adventure restore its spirit. From Dunkeld this handful swooped upon Dundee (April 4), a Covenanting stronghold. Baillie, whose spies apprised him of the attack, marching at speed came in at the west gate almost as Montrose withdrew by the east, heading for the coast. His capture seemed certain and imminent. But, doubling on his tracks at Arbroath, he slipped through his unconscious pursuers in the night, and made for the Grampians. At dawn on April 5 he lay near Brechin and by the end of the month was again alert for action. His foes meanwhile had divided their force. Baillie was at Perth preventing a descent upon the Lowlands. Urry passed to the north to overawe the Gordons, roused by their young chiefs from irksome passivity. Montrose resolved to support them and try conclusions with Urry. At Aboyne Lord Gordon joined him with a goodly 1000 foot and 200 horse. Urry outnumbered him but would take no risks. Retreating, he drew Montrose westward into hostile country on the shore of the Moray Firth between Forres and Nairn, gave battle at Auldearn, on May 9, and was routed.

Montrose's victory roused Leven's apprehensions and confirmed him in the cautious strategy Parliament so unsympathetically condemned. But Charles' hope to meet his dashing Lieutenant-General in Scotland was defeated at Naseby on June 14, 1645, and Montrose had not yet linked his Dan and Beersheba. Baillie, still in the field, hastened northward to Urry's relief, found him at Strathbogie, far outnumbering Montrose, whose victory had induced the customary desertions. A supplementary force under Lord Lindsay also was moving from the Lowlands. Montrose dealt first with Lindsay, who refused battle and threw himself into Atholl. Retracing his steps

across the Grampians Montrose challenged Baillie, and offered battle at Keith, where he stood, strongly posted. Taunts failed to entice him. But a feinted march southward towards the ill-defended Lowlands was effectual. At Alford (July 2, 1645) Montrose turned, gave battle, and won a victory blemished only by the death of Huntly's heir, Lord Gordon. As usual, his men scattered homeward with battle-plunder. But by the end of July large reinforcements of Macdonalds and other clans strengthened Montrose to attempt his long projected invasion of the south. Still contemning their enemy, the Estates refused to call on Leven's force. Baillie, hampered by an amateur Committee, which included Argyll, awaited at Perth the mobilisation of Lowland levies ordered immediately after his defeat at Alford. Lanark was raising the Hamilton interest on the Clyde. In the early days of August, Montrose took the field with the largest force he had as yet mustered. The call for a resounding stroke was imperative. Naseby had been lost. Wales, to which Charles was almost exclusively confined, was lukewarm. Ireland no longer could be counted an effective ally. On Montrose rested the prospects of his master's cause. For some time he manoeuvred round Perth, where the Estates superintended the new levies, eager to fight before Lanark could intervene. To force an engagement he repeated the Alford tactics, feinted an advance towards Lanark's still incomplete levies, and on August 15 was at Kilsyth, halfway towards Glasgow. Baillie followed with immature troops and gave Montrose his crowning victory. His promise was fulfilled: in Scotland the Covenant was at his feet.

But disaster followed hard on triumph. Within a month Montrose was a fugitive whose invitation to Charles no longer held a lure. Instead he turned to Leven's protection, as has been told, haggling for that veteran's sword on terms, Montrose said bitterly, which would leave him 'a king of straw.' On Montrose's own head difficulties accumulated after Kilsyth. Glasgow opened its gates to

eager Highlanders whom his stern forbidding of plunder alienated: the stalwart Alastair Macdonald, rewarded with a knighthood, preferred to lead his men against the Campbells; he was seen no more. The Gordons rode off on a point of jealousy. No Lowland troops were forthcoming to take their place; fidelity to the Covenant and fear of Montrose's Catholic Celts were too strong to give him the force to win the ends he had in view. But for the moment he was unopposed. Edinburgh and the south accepted him as Charles' Viceroy and released the Covenant's prisoners. He summoned Parliament to meet at Glasgow in October. It never met. Three weeks after Kilsyth David Leslie, hot-foot from England with 4000 horse, surprised Montrose's scanty force at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk (September 13, 1645). Out of a dark night and morning of mist he rode down an unsuspecting or careless enemy. Fighting desperately, Montrose cut his way to freedom and saved the Standards. His army and the cause it served were lost, hacked down by senseless butchery which bespoke the fear and hatred he had roused:

> Now let us a' for Lesly pray,
> And his brave company,
> For they hae vanquished great Montrose,
> Our cruel enemy.

But Montrose survived defeat. Within a month he was again in the saddle. Neither Gordons nor Macdonalds rallied to him, and Charles, Leven's prisoner-guest at Newcastle, sent a command in May 1646 to abandon a hopeless enterprise. At Rattray a few weeks later he said farewell to the remnants of his heroic band and passed into a foreign exile broken by his last service to his master's son.

Charles' surrender to Leven at Southwell on May 5, 1646, marked the climax of a complicated situation. The confident enthusiasm which brought Scotland into the war in 1644 had evaporated. None but a visionary could preserve the hope of England's conversion to the rigid apparatus of Presbyterian discipline. The war had given

birth to a second army, the New Model, as concerned to resist it as to break the tyranny of the Crown, as fixed to uphold liberty of conscience against episcopalian and Presbyterian uniformity. Leven's army was held by Scotland the appointed agent to suppress schism and establish in England a Covenanted Kirk. Robert Baillie founded on the latter his hope to 'ruin both the malignant [episcopalian] party and the Sectaries [Independents].' Cromwell, on the other hand, held the Army of the Eastern Association and its more potent successor, the New Model, weapons providentially forged to confound Malignants and Presbyterians alike. He would as soon draw his sword against the Scots, he told a fellow officer, 'as against any in the King's army.' Other causes contributed to dissolve the missionary partnership of 1643 into dissonance and cavilling. England taunted the Scots with inefficiency, complained (with some reason) that their army accomplished little after the fall of Newcastle in October 1644 and adjusted its movements to the situation in Scotland rather than by the interests of the alliance. She alleged forced levies and billetings upon the counties through which it passed and, as the final reckoning went some way to confirm, suspected an intention to compile as imposing a bill of costs as possible. Scotland retorted that her army was unclothed, unfed, unpaid, that the English forces had preferential treatment, that she had magnanimously thrown herself into England's quarrel, bound herself not to lay down arms till England's wrongs were righted, and thereby exposed herself to Montrose's harrying. As early as July 1645 some of Leven's leading officers were inviting communications with Charles, ready to attempt his restoration in return for the assurances Parliament had lamentably failed to fulfil. After Charles' defeat at Naseby in June 1645, when the possibility of his victory could no longer be entertained, the Scottish alliance appeared to Parliament a compromising and expensive bargain to be expeditiously terminated, especially when, three months

later, Scotland, reversing the conditions of 1643, was begging for help against Montrose, a proposal which suggested further inconvenient liabilities. Circumstances, too, were obviously heading towards a trial of strength between Parliament, which had tied England to a Presbyterian alliance, and Cromwell's New Model, whose officers and rank and file were firm to resist any attempt to bind their consciences, from whatever quarter it might come. Even upon the Presbyterian benches, therefore, the termination of the Scottish alliance was beginning to be favourably regarded as the condition which alone made it possible to disband the New Model, the chief strength of the Independents. Of these complicated relationships Charles reasonably hoped to take advantage.

Upon this situation a new interest intruded itself in the late summer of 1645. Mazarin, the astute Italian who ruled France, neither desired France to be neighboured by a second republic nor wished the Stewart monarchy to recover the aggressive rôle of Charles' early years. France's traditional relations with Scotland suggested an effort to compose her quarrel with the king and promote a union which at least would check England's new army and its supporters in Parliament. He chose as his agent a young diplomatist, Jean de Montreuil, who arrived in London in August 1645 and at once opened his batteries on the Scottish Commissioners. He reported them to be 'absolutely desirous of peace,' but based his conclusion upon a sordid consideration that 'while the war lasts they cannot obtain payment of what is owing to them by the English.' Early in January 1646 he passed to Charles at Oxford, to report the disposition of the Scottish Commissioners and their refusal to abate their terms on the subject of religion. Charles, invariably insistent upon the scruples of his own conscience, lacked generosity to admit that his opponents could be similarly swayed. Like Montreuil, he supposed the Scots chiefly moved to approach him out of concern for their army's payment. He was willing to offer them lands in Ireland as security,

to guarantee the established Church government in Scotland, to trust himself to Leven's army, which was less obnoxious than the more republican New Model. But a Presbyterian establishment in England he could not countenance, he 'would sooner die in a ditch.' He had, in fact, an alternative plan which proposed to utilize the increasing strain between Parliament and the New Model to his advantage—nothing less than his return to London, a proposal, he told the queen, that made Montreuil 'open his pack, least I should there join with the Independents against the Scots.' The Houses had the same fear and answered in terms which compelled Charles to understand that his proposal was impracticable. Leven remained his only hope and early in April Montreuil left Oxford for Newark to 'prepare and adjust my reception there,' Charles wrote to Henrietta Maria. He stipulated that the king should be received as a sovereign, be permitted 'all freedom of his conscience and honour,' and have the aid of the Scottish army 'in the procuring of a happy and well-grounded peace and in recovery of his Majesty's just rights.' On the crucial question of religion Charles expressed himself 'very willing to be instructed concerning the Presbyterian government' and to content them in everything not against his conscience. Montreuil received assurances which permitted him to guarantee to Charles the terms he demanded. But at the eleventh hour the Scots recalled their agreement: Charles must satisfy them by establishing Presbyterianism in England and must act collusively with them in suggesting that his visit to their camp was a passing courtesy on his way to Scotland. They were, he told his wife, 'abominable relapsed rogues.' Montreuil's pleading drew merely a verbal undertaking that they would secure the king in his person and honour; not press him contrary to his conscience; and declare for him if Parliament refused to restore him to his just rights and prerogatives. Their anxiety to obtain possession of the king proceeded from an intention to use him to achieve the purpose which had

brought them into England. That he desired illumination in the principles of Presbyterianism he stated, but without revealing that his objections were ineradicable. What their conduct might be, should instruction fail, they were not asked to say and it was not opportune to declare. While the king invited their aid with a mental reservation never to grant the boon for which they bargained it, they on their part affected a consideration for his conscience which they were not disposed to maintain. On neither side the transaction was creditable or ingenuous. Receiving assurance from Montreuil that his terms were conceded Charles, by devious routes, journeyed towards Newark. On May 5, 1646, he rode into the Scottish lines at Southwell. Newark surrendered on the 6th and Leven ordered an instant retreat. A week later he brought the king to Newcastle, where the last scene of the Solemn League was enacted.

To his indignation Charles found himself a prisoner at Newcastle. His lodging was guarded by 'inhabitants of trust' in addition to the military sentries. 'Known Papists or Delinquents' were forbidden to resort to the town, and he had hardly alighted at his residence before Lanark and others waited on him to urge his acceptance of the Covenant. His usage, he complained to the queen, was 'barbarous'; 'I cannot call for any of my old servants nor chuse any new without leave'; none were suffered about him 'but fools or knaves (all having at least a tincture of falshood)'; every day produced its peculiar vexation, 'of which my publick devotions are not the least.' Alexander Henderson descended from Scotland to expound the iniquity of Episcopacy. The Assembly dispatched a deputation to 'let his Majesty know what the Kirk censure is' if he refused the Covenant, one of whose members, reviving the Melvillian tradition, adjured Charles: 'Thou piece of Clay, where thou sittest, think of thy Death, Resurrection, Judgement, Eternity.' 'They court him not in their sermons nor lay pillows under his elbows, as too many of the Court divines have done,'

said a London news-sheet approvingly; 'no, they speak truth with power.'

Nothing availed to move Charles. It became clear that if Presbyterianism was to be advanced in England the Scots must look to London rather than Newcastle, where Charles marked with satisfaction the growing coldness between Parliament and the Independent New Model. Late in June 1646 Argyll addressed the Committees of the two Houses at Westminster: *Salus populi suprema lex* was his text. He accepted Parliament's proposals as the basis of a satisfactory settlement of the purposes which had inspired the alliance. They required Charles to accept the Covenant, establish religious uniformity between England and Scotland, permit the proscription of his most prominent partisans, and surrender control of the Militia for twenty years. On July 24 the Propositions, the last ultimatum of the Solemn League, were presented to Charles. The Independents, in utmost alarm, anticipated an agreement between the king and his Scottish and English petitioners which would nullify the purposes for which they had fought the war and bring back Charles to augmented power and a Covenanted crown. In fact their apprehension was groundless. Charles was engaged in a promising intrigue with France and was little inclined to submit to the Covenant's tyranny. But after his manner, he evaded a decided negative nor would discuss the Propositions with those who brought them. He desired permission to return to London, counting on his opportunity to play off against each other the jealous interests that strove to win him. On August 3 the Commissioners left the town. 'The King's answer,' Baillie wrote, 'hes broken our heart: we see nothing but a sea of new more horrible confusions. We are afraid of the hardness of God's decree against that madd man, and against his kingdomes. We look above to God; for all below is full of darkness.' In September a cloud of divines again descended upon the king, one of whom, failing to move him, broke out, 'Sir, I wish I may not say to your Majesty, as

the prophet said to Amasiah, "Refuse not counsel lest God harden thy heart to destruction."' 'You are no prophet,' Charles answered testily. 'But yet I may tell you what the prophet said to the man in such a condition,' was the retort. The Kirk had the last word.

Already, on August 12, Scotland had intimated a desire to withdraw her army from a fruitless alliance. The resolution involved the disposal of the king's person. Late in September the Houses directed a Committee to examine the situation, and the Scots claimed a voice in its deliberations. Montreuil's activities, however, had roused among the Independents strong resentment against him as being apparently involved in an attempt to revive the Ancient League for England's coercion. Influenced by this conclusion, the Independents in the Commons carried a resolution asserting the exclusive right of the English Parliament to dispose of the king so long as he remained on English territory. It placed the Scots in a position which Montreuil sympathetically but not unfairly analysed; they were, he wrote, 'reduced either to commit the unheard-of dastardly act of delivering up their king, or to be brought into conflict with all the army of the Independents.' 'What embarrasses most the Scots,' he declared to Mazarin, 'is to see themselves burdened with the person of their king, which they can neither deliver up to the English, nor put into prison without perjury and infamy, and are not able to preserve without danger and without drawing down upon them all the armies at present in England.' It was a dilemma which practical reflexions rather than national pride and chivalry were permitted to resolve. The financial details of the alliance were simultaneously debated. Scotland stated her expenses at near £2,000,000. Parliament computed her receipts from all sources at nearly £1,500,000, leaving a balance due to her of near £500,000. Scotland asked for £600,000, and in the result accepted £400,000 in full discharge of her claim. The payment of the first half of the amount was completed on February 3, 1647. On the same day—a disagreeable

coincidence—Charles was delivered to Parliament's Commissioners at Newcastle and set out with them for Holdenby. Leven already had begun the process of evacuation and before Charles reached his new prison it was complete. 'I do not know what will be the result of the bargain that the English have just concluded with the Scots,' Montreuil wrote shrewdly to Mazarin on the eve of Charles' departure; 'but it seems to me that they have not separated very satisfied with each other [and that] it will be very difficult for the enmity that is between these peoples to remain long without breaking out.' His pen was prophetic: in the imminent future Scotland had abundant reason to anticipate Burns' lament:

> The Solemn League and Covenant
> Cost Scotland blood—cost Scotland tears.

7
6
5
4
2
Orkney Is
Pentland Firth
Dunnet Hd
Stromal
Duncansbay Hd
Dunnet
Thurso
Sinclair Bay
Wick
Wick R
C. Wrath
Loch Erriboll
Kyle of Tongue
Strathy Pt
R. Halladale
CAITHNESS
Latheron
Thurso R
R. Helmsdale
Helmsdale
Butt of Lewis
L. Inchard
Flannan Is
Loch Roag
Broad Bay
Stornoway
Eye Peninsula
Eddrachillis B
STRATHNAVER
Naver R
Ardvreck Cas
Assynt
L. Assynt
Enard B
L. Erisort
Loch Shin
R. Brora
SUTHERLAND
Golspie
Dunrobin Cas
Scarpa
Seaforth
Loch Broom
Ullapool
R. Oykel
Dornoch
Dornoch Firth
Tarbat Ness
Teransay
Harris
Shiant Is
L. Ewe
Glen More
Poolewe
Loch Maree
ROSS
Balnagowan Cas
Invergordon
Moray Firth
Lossiemouth
Findlater Cas
Kinnaird Hd
Sound of Berneray
North Uist
Duntulm Cas
Pt of Aird
Gair Loch
L. Glass
L. Fannich
Fowlis Cas
Cromarty
Fraserburgh
Banff
Fochabers
Elgin
Forres
Nairn
Fortrose
Kilcoy Cas
Reelcas
Craigston Cas
R. Ugie
BUCHAN
Little Minch
Benbecula
Loch Skiport
Dunvegan Loch
Dunvegan
Portree
Raasay Sound
Inner Sound
Loch Torridon
L. Luichart
R. Conon
R. Beauly
Beauly
Inverness
R. Findhorn
Rothes
Banff
Fyvie Cas
R. Ythan
Applecross
Raasay
Strome Cas
Strome Ferry
R. Meig
Moy Cas
Leanach Cas
Inverurie
Kintore
L. Broacadale
L. Eynort
South Uist
Eilean Donan Cas
Glenelg
L. Duich
Glen Garry
Loch Lochy
Achnacarry Cas
Glen Roy
Glen Spean
Fort William
Ben Nevis
Aberdeen
Old Aberdeen
Girdle Ness
Cuchullin Sound
Soay
L. Eishort
Sound of Eriskay
Eriskay
Canna
Rum
L. Morar
L. Quoich
Loch Arkaig
Loch Lochy
Fort Augustus
Kingussie
Cairngorm
R. Dee
Banchory
Barra
Watersay
Eigg I.
Mallaig
LOCHABER
BADENOCH
Laggan
Inverey Cas
Braemar
MEARNS
Stonehaven
Dunottar Cas
R. North Esk
57
58

REFERENCE
Montrose's 1st Campaign
" 2nd "
" 3rd "
" 4th "
" 5th "
" 6th "
Argyll's Campaign (1685)
Cromwell's
ENGLISH MILES
0 10 20 30 40
Inner Hebrides
Firth of Clyde
Firth of Forth
NORTH CHANNEL
Solway Firth
Luce Bay
Mull
Iona
Oronsay
Colonsay
Islay
Jura
Arran
Bute
Kintyre
Ayr
Kyle
Carrick
Cunningham
CLYDESDALE
Lanark
Glasgow
Dumbarton
Stirling
Perth
Dundee
STRATHEARN
MENTEITH
FIFE
Fife Ness
St Andrews
St Andrews Bay
Anstruther
Kinross
Dunblane
Crieff
Tippermuir
Balquhidder
Aberfoyle
Falkland
Leven
Isle of May
Berwick
Dunbar
Haddington
EDINBURGH
LOTHIAN
Linlithgow
Kilsyth
Peebles
Lauder
MERSE
Berwick
TWEEDDALE
Melrose
Kelso
Selkirk
Jedburgh
TEVIOTDALE
Hawick
Moffat
ANNANDALE
Lockerbie
Annan
Dumfries
NITHSDALE
GALLOWAY
Castle Douglas
Kirkcudbright
Wigtown
Stranraer
Portpatrick
Ballantrae
Girvan
Ailsa Craig
Campbeltown
Gigha I.
Rhinns Pt.
Sanaig Pt.
Mull of Oe
Rathlin I.
Coleraine
Lough Foyle
Belfast
Belfast Lough
Donaghadee
Larne
Corsewall Pt.
Mull of Galloway
Burrow Hd
Carlisle
ENGLAND
Cockermouth
Appleby
Hexham
Berwick
Buddon Ness
Bell Rock
Fife Ness
Isle of May
Dunbar
St Abbs Hd
Coldstream
Kelso
Jedburgh
Hawick
Selkirk
Langholm
Lockerbie
Annan
Moffat
Ayr
Irvine
Kilmarnock
Cumnock
Dumfries
Stranraer
Wigtown
Kirkcudbright
Carlisle
Berwick
Hexham
Appleby
Cockermouth
Belfast
Donaghadee
Larne
Coleraine
Rathlin I.
Sanda
Arran
Bute
Gigha I.
Islay
Jura
Colonsay
Oronsay
Iona
Mull
Skerryvore
Tiree
Coll
Barra Hd
Benbecula
North Uist
Harris
Lewis
Stornoway
Shiant Is.
Rona
Sula Sgeir
Flannan Is.
Monach Is.
St Kilda
Boreray
Pentland Firth
Orkney Is.
Shetland Is.
Fair I.
Sumburgh Hd
Lerwick
Unst
Foula
Faroe Is.
Rockall
Hebrides
Minch
Little Minch
Sound of Harris
Sound of Barra
Sound of Jura
Sound of Mull
Sound of Islay
Kyle Rhea
Kyle of Lochalsh
Skye
Raasay
Rona
Scalpay
Portree
Broadford
Kyleakin
Dunvegan
Loch Harport
Loch Bracadale
Loch Snizort
Loch Eynort
Loch Maddy
Lochboisdale
Lochmaddy
Tarbert
Lochgilphead
Oban
Fort William
Ballachulish
Glencoe
Kinlochleven
Kinlochmoidart
Mallaig
Arisaig
Morar
Loch Nevis
Loch Hourn
Loch Duich
Loch Alsh
Loch Carron
Loch Torridon
Loch Ewe
Loch Gairloch
Loch Broom
Ullapool
Stornoway
Tarbert
Lochmaddy
Lochboisdale
Castlebay
Barra
Vatersay
Eriskay
South Uist

CHAPTER XXI

THE CROMWELLIAN UNION

THE king's surrender preceded the instant demobilisation of the Scottish army, excepting a few 'new modelled' regiments, at a strength of about 7000, kept on foot under Leven and his nephew's command. As an active partnership the Solemn League no longer was in being: only the patient divines at Westminster prolonged it, ploddingly fashioning an international Directory of Public Worship (1645), Confession of Faith (1647), Larger and Shorter Catechisms (1648), and a metrical edition of the Psalms (1650), mainly based on Francis Rous's version, cherished in Scottish use to this day. With the Cavalier faction David Leslie dealt summarily: Huntly and the Macdonalds were handled with vigour: Montrose passed over to France. The Covenant, rejected in England, in Scotland stood secure, unchallenged.

But already reaction was working for Charles. Neither generosity nor national pride could approve the seemingly sordid transaction which surrendered a Scottish king to an English prison. Even at Newcastle women were not easily restrained from throwing stones at the retreating army, with taunts at 'Jews' who 'sold their king and their honour.' The English official attitude, which resented Scotland's interference between the king and his English subjects, also was galling and tended in Charles' favour. Even his wrong-headedness, and a lack of ingenuousness which provoked anger, could not conceal the pathos of his situation or mitigate the fact that his power for mischief was broken. Jealousy of the bishops and anxiety over the Act of Revocation long since had been allayed; even if Charles were restored it was inconceivable that he should repeat his error and provoke Kirk and nobility into

alliance against him. The futility of the recent League also made converts in his cause. In none of its purposes had it been effectual, while Montrose's trail of destruction swelled the reckoning against leaders whom the nation followed light-heartedly in 1643 towards a receding Utopia. Argyll and his party passed under a cloud. His enemies, Baillie wrote despondingly, were many, his friends but few.

Public sentiment was already moving in Charles' favour when, in June, 1647, Cornet Joyce kidnapped the king at Holdenby and made him prisoner of the New Model. The event stirred in Scotland violent revulsion of feeling, since it portended open conflict between Independents and Presbyterians in England, whose result, unless another army gathered in Parliament's defence, could not be in doubt. On the heels of Joyce's act, the New Model, in a 'Solemn Engagement' whose very title answered the League of an earlier year, organized itself to secure the 'peace of the kingdom and the liberties of the subject.' Its religious bias was notorious. Three-quarters of its officers already adhered to Cromwell; the other quarter seceded upon the army's occupation of London in August 1647, their place being taken by men whose views conformed to those of the majority. 'Because a man is a Presbyterian,' said one of that profession bitterly, 'he shall be turned out of his command.' The army's proposals for a settlement of religion therefore displayed a broad tolerance which Scotland held obnoxious. The Covenant was to be no longer binding; none was to be forced to take it; equal protection was offered against compulsory use of the Book of Common Prayer; no ecclesiastical authority whatsoever was to be permitted to coerce the individual. Still supported by the Estates, Argyll could not accept without protest the plight of his ally and downfall of the hopes which had brought them together. Soon after Joyce's stroke Charles was assured that Scotland's army was at his service on the old terms.

But Argyll's narrow Kirk-controlled counsels were

already opposed by a growing party which throbbed more responsively to Charles' misfortunes and was less insistent to impose the old conditions for aid to restore him to power and defeat the menace of the New Model and its programme. A Scottish army had entered England to enforce uniformity; an English army conceivably might, and later did, charge itself with a mission to promote in Scotland uniformity of another kind. Hamilton, freed from an English prison, and his brother Lanark set themselves to organize this new body of opinion. In October 1647 its views were represented by the Scottish Commissioners in England, who urged the king to seek their aid, with a promise to restore him without pressing the Covenant, provided he would satisfy them generally about religion. Their intervention roused the suspicions of 1646. Fanatics in the army denounced Charles as accountable for the bloodshed of the recent war; voices were raised demanding his life, and at length he resolved on flight. In November, 1647, with an eye on France if things came to the worst, he escaped to the Isle of Wight, alleging his life to be in danger. The army forthwith abandoned its negotiations with him; according to a credible story Cromwell was influenced to that course by a letter from the king to the queen delivered into his hands, in which Charles assured his wife that, their terms being better, he 'thought he should conclude with the Scots sooner than the others.' His preference was confirmed by the conditions, in the shape of Four Bills, which Parliament presented to him: they proposed to take out of his control the forces of the Crown and his veto on the proceedings of Parliament. Moreover, Cromwell refused to support his desire to return to London to negotiate a personal treaty. Immediately after the Four Bills passed the Commons, the Scottish Commissioners in London received a memorandum of the conditions on which he was prepared to satisfy them. Simultaneously with the appearance of the Four Bills and their Parliamentary sponsors at Carisbrooke, Loudoun, Lauderdale and Lanark

also presented themselves before the king. Their authority was exclusively political. They represented royalist opinion and had no mandate from the Kirk, whose leaders supported Argyll's impracticable insistence upon the letter of the treaty of 1643. Their views were so preferable to the alternative Four Bills that Charles could not fail to welcome them. Scotland was comparatively indifferent to the political issues between the Houses and himself and not disposed, as they were, to sever its prerogative wholly from the Crown. On December 24, 1647, he rejected the Four Bills. Two days later he signed the 'Engagement' with the Scottish Commissioners.

The Engagement bound Charles to confirm the Solemn League by Act of Parliament in both kingdoms, with the stipulation that it should not bind objecting consciences. He undertook to sanction 'Presbyterial government,' the Westminster Directory of Public Worship, and the Westminster Assembly itself for a probation of three years, his freedom to use the Episcopal offices and the subsequent settlement being expressly reserved. He concurred with Scottish feeling against the New Model in an undertaking to suppress a formidable category of sects—Anti-Trinitarians, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Familists, Brownists, Independents, Separatists, Libertines and Seekers—along with all 'scandalous doctrines' and practices adjudged 'contrary to the light of nature or to the known principles of Christianity.' He declared his willingness to confirm the Acts passed in the last Scottish Parliaments. On these terms the Commissioners engaged their countrymen to support his demand for liberty to negotiate a personal treaty at London, to emit a Declaration in protest, in case the demand was not conceded, and simultaneously to launch an army into England 'for preservation and establishment of religion, for defence of his Majesty's person and authority, and restoring him to his government.' Meanwhile Berwick, Carlisle, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Tynemouth, Hartlepool, were offered for occupation as military bases, and assurances were given

for the payment of Scotland's military efforts. By additional articles, Charles bound himself to employ Scots and Englishmen impartially 'in foreign negotiations and treaties in all time coming'; to season his Privy Councils of both kingdoms with nationals of the other country; to reside frequently in Scotland; and to employ Scotsmen in positions of trust about his person. The Commissioners admitted that Charles was not bound to 'desire' the settling of Presbyterian government in England nor engaged to present a Bill to that effect to coerce unwilling consciences. As the publication of these conditions would expose Scotland to instant invasion, the Engagement was wrapped in lead and buried in the garden of Carisbrooke Castle. Lanark and his colleagues hastened to Scotland to announce it.

Early in February 1648 the Committee of Estates assembled to receive the Commissioners' report. Lauderdale enlarged on England's declared and rooted hostility to the things on which Scotland's heart was set—the Covenant, Presbytery, Monarchy. He advised war and his hearers concurred. The clergy demurred to action without their consent, and Argyll's support of them procured a conclusion to delay. Less than a month later a new Parliament assembled at Edinburgh to determine the national policy towards England in view of recent happenings. It was at once clear that the old alliance between Crown and nobility which supported James VI in his early contests with the Kirk had been revived and was effective for the same reason. Nobles who deserted Charles in 1637 to confound the bishops were now his friends to humble the Kirk and to vindicate Scotland's legitimate concern in the fortunes of her sovereign. Of their order nearly five out of six approved the Engagement and supported military intervention. The shires and burghs sounded a less certain note; they were closely divided. But of the whole House the majority favoured war. Outside it the ministers denounced association with an uncovenanted king with fiery emphasis, but within the

General Assembly were almost unanimously opposed by the lay electors in their proposal by manifesto to denounce intervention in Charles' behalf. The Engagers prevailed; on April 11, 1648, the Estates in effect delivered an ultimatum to the English Parliament and its military masters. Charles' liberation, the Army's disbanding, establishment of Presbyterian discipline, and suppression of the Book of Common Prayer, were demanded.

The ultimatum was disingenuous; under a cloak of zeal for the Covenant it concealed a purpose which at bottom was royalist and secular. In vain it angled for ministerial support. The clergy, Montreuil reported, thundered 'solemn curses' from their pulpits upon the enterprise and exerted their fullest influence to obstruct its levies. They were ready to fight the Sectaries in the cause of the Covenant, but not to associate with English 'Malignants' to restore a sovereign whose enmity to the Covenant was stubborn, nor to approve an agreement which offered no security for the one religion the Kirk recognized. Supplications against the Engagement poured in from the Presbyteries. The districts of Clydesdale, Kyle, and Cunningham, announcing themselves for the first time as the associates of Fife in the sternest traditions of the Covenant, assembled at Mauchline under their ministers in armed protest and were dispersed with bloodshed. Elsewhere the Engagement was popular. On June 10, 1648, the Estates adjourned, leaving Hamilton to employ the forces to whose command he had been appointed. They proved contemptible in numbers and efficiency, lacking artillery, raw, undisciplined, the cavalry scarce able to keep their saddles at a trot. Instead of 30,000 men few more than a third of that strength mustered when, on July 8, Hamilton crossed the border to Carlisle, expecting reinforcement by English royalists and Scots veterans from Ireland. Growing in numbers as he proceeded, heavy roads and insufficient transport impeded his advance southward. More than a month had passed before Cromwell, whom the crisis summoned from South

Wales, burst upon him on August 17 near Preston, inflicted heavy losses, and pursuing a maimed quarry, dispatched him on August 25 at Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire, where Hamilton made his surrender. Next year he lost his head in London; 'folk said it wasna a very gude ane,' Mistress Wilson told Henry Morton in *Old Mortality*, 'but it was aye a sad loss to him, puir gentleman.'

Hamilton's adventure smothered the royalist reaction which the aggravations of the Solemn League had stimulated, and delivered Scotland bound hand and foot to the Kirk whom his preliminary defeat of Argyll had plunged into deep dejection. 'Contrary to the utmost endeavours of the Church and all their friends,' Baillie wrote in wonderment before Hamilton's collapse was known, an army had been raised and maintained to achieve a purpose which the Kirk profoundly disapproved. Hamilton's defeat, therefore, not merely cheated Charles of his last hope of rescue, but delivered Scotland to a clerical tyranny which already had pitted its force fruitlessly against the Engagement and, but for Hamilton's collapse, must have failed, as in 1596, to fasten itself upon the sinews of the State. On the news of Hamilton's reverse, the Mauchline Covenanters again took arms to disperse a government which had invited so signal a mark of Jehovah's displeasure. Ministers, taking encouragement in the coincidence of Hamilton's defeat with the anniversary of the Solemn League's signature, called out their flocks between the Firths of Clyde and Solway; Loudoun, judiciously trimming his sails, veered to the new power; Leven and David Leslie showed their sympathy, and Argyll, hastening to Edinburgh, took courage in the knowledge that Cromwell's victorious troops were approaching. On September 5, 1648, an army of insurgent south-western Whiggamores —whence the term Whig—anti-Engagers or Protesters, broke into Edinburgh, and overturned a government which showed no spirit to resist. The Committee of Estates, with Lanark at its head, withdrew to Stirling, and capitu-

lated there three weeks later (September 26). Argyll, though he was without official position, resumed his former influence and was in communication with Cromwell for support. Wholly as their outlook differed, for the moment the two men were mutually necessary to each other, linked by the common enmity of the royalists.

Cromwell entered Edinburgh on October 4, 1648, and departed three days later fully satisfied upon the objects which had drawn him into Scotland. That he discussed with Argyll an intention to destroy Charles is alleged, but improbable. His audience was the last before which to divulge a proposal whose fulfilling must challenge Scottish sentiment insistently. His immediate purpose was to extinguish the Engagers and secure the ascendancy of the Protesters. He asked and was conceded that the terms of the Stirling surrender should be imposed and all who had supported the Engagement be permanently excluded from offices of trust. The Whiggamore leaders, whom his advent encouraged to form a new Committee of Estates or interim government, were secured against royalist attacks by two regiments of cavalry and a few dragoons under General John Lambert, to whom Hamilton had surrendered at Uttoxeter.

Cromwell's visit recovered the Kirk's supremacy at a moment when pulpit extravagance was discredited with all except the ignorant population of the south-western shires, who for a century to come were the obstinate champions of an outworn Covenant. Probing 'the mystery of our weakness,' in Robert Baillie's words, the Kirk found it in the recent unholy alliance between a people covenanted with Jehovah and 'scandalous' malignants and other unsanctified associates on whom an outraged Deity had declared His wrath at Preston. To thrust the accursed Achan from the host, to be protected for the future against 'that great and dangerous sin of conjunction or compliance with malignant or profane enemies of the truth,' seemed essential preliminaries to the resumption of relations with the God of the Covenant. Early in

January 1649, a new Parliament assembled at Edinburgh to achieve this pious task. Its composition gave Argyll and the Kirk secure predominance. Only sixteen peers, their supporters to a man, appeared in it. The shires and burghs conducted their elections under conditions which effectually excluded royalists and Engagers. Loudoun presided as Lord Chancellor. A month earlier Cromwell had administered Pride's Purge to the Parliament at Westminster and set in train events which moved inexorably to Charles' trial and death. The Kirk demanded a similar dragooning and Argyll complied. On January 23 the Estates passed an 'Act of Classes for purging the Judicatories and other places of public trust.' It enumerated every variety of secular office and ordained expulsion from them of all persons whom circumstances brought within four prescribed categories. The first and second comprised persons, military or civil, who had promoted the Engagement, or Montrose's activities, or had already been censured as Malignants. The third Class included those who sympathized passively with, or had omitted to use their opportunity to condemn the Engagement. The fourth Class comprehensively named all persons 'in public trust given to uncleanness, bribery, swearing, drunkenness, or deceiving, or are openly profane and grossly scandalous in their conversation, or who neglect the worship of God in their families.' Offenders of the first Class were ostracized for life, of the second for ten years, of the third for five, and of the fourth for one. Even after the expiry of the prescribed period only 'satisfaction' to the Kirk could restore delinquents to the positions their backsliding had forfeited.

The Act of Classes placed the State under the heel of the Kirk, a tyranny supported by incongruous alliance with Cromwell, a union already protested. Argyll's chief supporters, the Commissioners of the Kirk, issued a vigorous manifesto against the English Sectaries and their abettors a week before the Act of Classes was introduced by Argyll in a speech whose five heads he called agreeably

'the breaking of the Malignants' teeth.' Already he foresaw the end of Charles' trial, the advent of a Covenanted sovereign, and was shrewdly angling for an understanding with Lanark and the Engagers. The present alliance on which he rested was shattered by two successive blows. On January 30, a week after the Act of Classes was approved, Charles ended his uneasy life on the scaffold at Whitehall. His sins were patent to two kingdoms who, much as they differed in the ideals on which their hearts were set, found him equally estranged from the moving forces of his period. The circumstances in which he was placed, surrounded by jealous and suspicious enemies, bred in him or intensified a lack of candour, a disposition to conclude agreements with a mental reservation to readjust them to changing conditions, which exasperated opponents and above other reasons ordained his death. 'It hes been his constant unhappiness to give nothing in tyme,' Baillie wrote shrewdly; 'all things have been given at last; bot he hes ever lost the thanks, and his gifts have been counted constrained and extorted.' The circumstances and dignity of his end palliated these memories and brought Argyll's collusion with his slayer abruptly to an end. Once more a Scottish sovereign had been done to death by an English tribunal in Scotland's despite. That his son would repeat his father's misguided repugnance to the Covenant seemed improbable. It was a nation deeply stirred to declare its accustomed loyalty after vain efforts to arrest a crime that hastened to acknowledge its lawful king. On February 5, within a week of Charles I's death, and instantly upon the news of it, the Estates, careless to restrict the assertion to their own kingdom, proclaimed his son King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. Exercise of the dignity was conditional on his affording satisfaction concerning religion 'according to the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant.'

Charles II was barely nineteen when his father's death brought him upon a stormy stage on which he had played

already a lesser part. 'Very tall of his age, with a beautiful head, a brown complexion, and a very tolerable personality,' the prince shared his father's early campaigns in the Civil War with courage and spirit. But after Leven's successes in the North, reflecting that himself and the prince were 'too much to venture into one bottom' Charles parted from his son, who in March 1646 embarked for Scilly and, three months later, passed to France, it was vainly hoped, to spur that Court to practical sympathy with a waning cause. Hamilton's Engagement proposing an invitation to him to join the Scottish army, late in June 1648 he proceeded to Holland to meet his brother and take advantage of anticipated victory. Preston closed that prospect. In Holland Charles continued to reside, guest of his brother-in-law the Prince of Orange at the Hague, where he fell to the charms of 'beautiful, brown, bold, but insipid' Lucy Walters, by whom he already was the father of a son, the later Duke of Monmouth, when Scotland caught him in the dismal meshes of the Covenant.

Late in March 1649, Commissioners of the Estates and Kirk presented themselves at the Hague, ready 'to espouse the King's cause, if he first will espouse God's cause,' writes Robert Baillie, who was on the deputation. They expressed 'mournful sorrow for that execrable and tragic parricide,' his father's death, and offered for his digestion, 'bound together in a book so handsome as we could get them,' the National Covenant, Solemn League and Covenant, Directory of Public Worship, Confession of Faith, and Catechism. Many interests surrounded and strove to win the inexperienced sovereign. High-flying Presbyterians desired to involve him in their missionary crusade upon Covenantless England and Ireland. Hamilton (Lanark) and the Engagers, who had been ostracized in his father's cause, looked for his alliance against the zealots who ordained the Act of Classes. Montrose counselled him to eschew the Covenant's humiliating terms and throw himself upon the unconditioning loyalty of subjects eager

to restore their prince and avenge his father's murder in the defiant spirit of his own lines:

> I'll sing thine obsequies with trumpet-sounds,
> And write thine epitaph in blood and wounds.

Argyll, closely tied in irksome partnership to the fanatics of the Kirk, could anticipate, could hardly exaggerate, the inspired insanity of his pulpit allies, the incredible blunderings that ruined him and their cause at Dunbar. He feared Charles' too close dependence on Hamilton and in particular dreaded his reliance on Montrose. His own constituency was the Presbyterian middle-class, on whose support he desired Charles to found a stable government. Before the king, every other avenue closed against him, accepted Clarendon's 'damned Covenant,' he received Argyll's offer of his daughter's hand. Charles himself pursued one absorbing purpose—to seat himself upon his English throne. That acceptance of the Covenants would prejudice his prospects he was aware. Nor at the moment was he apparently reduced to that unwelcome choice. Ireland, in arms under Ormonde, offered service without conditions. Montrose, zealous to raise Scotland, was confident of answer to an appeal to her educated nobility and gentry to express their natural loyalty. Yielding to his insistence, on February 22, 1649, a month before the arrival of the Commissioners, Charles had named him Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland, Captain-General of all forces he might raise there, and now withstood the Commissioners' insistence that he should dismiss an excommunicated traitor 'in the highest contempt against God.' After leisurely consideration, Charles gave answer to his visitors on May 19, 1649. He accepted the Covenant and Presbyterian doctrine and discipline established in Scotland. The Solemn League he was ready to acknowledge so far as it concerned that kingdom. But in regard to England and Ireland he declared it improper to make contracts with Scotland without consent of their Parliaments. The Commissioners returned at once to Scotland to report their failure.

Before, twelve months later, Charles surrendered himself to the humiliations and insincerity he had at first evaded, Cromwell's sword dashed his prospects in Ireland and Montrose in Scotland adventured the last exploit of his loyal service. Landing in Orkney in March 1650, he crossed to the mainland in April, with a heterogeneous force of Danes, Germans and Orcadians, counting vainly on a general insurrection. At Carbisdale on April 27 his insignificant army was surprised and routed. As he struck westward to the coast and liberty, he was made prisoner in Assynt and on May 21 was hanged at Edinburgh amid indignities which could not abate a carriage 'as sweet as ever I saw a man in all my days,' said an English spectator of the event; 'it is absolutely believed that he hath overcome more men by his death in Scotland than he would have done if he had lived.' He had fought on both sides for the same ideal—a monarchy unimpeded by faction, neither diminished by its subjects nor oppressed by bishops or preachers, a people tyrannized neither by Church nor Crown nor Nobility. As Dr Mathieson writes finely, he 'is now enthroned, beyond the clouds of controversy, amongst the tutelary divinities of the Scottish race, embodying its overpowering energy, its sunless depth of feeling, its intellectual eagerness, tempered by its glowing imagination and its devotion to the past.'

While Montrose, the Covenant's 'bloody excommunicated rebel,' was leading a forlorn hope in Scotland, his master was concluding a treaty with his enemies at Breda. Since the Commissioners received his resolute answer in March 1649, Charles found comfort from no quarter. In Scotland nothing had intervened to abate the terms offered and rejected at the Hague. Some favoured an English alliance against the monarchy. But Argyll and the majority who followed him were convinced that if Charles gave satisfaction regarding religion and Covenant they were bound to establish him. In view of England's certain protest wisdom prompted to close the ranks and heal exasperating differences. But the zealots, not placated by

the Act of Classes which purged the State, clamoured for similar winnowing of the Kirk and had their will. In the summer of 1649 loyalist ministers were deposed by the Assembly, while commissions of enquiry visited and purged the Synods of clergy who refused to support their more furious colleagues or to denounce the Engagement. Cromwell's savage triumph at Drogheda on September 11, 1649, suggested that Charles at length would be discovered in a pliant mood. In October, George Winram of Liberton, dispatched to Holland to sound the king's disposition, found him 'brought very low,' without 'bread both for himself and his servants, and betwixt him and his brother not one English shilling,' living in penury and 'not able to live anywhere else in the world unless he would come to Scotland,' though his 'devilish Council' would improbably suffer him to give the required conditions. Charles postponed reply till the state of his affairs was reported to him. In the last days of the year he learnt that Munster declared for the English Commonwealth and that from Londonderry to Cork Cromwell was master of Ireland. His situation being clearly desperate, and his advisers convinced that 'a treaty on honourable terms' with the dominant power in Scotland alone promised Ireland's salvation and England's recovery, on January 11, 1650, he desired the Committee of Estates to appoint Commissioners to Breda, hinting a hope to find in them 'just and prudent moderation.' To Montrose, whom in effect he was abandoning, he sent the Garter, assurance that the treaty he invited should in no way impede his proceedings, and injunctions to pursue his campaign as 'a good means to bring them [the Estates] to such moderation in the said treaty as probably may produce an agreement and a present union of that whole nation in our service.'

On March 25, 1650, almost upon the day Montrose landed at Kirkwall, Charles at Breda received the Commissioners and their terms. In no particular did they display the moderation he had invited. The zealots in

power, not abating their resolution to set a Covenanted sovereign, sincere or not, over a Covenanted people, again required him to settle the Presbyterian system in England and Ireland, conform to it himself, accept the ostracism of those the Act of Classes had condemned, enforce the penal laws against the Papists, abandon Ormonde, and quash commissions, such as Montrose's, antagonistic to the Covenant. For five weeks, backed by the Prince of Orange, Charles sought to mitigate intolerable conditions, while desperate alternatives were floated and evaporated for lack of means. In April he surrendered and on May 1, 1650, signed at Breda the draft of an agreement which embodied the onerous terms propounded to him. At least they won him access to Scotland. On June 2 he embarked with Hamilton, Lauderdale, his English chaplains, and a number of English exiles, Buckingham among them. On June 23 he arrived at the mouth of the Spey and before landing swore to the two Covenants, a hateful obligation till then postponed.

Whatever delusions Charles entertained as to the position that awaited him in his ancient kingdom were at once dispelled. Demonstrations of loyalty were spontaneous among the population, as at Edinburgh, where the market women, whose mothers had jeered at Laud's Liturgy thirteen years before, dedicated their baskets, creels and stools upon loyal bonfires amid the crashing of bells and trumpets and shooting of ordnance from the castle. But his official welcome was cold and suspicious. At Aberdeen Montrose's dismembered arm above the gate accused him. At St Andrews the pulpit warned him that should he desert the Covenant 'actum est de rege et re regia.' At Falkland Palace all but nine of those who attended him were banished, in whose room ministers assailed him with tedious prayers and sermons. 'I remember,' records Bishop Gilbert Burnet, 'on one fast day there were six sermons preached without intermission. I was there my self and not a little weary of so tedious a service. The king was not allowed so much as to walk abroad on

Sundays; and if at any time there had been any gaiety at court, such as dancing or playing at cards, he was severely reproved for it.' Charles' one consolation was the prospect of a rising in his favour by the English Presbyterians which the Solemn League would call upon his present masters to support, a delusive hope shattered by Cromwell at Dunbar.

The apparition of a Covenanted Stewart in Scotland was a portent England could not disregard: his welcome sinned, the indignant Scots were warned in their own idiom, against 'the very power of godliness and holiness.' Measures were devised to restrain royalist sympathizers, money was raised on the lands of malignants, and Fairfax's retirement cleared the way for Cromwell's command of a punitive expedition to confine Stewart and Covenant to the farther side of the Border. On July 22, 1650, with an army 16,000 strong, Cromwell entered Scotland, sending forward a message denouncing a spirit of domination in the Scots which led them to espouse the cause of a family themselves had convicted of blood-guiltiness with intent to impose it on England, and claiming for his countrymen such liberty to choose their government as he was willing to concede to them. Scotland was not unprepared to meet the challenge; 18,000 foot and 8,000 horse had been raised nominally under Leven's, actually under David Leslie's, command. But the battle was lost before it was joined. When the enemy was at the gates the Kirk, fanatically exalted, provoked an orgy of witch-hunting, determined to purge the army of the Lord and entrust the Covenant's banners to none but its uncompromising professors. Men who fought under Montrose in 1644–45 or under Hamilton in 1648 were explicitly inadmissible. Denounced as the chief malignant, his sincerity contemptuously questioned, Charles himself was banished beyond Forth, ejected from an army assembled to defend his throne. From his camp Cromwell launched barbed messages deriding the unfitness of one who concealed hypocrisy in the folds of the Covenant to rule a godly

people. The sneer turned the Kirk again upon the tortured prince, careless of his sincerity if words could be wrung from him to meet Cromwell's taunt. He was summoned, in a new declaration presented for his signature, to profess shame for his mother's idolatry, his father's blood-guiltiness; to confirm his unhappy pledge to prosecute the reformation of the English Church in accordance with the Covenant; to declare his preference of God's interest before his own and the hope of grace to fulfil it. What Cromwell rightly called a 'feigned submission' was disapproved by the most grave, moderate, and prudent ministers. But the majority and the Committee of Estates set foolish store on the written word. Charles was instructed that only his compliance would put the army into the field to defend his Crown; if he withheld it, Scotland was at Cromwell's mercy; responsibility for what might happen was placed on his shoulders. Complacently his petitioners repudiated his guilt and that of his house 'both old and late.' Charles faced alternatives varyingly disagreeable: hypocritical surrender to ease uneasy consciences, or loss of the one army at his service to gain the English throne. He preferred the former. On August 16, 1650, resolving 'to swallow the pill before further chewing it,' he signed a document which, he said bitterly enough, prevented him from looking his mother in the face again. The army's purging proceeded. Engagers, malignants, men of lukewarm attachment to the extremer cult, were sifted and expelled till, it was said with exaggeration, there remained only such as were unfamiliar with any weapon but 'the sword of the Spirit.' Between 3000 and 4000 officers and men were dismissed as incompetent to fight for a cause which their ejectors had no other means to defend. On September 3, 1650, the latter did their last disservice, overrode David Leslie's counsels and forced him to engage Cromwell at Dunbar in circumstances which ordained his overwhelming defeat.

With accurate perception Cromwell wrote, the day after his victory, 'It's probable the Kirk has done their do.' A

disaster which revived the shameful memories of Flodden and Solway Moss was directly attributable to the fanaticism of those who had imposed the Covenant upon Scotland and rashly proposed to fasten its preference upon the other British kingdoms. The disaster deprived the zealots of authority founded on Hamilton's defeat at Preston and withdrew an opportunity for mischief which, fortunately for Scotland's orderly development, was never recovered. Henceforth the Moderates reigned in the counsels of the Church and, after trials and discouragement, set it upon a comprehensive foundation. But Whiggamore politics were not at once eschewed. While Cromwell occupied the country below the Forth—Edinburgh surrendered on December 24, 1650—Leslie's broken army and the Committee of Estates fell back on Stirling, leaving the shires of the south-west in arms under Colonel Strachan, Montrose's opponent at Carbisdale. Dissension was rife at Stirling. Argyll sensibly attributed Scotland's present pass to the mischievous Act of Classes and the policy that ordained it. He desired to open the ranks, conciliate and employ the Engagers, and settle a common platform with Charles, through whom needed recruits could be drawn to Scotland's service. His own concerns were not absent from his plans; three weeks after Dunbar Charles promised to create him a duke, with the gift of the Garter and an agreement to provide £40,000 due to him from England for the 'brotherly assistance' promised in 1647 and still unpaid. The extreme faction stubbornly rejected any traffic with Engagers. 'I would rather join with Cromwell than with them,' said one of their stalwarts, who, on October 3, 1650, for the last time attempted their purgative methods. A peremptory order to dismiss twenty-four of his household added a last indignity to the many Charles had suffered at the hands of a party not diffident to interpret the purposes and prescribe the methods of the Almighty. With a few companions Charles rode out of Perth next morning, heading for the Gordons and gentlemen of the north, to whom

pulpit tyranny and the Act of Classes were as obnoxious as to himself. He got no further than Clova in South Esk, where he passed the night in a wretched hut. Next day, 'overwearied and very fearful,' he suffered himself to be brought back to Perth by a troop of cavalry dispatched by Argyll.

Charles' abortive dash for liberty—The Start, it is named—incited the Whiggamores to present a Remonstrance to the Committee of Estates, in whom they detected reprehensible weakening in the policy of exclusion so far maintained. On October 17, 1650, the officers and ministers attending the Whiggamore forces at Dumfries disclaimed their duty to the king until by evident acts he dissociated himself from malignants and others of doubtful sincerity to the Covenants. They ventured a reassuring interpretation of the recent disaster in the conclusion that Charles' 'dissembling in the Lord's work' had 'deceived and ensnared' the Almighty Himself; demanded another and more drastic purging of the army, court, and public service; and threatened action to 'get these things remedied.' The ultimatum reached the Committee at Stirling and forced a crisis. Below the Forth Cromwell was established. In the north and west were royalist constituencies not likely to remain passive before further threats by a body, now localized in the south-west, which had behind it a surprising record of ineptitude and failure. Argyll wisely concluded that the nation's situation asked for a policy of comprehension and had the Committee's support to apply it. Early in November an understanding was arrived at with the northern royalists, and on the 25th of the month the Remonstrance was impeached in a Resolution as 'scandalous and injurious' to the kingdom.

The Resolution gave the party that approved it its name in opposition to the Whiggamore Remonstrants or Protesters. On November 26, 1650, the Estates endorsed it, administered a sharp rebuff to the Kirk's extremists, and, to rally the nation, resolved upon the king's corona-

tion. Strachan in dudgeon joined Cromwell, his forces dispersed, and Edinburgh consequently fell. The moderates in the Kirk, ready to meet the laity halfway, agreed to abandon the rigid qualifications which so far had conditioned the Covenant's service. The Estates took advantage of the concession to levy a new army in quarters hitherto excluded and now admitted upon a perfunctory profession of repentance. 'Behold a fearful sin!' wrote one of these recruits with deserved contempt; 'The ministers of the Gospel received all our repentances as unfeigned, though they knew well enough they were but counterfeit; and we on the other hand made no scruple to declare that Engagement to be unlawful and sinful, deceitfully speaking against the dictates of our own consciences and judgments. If this was not to mock the all-knowing and all-seeing God to His face, then I declare myself not to know what a fearful sin hypocrisy is.' Robert Baillie vainly challenged the 'grievous bloodshedders' and 'malignant noblemen' who flocked to the army and resumed positions of trust the Act of Classes had closed against them. On January 1, 1651, at Scone, Argyll set the crown upon his sovereign's head. Circumstances had served Charles well. In the following June the Act of Classes was repealed and no longer stood between him and those who desired to give him service.

The changed complexion of Scotland's government and army rendered probable an agreement with the English royalists which had not threatened before. In the summer of 1651, therefore, Cromwell manoeuvred to obtain a speedy decision. While Leslie, planted at Torwood north of Falkirk, covered Stirling with his new force, Cromwell vainly sought to bring on an engagement. On July 15 he dispatched a small body across the Forth into Fifeshire, intending to cut Leslie from his supplies and force an action. Leslie sent a small detachment to observe the invader. On the 20th Lambert fell on it at Inverkeithing and practically annihilated it, an engagement, otherwise unimportant, which revealed the poor material at Leslie's

disposal and encouraged Cromwell to transfer his whole army across the Forth, seize Perth, and sever Charles from the forces gathering in his behalf in the north. That his movement exposed England to invasion he was aware. But Leslie was pursuing Fabian tactics and clearly had little intention to give battle; whereas, Cromwell wrote to the Speaker, 'if some issue [be] not put to this business it [will] occasion another winter's war, to the ruin of your soldiery, for whom the Scots are too hard[y] in respect of enduring the winter difficulties of this country.' A Scottish invasion might occasion inconveniences; but if it brought about in England the action which Leslie refused in Scotland the risk was justified. Cromwell's prescience was confirmed. Perth fell on August 2. Already, two days before, Charles and his whole army, 20,000 strong or less, were on the march for Carlisle. In England few joined the standard; the Scots were unpopular, while jealousies between Presbyterian and Cavalier and Charles' tactless association with Catholic supporters in Lancashire helped to cheat his hopes of reinforcement. On September 3, 1651, at Worcester, Cromwell won a 'crowning mercy' and brought the civil wars to an end. After hazardous adventures Charles escaped to the Continent and awaited a more hopeful call.

Worcester fight submitted Scotland to a surprising experience, a sudden experiment which barely survived its author. For eight years Scotland had assailed England with demands for ecclesiastical harmony. England in retaliation enforced political incorporation and ecclesiastical toleration, and almost for the first time in her experience subjected Scotland to firm, impartial, efficient government, honest and even-handed justice, not imposing her rule in the missionary spirit that animated Scotland's Solemn League, but as a precaution against a neighbour who had challenged her sectarian ideals and more recently sought to overturn the constitution her revolt against the Stewarts had established. The examples of Rome and Spain were invoked to furnish precedents of

the treatment to which Scotland had exposed herself, and to commend the offer of union as magnanimous. 'How great a condescension it was in the Parliament of England,' writes Ludlow, 'to permit a people they had conquered to have a part in the legislative power.' Scotland indeed was beaten to her knees. Even before the news of Worcester reached him, Monk, whom Cromwell left behind in command, captured Stirling and impounded the Chair of State, royal robes, and public documents. By May 1652, Dunottar Castle, whither the Regalia of Scotland—the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of State—had been conveyed, alone stood for Charles and in that month surrendered. The distant Orkneys submitted and the Committee of Estates were early captives. With her armies overthrown, her government extinct, her king in exile, her Church in twain, Scotland's plight was such as she had not known since Edward I struck her down.

Abandoning its first purpose 'to assert the right of this Commonwealth to so much of Scotland as is now under the power of the forces of this Commonwealth,' the Long Parliament, in December 1651, eight weeks after Worcester fight, definitively settled its policy 'concerning the settlement of Scotland.' In a Declaration of four clauses it announced its resolution 'to advance the power of true religion and holiness' there, a phrase of ominous import to Presbyterian exclusivists; resolved 'that Scotland shall and may be incorporated into and become one Commonwealth with this of England as now settled, without King or House of Lords'; confiscated the property of the Crown and its abettors in the campaigns of 1648 and 1651 who had not since conformed; and promised clemency to all who had 'kept themselves free from the guilt of those things which have compelled this war.' With an eye upon the Highlands and in order to break the power of the royalist chieftains the Declaration indicated the Commonwealth's intention to release their vassals from feudal services and enable them to live 'like a free people, delivered (through God's goodness) from their former

slaveries, vassalage, and oppressions,' a policy whose fulfilment was delayed for a century.

On January 15, 1652, a body of eight Commissioners, including Monk and Lambert, settled at Dalkeith to carry the policy into effect. After formally annulling every authority derived from 'Charles Stuart, who pretendeth himself King of Scotland, or any of his predecessors, or any otherwise than from the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England,' and having 'dang doun' the arms and insignia of monarchy in the public places of the capital, the Commissioners proclaimed Parliament's Declaration and summoned the shires and burghs to send representatives forthwith to Dalkeith 'with full power' to assent to the proferred union. Parliament's meticulous care to represent the negotiations as a transaction between free contracting nations is patent and commendable. In fact, the country being under military occupation, resistance was neither possible nor contemplated. The Union was an act of power, not of bargain. In the course of February 1652, the constituencies sent up their representatives to Dalkeith, before whom the Commissioners placed three 'propositions' for answer in writing: they demanded (1) acceptance of Parliament's 'tender' of union; (2) acknowledgment of its authority in Scotland pending conclusion of the conditions of union; and (3) information as to 'what they conceive requisite' for bringing it into effect 'with speed and best satisfaction to the people of Scotland.' March 18, 1652, was named as the date by which answers were to be lodged.

The Shires almost unanimously assented. Twenty-nine out of thirty-one accepted the Tender; Ayr and Renfrew significantly were the only dissenters. The burghs were less unanimous; fourteen out of fifty-eight withheld assent and were chiefly found in the Whiggamore south-west. The answers to the third Proposition afforded evidence of the anxiety with which the proposed treatment of religion was viewed. On that matter the Commissioners had announced their intentions very positively: ministers

'whose consciences oblige them to wait upon God in the administration of spiritual ordinances according to the order of the Scottish Churches' could count on 'protection and encouragement,' no less than others 'who, not being satisfied in conscience to use that form, shall serve and worship God in other Gospel way and behave themselves peaceably and inoffensively therein.' The threatened toleration moved the Kirk to its depths. Morayshire's deputies stated its position: 'it is to us the foundation of government that our Christian Magistrate should be thoroughly for God,' the partisan of an established creed. Glasgow deprecated a policy which must 'establish in the Church a vast and boundless toleration of all sorts of error and heresies' and provided no authority for repressing them. From almost every quarter petitions supported the Kirk's exclusive authority and urged that the conditions of union should be submitted to a Scottish Convention. Otherwise the answers reflected general hopefulness that Scotland's present masters would repair the ravages of war, and ease the burden, financial and otherwise, of military occupation.

By the middle of March 1652, the Commissioners could report to Westminster an encouraging reception of the Tender and advise the drafting of a Bill of Union and a summons to the Scottish constituencies to elect and dispatch a Committee to Westminster 'with full power on the behalf of Scotland' to effect the Union. The House complied, and on April 21, 1652, proclaimed its decision at Edinburgh, where a humourless English observer of the event reported the population 'so senseless of their own goods that scarce a man of them shewed any sign of rejoicing.' In August a Convention again assembled at Dalkeith, from which, as before, the shires and burghs of the south-west were absent, and elected twenty-one deputies who proceeded forthwith to London, where the disused House of Lords, ordered to be made 'very warm' for the comfort of hyperborean visitors, was put at their disposal, set 'according to the manner used in Scotland

when the Committee of Parliament met with them' at Dalkeith. Their hosts were more careful of their comfort than to admit their plenipotentiary status. The deputies' function was consultative merely, though the status of 'trustee' for their constituents was explicitly admitted. The clauses of the Bill of Union had been already in debate before their arrival invited an opinion upon the most important question connected with it—the relative representation of the two countries in the united Parliament. The deputies made a valiant fight for adequate membership, urging Scotland's services against Charles I as ground for generous treatment. Balancing the taxable value of the two kingdoms, the House refused to concede more than thirty seats and on March 2, 1653, put that number in the Bill. A few weeks later the friction between Cromwell and the Long Parliament grew to a climax: the House was dissolved, the Bill of Union awaited the confirmation of a new Parliament, and the Scottish deputies fared homeward at the public expense, 'having done little or nothing,' they complained.

Notwithstanding the incompleteness of the Union, the new Parliament, which assembled at the army's bidding in July 1653, included five representatives from Scotland, six from Ireland, and one hundred and twenty-nine from England. The bias of a later time found material for mirth in the personnel of this 'little daft Parliament,' which perpetuates the otherwise forgotten name of Praise God Barebone, one of London's Members, unworthily conspicuous through the piety of his godparents. For the first time in history a body met at Westminster in the name of the three British kingdoms. But its composition was in no national sense representative: five of the six Irish Members were Englishmen, and of the five Scotsmen all but one held official posts under a foreign government whose nominees they were, though they urged several matters for Scotland's relief, including the setting up of the Mint 'as the only present remedy against the extreme scarcity of money there.' But the Bill of Union again

failed to reach a third reading. On December 12, 1653, Parliament resigned its powers into Cromwell's hands and its Scottish members ceased an irksome attendance. 'I had there good occasion to meet and be acquainted with many godly men,' one of them confided to his Diary, 'though I can say little of any good we did at that Parliament.'

The unfinished work of two Parliaments was concluded by Cromwell's masterful authority. The Instrument of Government (December 16, 1653), which set up the Protectorate, established a 'Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland' in which Scotland's Parliamentary representation was fixed at thirty Members, whose distribution was reserved for determination by the Protector and his Council. The latter, on April 12, 1654, passed the Ordinance of Union. Besides prescribing Scotland's Parliamentary representation, it ordained the inclusion of the Cross of St Andrew in the arms of the Commonwealth to be borne on public seals; abolished the Monarchy and right of the Estates to assemble; established free Customs between England and Scotland; abolished vassalage and its feudal incidents; laid the maintenance of the united Commonwealth upon the several parts of it proportionally; and attached to the Lord Protector such forfeitures, escheats, rents, and fines in Scotland as formerly fell to the Crown. Three weeks later (May 4) Protectorate and Union were proclaimed at Edinburgh.

Before the first of the Protectoral Parliaments came together in September 1654, the royalists made an ineffectual effort to break the vice which held Scotland so inexorably. The Highlands had never been absolutely quiet: the Macdonalds were out in the summer of 1652 and the Commonwealth's forces scoured the north. Charles was watching the situation closely from France, and in answer to requests for aid dispatched General John Middleton, who had fought Montrose at Philiphaugh and since served under the royal banner at Preston and

Worcester. Till Middleton, who was on the Continent, arrived, the Earl of Glencairn was named his deputy and by the loyal chiefs was proclaimed 'Governor.' Nothing serious was attempted throughout 1653, though unrest was stimulated by the announcement of the English government's proposed settlement and treatment of heritable jurisdictions in the Highlands. Middleton arrived in Ross-shire late in February 1654, and, before the Protectorate's programme of reform was proclaimed at Edinburgh two months later, was at the head of a respectable number of clansmen inadequately equipped and weakened by the customary feuds of their chiefs. Moreover the termination of the Dutch naval war and simultaneous settlement of the constitution promised vigorous reprisals by the English authorities. No sooner had he proclaimed the Protectorate than Monk faced the military situation. Disposing his forces to establish a cordon round the disturbed country from the Moray Firth to Dumbarton, while Argyll, whose son was 'out' with Glencairn, secured the south-west, Monk marched into the clan territory, burning and wasting and leaving it 'unserviceable' for his enemy. Before the end of July the rebellion had flickered out and Middleton, defeated at Dalnaspidal, was a fugitive. At Perth, Inverlochy, Inverness and elsewhere a system of fortresses was organized. Order was re-established and maintained by an efficient police, the exaction of bail for good behaviour, and by restriction of the right to travel and carry fire-arms to such as held official passes.

To Cromwell's first Protectoral Parliament, which met at Westminster on the third anniversary (September 3, 1654) of Worcester fight, Scotland sent twenty-one members, nine constituencies failing to return representatives. The majority of those elected were English officers or Scottish officials of the English government, whose presence by the side of Members from England and Ireland moved Cromwell to hail their assembling as 'the greatest occasion that, I believe, England ever saw, having upon your shoulders the interest of three great

nations.' Their performance hardly matched the eulogy. The House was concerned chiefly to discuss the authority which called it into being, and though the Bill of Union was reintroduced for Parliamentary sanction, it obtained only a single reading before, in January 1655, the House was dissolved. Nineteen months intervened between its dissolution and the assembling of its successor. They were employed by the Protector to institute an important innovation in the government of Scotland, which remained in force till the close of the Protectorate. So far its civil administration had been performed at a distance by the English Council of State, through its eight Commissioners on the spot. In May 1655 a separate Council of State for Scotland was set up, consisting of nine members, of whom two were Scotsmen. In addition to an instruction to consider the best means to continue the Union and establish good government, they were directed to promote Gospel preaching, encourage the Universities and schools, purge the burghs of disaffected magistrates, administer justice, approximate judicial procedure to English law, encourage trade, and foster the revenue. 'We expect little good from them,' writes Baillie of the new Council. But his pessimism was ill-founded. For the first time since 1652 the burghs received permission to elect their magistrates. Justice of Peace Courts were set up 'for repressing of all public and scandalous sins,' and a bargain was struck with the ministers which secured that Charles no longer should be prayed for in public prayers, though, a contemporary remarks, 'he was still prayed for, not only in families and in secret, but in public, being involved in some general that did clearly enough design him to all intelligent hearers,' as a later generation toasted the King 'over the water.'

To the second and last of Cromwell's Parliaments, which assembled at Westminster in September 1656, Scotland sent her full complement of thirty members. As before, the majority were English officials, while the Scotsmen elected, according to Monk, were 'honest and

peaceable' individuals who could be counted 'all right for my lord Protector.' Cromwell, indeed, needed 'friends.' The Bill of Union was subjected to considerable criticism, particularly upon its economic and commercial side, in regard to which, as in James VI's reign, much apprehension was felt in England. It survived discussion in Committee and on April 28, 1657, more than five years after Parliament's Declaration of policy in March 1652, received Parliamentary sanction. Simultaneously Scotland's position under the constitution was modified by the Humble Petition and Advice, which created a House of Peers in which she received four seats, while her numerical representation in the Commons was reserved for future determination by Parliament. Before it met, in January 1659, Cromwell died (September 3, 1658). The new Protector, Richard Cromwell, notwithstanding their distribution was undecided, issued writs for the election of thirty Scottish members, as in the previous Parliaments. Argyll was of the number and the proportion of Scotsmen chosen was unusually large. But on all hands the illegality of their presence was protested, though the Protector's Commissioner compared the House to 'a strong treble cord twisted together, which cannot be easily broken.' Both the Scottish and Irish Members were obnoxious as 'friends' of the Protectoral Court and because they were present in virtue of an executive act which had not received Parliamentary sanction. 'Sixty persons sit amongst you,' objected a Welsh Member, 'that have no vote in your legislature. Any sixty persons that walk in Westminster Hall may as well sit.' 'A greater imposition never was placed by a single person [*i.e.* King or Protector] upon a Parliament, to put sixty votes upon you,' objected Sir Harry Vane; 'by this means it shall be brought upon you insensibly to vote by Scotch and Irish members to enforce all your votes.' 'The Scotch,' said Ludlow, 'are here by an arbitrary power, but by no law.' The old battle waged against Charles I was waged again. 'If the Chief Magistrate may arbitrarily

and absolutely call whom he pleases, he may call what number and from what place he pleases,' said a member. 'Six or seven carry a cause now,' objected another; 'shall we make ourselves slaves by the votes of those that have no right to sit with us?' 'It is not for the honour of the English nation to have foreigners to come and have a power in the legislature,' said one, and added: 'I remember what an inconveniency it was to have so many bishops; so many votes for the king; so many votes to comply with the Chief Magistrate. *Res loquitur*.' The debate proceeded with 'great noise and horrid confusion.' But the difficulty was never resolved. On April 22, 1659, the House was dissolved. Half a century elapsed before Scottish representatives again found their way to Westminster.

The Protectorate succumbed ingloriously to the army that created it. The Rump of the Long Parliament, brought back to Westminster on May 7, 1659, regarded as invalid every public act of authority since April 20, 1653, when Cromwell's determined order locked the House against its Members. By a curious inversion of the probable, therefore, the Union was interrupted by the power that imposed and not the kingdom that suffered it. Less than fifty members attended the ceremony which restored the Long Parliament and rarely more than that number attended its undistinguished debates. In Scotland Monk, in Ireland Henry Cromwell, acquiesced in the army's *coup d'état*; the new Protector vanished into obscurity. The Union had lapsed: had it expired? Of Scottish transactions since April 1653 the Rump officially was unconscious. A fortnight after its restoration, two Scottish Members of the late Parliament, who had attended at Westminster in 1652, moved it to take up the Bill of Union at the point at which that body had left it. The House did so, revived the earlier Bill, gave it a first and second reading, but failed to pass it into law. The causes which defeated it reveal a difficulty which all along hindered the prospects of effectual union. On July 27, 1659, the Independent congregations which had grown up

in Scotland under English protection, fearful of their fate now that Cromwell's impartial hand was withdrawn, petitioned that the new Bill might amply safeguard conscience against the Presbyterian exclusivists. The petition fired a blaze of controversy, which was not extinguished when, on October 13, 1659, the Rump dissolved at the bidding of the master who had restored it five months before.

With natural bias towards that school of religious opinion best disposed to itself, the English government in Scotland held the balance fairly even between rival systems. Religious toleration was less disagreeable to the Resolutioners than to the Protesters or Remonstrants, of whom the former, under the stress of national necessity, had broken from the extreme doctrine which the Protesters still professed—that no circumstances, however urgent, could weaken the nation's obligation to the Covenant or permit the State to engage any but approved Covenanters in its defence. Excepting the fanatical peasantry of the Whiggamore shires this narrow position was generally condemned; of nine hundred parish ministers the Resolutioners, apparently with good cause, claimed seven hundred and fifty. On the other hand their numerical majority was balanced by the English government's favour to the Protesters, whose past history made them anti-royalists. Disputes between these bodies rendered an alien government's task easier than it otherwise would have been. But to Presbyterians of every shade of feeling official toleration encouraged indifferentism and infidelity, and was altogether shocking, while the government's strict subordination of the Kirk to secular control recalled the tyranny of Charles I and his father. On July 20, 1653, 'the saddest day that ever I saw on earth,' an observer bemoaned, a General Assembly met at Edinburgh representative of the Resolutioner, or majority, party in the Kirk. Its authority was instantly challenged by the government's officers, who insisted that, failing permission from Parliament, the Commander-in-

Chief, or the Judges the Assembly must disband. The Moderator protested but obeyed; amid 'groans and sighs' that would have 'grieved any Christian soul' the brethren filed out and were dismissed. The Protesters, in separate convocation, were dealt with next day in the same manner. But, like James VI, Cromwell permitted the subordinate Church Courts, Presbyteries and Synods to function, though an Ordinance of 1654 divided Scotland into five provinces in which a small body of Provincial Certifyers was appointed to regulate admissions to the clerical charges, manses, and stipends of which the government held control, patronage which it proposed to exercise impartially in favour of Protesters and Resolutioners alike. In 1655, the Council induced the clergy to give up praying for the King by name, permitting the Presbyteries to exercise the functions of the Provincial Certifyers, on condition that every minister before admission subscribed his willingness to live peaceably under the Protectorate. But vainly Monk breathed the hope that the Kirk might have 'unity in things necessary, liberty in things unnecessary, and charity in all.' A period of bitter division loomed ahead.

The Restoration had its beginning in England, though Monk and his army in Scotland directly brought it about. The cry in England was for a free Parliament, the cessation of sword rule. That a free Parliament would restore the Monarchy was understood. Whether from conviction or ambition, Monk concluded to champion Parliamentary authority, and a fortnight after the dissolution of the Rump, took an important step before he launched an enterprise which Scotsmen hoped would restore their king and independence. He summoned the constituencies to send representatives to Edinburgh on 'an especial occasion.' There they chose as one of their Presidents the Earl of Glencairn who five years before had raised the king's banner. On the remoter possibilities of his action Monk was silent. To assert the liberty of Parliaments, protect the people of the three nations from tyrannical usurpa-

tion, and establish 'a godly ministry' were the immediate objects he professed. He committed the maintenance of order in his absence to those whom he addressed, and had their approval of an adventure which hardly could result to Scotland's disadvantage. On January 1, 1660, he crossed the frontier and a month later was in London. In the restored Rump the project of Union was raised once more. But the discussion was not serious; to neither Scotland nor Ireland were writs issued for the Convention that assembled on April 25. At its fourth sitting it voted to set up the ancient constitution, a conclusion which restored to Scotland her independence and her monarchy. On May 14, 1660, Charles was proclaimed, a second time, at Edinburgh amid every token of satisfaction at the 'advancement and preference of their native king to his crown and native inheritance.' His first act summoned the Committee of Estates, dormant since 1651. On the first day of 1661 Parliament itself came together in its accustomed place and Scotland passed out of bondage.

Scotland may regard the Cromwellian Union with respect and even admiration. Like James VI the Protector aimed to incorporate two kingdoms in 'one worship of God, one Kingdom entirely governed, one uniformity of law.' Like his predecessor he quashed the General Assembly, which never met again for thirty-seven years after its dissolution in 1653. Like James he left the Church's Synods and Presbyteries undisturbed, willing to allow the Kirk to function in its proper sphere. Like James he dangled the fair prospect of free trade with richer England before the poorer nation. But the circumstances of the Cromwellian experiment give it a character of generosity necessarily absent from the earlier and less fruitful effort. 'With wisdom and liberality,' in Macaulay's words, 'rare in his age,' Cromwell established complete freedom of trade between his own and a subject country. He remodelled its legal and judicial system, but wisely did not attempt to harmonize English and Scots Law. In the spirit of a reformer he proposed to undermine

the antiquated polity of Highland Scotland. And he gave the kingdom quiet. With little exaggeration it was boasted that a man might ride over Lowland Scotland with a switch in his hand and a hundred pounds in his pocket and have no hurt. But the unity he conferred was hollow and evanescent. Scotland's vivid sense of nationality and England's not less stubborn conviction of the superiority her power conferred forbade the approximation of outlook which alone could support a stable union. Another half century of experience was needed to create it. Cromwell's experiment, remarkable and admirable as it was, was sanctioned by Scotland's defeats at Preston, Dunbar and Worcester. It wounded the pride of a proud people, made converts to the cause it overthrew, and vanished with respect, but without regret.

CHAPTER XXII

THE RESTORATION

GILBERT BURNET, sometime Bishop of Salisbury, a Scotsman contemporary with the event, phrased the Restoration in seven words—'a mad roaring time, full of extravagances.' Extremes beget their like and reaction was its prominent note, the 'face of gravity and piety in the former [English] administration,' Burnet observed, making 'the libertinage of the present time more odious.' The libertinage of the one period is probably as exaggerated in tradition as the gravity and piety of the other. The public records, at least, do not establish the passing of the Covenants as the transition from a high moral plane to a degraded public standard. The average Scotsman in 1660 who threw up his cap for the king or drank his health in a bumper of claret flowing from fountains in his honour hurrahed not the passing of piety but the end of a depressing political experience. For nearly a quarter of a century the ancient constitution of the kingdom had been in abeyance and a generation had grown to manhood strange to the Covenant's emotion. 'The insolencies committed by the Presbyterians while they governed, and the ten years' usurpation that had followed, made such a change in people's tempers that they were much altered,' Charles was correctly assured. The Covenants had embroiled Scotland with her ally of the Reformation and more potent neighbour. She had lost of her best blood at Dunbar, Preston, Worcester, and had sacrificed liberty itself. The Kirk had been shattered by internal dissension. Civil war had torn the land and a second Stewart had been beheaded by an English axe. Charles made no promises preliminary to his return; it was assumed that Scotland would passively follow England's lead. But his abandon-

ment of Cromwell's Union, withdrawal of the English garrisons, and slighting of the English fortresses were gifts of price in his hand. His restoration therefore was welcomed, in Burnet's words, in 'a spirit of extravagant joy' whose immoderateness measured contemporary impressions of the quarter-century that preceded it. That the last three Stewarts had opposed themselves stubbornly to the Church and government their subjects preferred was not remembered. The nation had endured an alternative more unpalatable. Eager to recover its independence and revert to its earlier allegiance, it submitted again to the Stewarts' uncorrected autocracy until, its confidence again abused, it bridled its tyrant at the Revolution.

Charles returned from his travels a man of thirty. Burnet, who knew him well, found in him much that was commendable, a good understanding, close knowledge of affairs, good temper, kind words, fair promises, no mean knowledge of mechanics, physics, naval architecture, chemistry, and a retentive memory. He hated business, was 'an everlasting talker,' a gift which 'came in his way too often,' thought nobody served him out of love, loved others as little as he thought they loved him, and so cried quits with a world whose chief obligation, he supposed, was to afford him amusement. He had no sense of religion. 'Both at prayers and sacrament he, as it were, took care to satisfy people that he was in no sort concerned in that about which he was employed: so that he was very far from being an hypocrite, unless his assisting at those performances was a sort of hypocrisy, as no doubt it was; but he was sure not to increase that by any the least appearance of devotion. He said once to my self [Burnet], he was no atheist, but he could not think God would make a man miserable for taking a little pleasure out of the way. He disguised his popery to the last; but when he talked freely, he could not help letting himself out against the liberty that under the Reformation all men took of inquiring into matters: for from their inquiring into matters of religion, they carried the humour further, to

inquire into matters of State. He said often, he thought government was a much safer and easier thing where the authority was believed infallible, and the faith and submission of the people was implicit.' Political convenience certainly, conscience assuredly not, would enter into any ecclesiastical settlement this royal Gallio controlled. If episcopacy came back it would approach the standards of James VI rather than of Charles I.

At the moment of Charles' return Scotland was divided into some nine hundred parishes included in sixty-eight Presbyteries and fourteen Synods. On sound Presbyterian testimony every parish had its minister, every village a school, and almost every family a Bible. Every minister was 'a very full professor of the reformed religion' according to the Westminster Confession, preached thrice a week, catechized once, and reaped abundant fruits witnessing divine approbation. But this happy Eden was blemished by disunion. In 1660, at the centenary of the Reformation, Protestantism was cloven into two bodies—the Whiggamore Protesters or Remonstrants, who rejected Charles in 1650 and deemed him now as insincere as they found him then, an attitude of implacable opposition which became active at Rullion Green, Bothwell Bridge, and Drumclog, and was the more irreconcilable being founded on disappointment. For, the English Convention that recalled the king was Presbyterian in sympathy, and its predecessor, the Rump, had seemed disposed to realize tardily Scotland's hopes to establish the Covenant in England, having ordered that document to be displayed in English churches. But the Protesters were a small, though assertive minority. The main body of Presbyterian feeling was represented by the Resolutioners, who accepted Charles after his father's death in 1649 and were careless, now as then, to bind him to the letter of the Covenants provided he gave the Church a Presbyterian polity. Within their ranks were degrees of opinion, and among them not a few inclined to a moderate episcopacy which should restore bishops to Parliament but leave the

apparatus of public worship substantially unaltered. The majority, though they did not share Robert Baillie's personal regard for Charles, anticipated his favour, on a calculation of royal gratitude. 'Our Kirk, all the English tymes, had been very faithfull to our King, and so instrumentall as we could for his restitution,' Baillie wrote: 'We did firmly expect, at his Restitution, a comfortable subsistence to ourselves, and all our Presbyterian brethren, in all the dominions; and believe the King's intention was no other.' He added, in the light of experience, 'but by divine permission, other counsells thereafter praevailed, and now carry all.'

The throng of English and foreign affairs postponed Scotland's settlement. Its problems that awaited solution did not differ from those that faced Charles in England —restoration of royal authority, settlement of the Church, indemnity to cover the interregnum. But Scotland, not being in a position to extort terms for her welcome, received no promises from Breda. It was not until August that she received an interim executive body in abeyance since 1659. In the interval the choice of his Officers of State exposed Charles' intention to have no dealings with the Covenanters. The Cavalier party being extinct with Montrose, he necessarily favoured the Engagers. Middleton, now an earl, and Glencairn, who had raised the royal standard in 1654, were designated, Glencairn as Chancellor, Middleton, a hard-drinking soldier, as Lord High Commissioner for holding Parliament and Commander-in-chief of the forces to be raised. The two men rallied the remnants of the Cavalier party, were in sympathy with Clarendon's hopes to restore the Scottish hierarchy, and Middleton had private instructions to try the inclinations of the nation for episcopacy. The Earls of Crawford and Rothes, both of whom had fought for Charles' restoration and suffered imprisonment, received the Treasury and Presidency of the Council, the former a man of convinced Presbyterian convictions, the latter, Crawford's son-in-law, an illiterate debauchee. The Secretaryship of State,

'the most considerable in all the land of cakes,' in the language of one of his correspondents, went, after a struggle, to Lauderdale. He had been one of the signatories of the Engagement, fought at Worcester, was imprisoned in the Tower of London, whence he was released at the king's recall, joined him in Holland and was received into high favour; a heavy, ungainly, red-haired man, with a tongue, like James VI's, too big for his mouth; his manner 'rough and boisterous and very unfit for a court'; possessed of brilliant learning; much against Popery in his heart and a settled Presbyterian; the master of a broad and not delicate wit which gained him Charles' favour; but addicted to luxuries, and contemptuous of principles where his gratification and thirst for power were concerned. He was ready to sign 'a cartload of such oaths before he would lose his place,' he said scoffingly when renunciation of the Covenants was made a condition of public office. The Secretaryship kept him at the king's side, gave him his ear, and permitted its holder to dictate his policy. For nearly twenty years he ruled Scotland.

Towards the end of August 1661 Glencairn, received with pomp at Edinburgh as Chancellor, convened as an interim executive the Committee of Estates appointed by the last Scottish Parliament and captured by Monk at Alyth in 1651. They reassembled—nobles, barons, and burgesses—on August 23, and their first act of authority fell upon the Protesters. That body had invited the Resolutioner majority to unite in an address to Charles congratulating him on his return, putting him in mind of his own and the nation's Covenant with the Lord, and praying that his reign might be prosperous like those of David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah. The invitation was not accepted. As there was no prospect of an Assembly, while the Synods were not convened until October, a few Protesters, including their leader, James Guthrie, met in private near the Parliament House and drafted a vigorous supplication to the king, deprecating the reintroduction of 'prelacy, and the ceremonies, and

the Service-book, and all these corruptions which were formerly cast out,' urging the reformation of religion in England and Ireland, the restriction of all offices of public trust to such as had subscribed the Covenant, and desiring to be persuaded that 'no length of time hath made your Majesty to forget, or weakened upon your heart, the sense of the obligation of that great and solemn oath of God in the Covenant.' Their innocent purpose, one of their number insisted, was to supplicate his Majesty to 'oppose those abjured corruptions of prelacy and ceremonies that are coming in.' After thrice bidding them disperse, the Committee arrested all but one of them and impounded their papers, finding therein particulars reflecting upon the king, the Church and government of England, the constitution of the Committee itself, 'and many other things directly tending to seditions, raising of new tumults, and (if possible) rekindling a civil war amongst his Majesty's good subjects.' An order followed forbidding unlawful conventions, while a royal letter to the Edinburgh Presbytery avowed disingenuously the king's intention 'to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation.'

On January 1, 1661, after an interval of nine years, Parliament assembled at Edinburgh. The constituencies having been carefully nursed, nobles and commoners gathered in a mood of obsequiousness beyond the ordinary. Under Middleton's presidency they sat for six months, produced nearly four hundred Acts, and restored at a stroke the autocracy of James VI and his son. The appointment of Officers of State, Privy Council, and Lords of Session was declared 'an inherent privilege of the Crown and an undoubted part of the royal prerogative' (January 11), while the power to hold, prorogue, and dissolve Parliaments, Conventions, and Committees of Estates was proclaimed to reside 'solely in the king's Majesty' (January 11). Having in mind the actions of Parliament during the Civil Wars, further Acts placed the control of the Militia, making of peace and war, conclusion of

treaties or Leagues with foreign states, exclusively within the royal prerogative (January 16), framed an oath of allegiance to be taken by 'all public ministers' expressly comprehending the foregoing decisions (February 27), and concluded with an Act Rescissory annulling the proceedings of the Parliaments of 1640, 1641, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, and 1648 (March 28), the effect of which, supplemented by special measures dealing with the events of 1643 and 1649, was to expunge from the Statute Book all measures subsequent to the Parliament of 1633, and consequently to found episcopacy automatically as the government of the Church 'as it is settled by law.' To reassure the anxious Presbyterians, on the same date, a declaration of Charles' intention to maintain the 'true reformed Protestant Religion in its purity of doctrine and worship' was recorded. An annual grant of £40,000 put it in his power to maintain a standing force in Scotland, an engine of discipline and order which none of his predecessors had possessed (March 22).

The Act Rescissory deprived the Presbyterian Church of constitutional sanction. What should replace it, if its disestablishment was in contemplation, was not revealed until the following September. Meanwhile, the Act of March 28 notwithstanding, the Act Rescissory permitted Sessions, Synods, and Presbyteries to continue. Immediately thereafter Glencairn and Rothes proceeded to London, in company with James Sharp, Minister of Crail, the acknowledged leader of the Resolutioners for ten years past. 'Sharp of that Ilk,' Cromwell called him, admiring his supple intelligence, had been sent to London in 1657 to circumvent the Protesters' hopes of English favour, returned again in 1659 on a similar mission to oppose Johnston of Warriston's influence in Richard Cromwell's Parliament, and went a third time in 1660 with precise instructions from his party to secure that in the imminent settlement 'the Kirk of Scotland may, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and privileges of her established judicatures, ratified by the laws of the land.' Though his opinions were fluid, he

looked back on the late 'troubles' with dismay, holding that 'our contests with our princes and magistrates have betrayed us to our great guilt and reproach,' convinced that the new generation had no love for Presbytery, and that, as he expressed himself on the eve of his fourth and conclusive mission to England, 'were it putt [to] the vote [in Parliament] within ten dayes presbyterie would doun and episcopacy [be] sett up.' That his opposition to episcopacy would have been effectual cannot be alleged. To impeach him as the traitor within a fortress otherwise impregnable exaggerates his influence and opportunity. He was ambitious, not ill-meaning, a weak man at bottom, disposed to join the stronger side, and too loosely grounded in Puritan principles by his Aberdeen masters to sacrifice himself for a losing cause. But his correspondence convicts him of persistent duplicity. On the eve of his departure in 1661 he announced to a friend his employment on a 'new toyle,' and added, 'but I tell yow it is not in order to a change of the Church.' Before the end of the year he was a bishop.

At Whitehall Sharp found Middleton's interest uppermost. The Commissioner, hurrying to London when the Estates rose in July, assured the king that 'the greater and honester part of the nation' desired episcopacy; he instanced the Aberdeen Synod, who had petitioned for it. Sharp added that none but Protesters were against it, and not a paltry twenty Resolutioners would be found actively to oppose it; it would be sensible to establish it 'in the first heat of joy after the Restoration.' Lauderdale urged caution, warning that opposition would prove to be 'stiff and eager,' an opinion countered by Sharp's rejoinder that Lauderdale's direct experience of Scottish opinion was not recent. Clarendon objected to England's restored episcopacy being endangered by contact with an alien establishment beyond the Border. Ormonde lodged a similar plea in the interests of Ireland. Lauderdale's influence notwithstanding, Charles accepted the conclusions of the majority.

Meanwhile in Scotland Parliament had risen on July 12, 1661, after a session whose output of public legislation took seven hours to proclaim at the Market Cross. The Privy Council was forthwith set up, to which, at the end of August, Glencairn reported the king's resolution, 'after mature deliberation,' to 'interpose our royal authority for restoring of that Church to its right government by bishops as it was by law before the late troubles.' The Council was directed to recover the endowments of the revived Sees, inhibit the holding of the approaching Synods, and repress public protests against the royal order. No voice was raised against the decision, though 'some smart repartees' were exchanged between Glencairn and a colleague who urged caution. On September 6, 1661, Charles' decision was proclaimed and 'cheerful acquiescence and obedience' was commanded. It needed only Parliamentary ratification. On May 8, 1662, the Estates gathered for a second Session, and on the opening day restored Parliament's 'ancient constitution.' Sharp and three other ministers had received episcopal consecration in England in the preceding winter and since had admitted five more to their order. The nine prelates forthwith took their places in Parliament and upon the Committee of Articles. A fortnight later (May 27) they were confirmed in their former dignities, privileges, and jurisdictions, power of ordination, inflicting of censures, and all other acts of Church discipline, functions which they were directed to exercise 'with advice and assistance of such of the clergy as they shall find to be of known loyalty and prudence,' a provision, Burnet remarked, which set episcopacy 'on another bottom than it had been ever on in Scotland,' whose bishops had been presidents of their diocesan clergy, constitutionally bound by their counsel. To complete their authority a further Act (June 11, 1662) directed all ministers who, by virtue of the Act of 1649 abolishing lay patronage, were holding charges from congregations or presbyteries, to obtain presentation by the lawful patron and collation by their

diocesan before September 20 following. In spite of subsequent extensions of time the Act effectually purged the Church of Presbyterian stalwarts, particularly in the Protester country of the south-west, where few conformed. Of the whole body of clergy something less than one-third followed their consciences, preferring, in Wodrow's words, to 'suffer rather than sin.' The Universities were submitted to similar winnowing, and a 'gravestone was set up upon the Covenants and Presbytery' by an injunction to all persons in public trust to abjure the Covenant.

Thus prelacy, 'that tree of sorrow and death in Scotland,' was again erect. James VI's innovations fifty years earlier were carried gradually, superimposed episcopacy upon a Presbyterian organization, and had the assent of the Church's representative bodies. Charles' procedure was less cautious, though it lacked the provocations of his father's. Neither in social rank, political influence, nor wealth were the Scottish bishops comparable to their English brethren. Presbyteries, Kirk Sessions, and Synods continued to function as they had done without interruption since 1638. The English Liturgy was privately used; the Presbyterian ritual was not disturbed or superseded. 'Conceived' prayers and the new Psalter provided the apparatus of Episcopal worship, with the occasional addition of the Doxology, Lord's Prayer, and Creed. The Perth Articles, which the Act Rescissory had restored to authority, were ignored; there was no altar, surplice, or liturgy, infrequent observance of the great Church festivals, and no kneeling at Communion. Indeed, an English Presbyterian, visiting Scotland in 1671, found public worship so closely conforming to his accustomed forms, that he wondered why there should be dissent until he was informed that renunciation of the Covenant condemned the Establishment in the regard of Nonconformists. The new episcopate was placed over rather than in partnership with a Presbyterian polity, acknowledged the king as 'Supreme Head,' and offended anti-Erastian prejudices. Lay patronage, now restored, was blemished

by the same defect. Moreover, the settlement was open to the charge of treachery and ingratitude to a Church of whose ministers two-thirds had welcomed a sovereign to whom, in Sharp's words, they were 'disposed to yield more in Church matters than before to any of his royal progenitors since our Reformation from Popery.' With a body so disposed within the Church, a nobility agreeable to Charles' dictum that Presbyterianism was 'not a religion for gentlemen,' a younger generation of ministers and people indifferent to the Covenants and not averse from episcopal institutions, and authority indisposed to ordain irritating ceremonies, it is reasonable to conjecture that franker methods would have secured a settlement by consent and achieved the permanence Charles' disingenuous policy forbade.

Not until episcopacy was conclusively restored was the question of amnesty entertained. The English Indemnity Bill rapidly concluded a bargain made with Charles before his return. In Scotland neither did an agreement with the king exist nor was there such ground for severity as existed in England. Offences against Charles I had been expressly condoned by his son in 1651. The regicides were English; and Scotland's submission to Cromwell, being enforced and involuntary, could not reasonably constitute a ground of general impeachment. But personal and religious feuds were bitter and demanded victims. Argyll, charged with complicity in Charles I's death and acquitted on that count, was unfairly condemned for compliance with Cromwell's rule. It was not thought safe that he should live, Baillie judged. Johnston of Warriston, an active organizer of opposition to the Crown throughout the Troubles, was hanged on that ground. William Govan, an obscure soldier said to have assisted at Charles I's execution, and James Guthrie the Protester, against whom Middleton had a private grudge, completed the toll of lives. Over the rank and file the fear of reprisals hovered until September 1662, when an Act of Indemnity was clogged with the excepting of some eight hundred

persons from its operation, chiefly in the south-western shires. Their admission to favour was conditioned by the payment of sums of varying amount, calculated at nearly £2,000,000 Scots total, for the relief of the king's good subjects who had suffered in the late troubles. Middleton's private grudge against Lauderdale inserted a clause in the Act empowering the Estates by ballot to select twelve persons for exclusion from public office. By judicious manipulation Lauderdale's name was in the list. But his influence at Court was too securely grounded, and a coincident Act compelling office-holders to renounce the Covenant was as little effective to dislodge him. He offered cynically to swallow a cart-load of oaths to maintain his place. Middleton paid the penalty of his temerity. In March 1663 he was relieved of his post as Lord High Commissioner and passes out of Scotland's history, a 'valiant unhappy man.' With his dismissal the era of reconstruction in the Scottish Restoration closes.

The lieges of Linlithgow, observing the king's birthday in 1662, humorously displayed a picture of 'Rebellion in a religious habit, with eyes turned up, and other fanatic gestures,' and devised a 'mean mock of the work of reformation' in the form of a Litany:

> From Covenanters with uplifted hands,
> From Remonstrators with associate bands,
> From such Committees as governed this nation,
> From Kirk Commissions and their Protestation,
> *Good Lord deliver us.*

As a paean of deliverance the celebration was premature. Middleton's administration had sown the seeds of rebellion more localized but not less stubborn than that of 1638. By the summer of 1663 one-third of the Church's ministers had sacrificed manse, church, and stipend rather than submit to lay patronage and episcopal collation. The south-west, where a few clergy conformed, was in sullen, rebellious mood. That the ritual of public worship and the Presbyterian Courts were undisturbed afforded no palliative. The Covenants were disowned; bishops, 'the spawn

of Popery,' ruled and were mighty in the State; the Church was denied its General Assembly; and Erastianism was rampant in an Act explicitly confessing the Royal Supremacy. To deal with this inflammable situation was the new government's pressing problem. Middleton's fall and Charles' grant of the first English Indulgence in the preceding (1662) December indicated return to moderate courses with which Lauderdale sympathized. But in England the reaction was brief. Clarendon recovered influence, and from 1663 to 1666 directed a series of Acts against English nonconformists whose character made a policy of toleration difficult in Scotland. Lauderdale, also, determined to maintain his place at Court and relations with the English establishment, was handicapped by the fact that he had not always been of the episcopal party and that favour shown to the Presbyterians must excite its suspicion of his purposes. He was not a free agent and inclined to watch rather than control a policy of which he disapproved. Scottish Councils no longer met at Whitehall after Middleton's fall. The 'good old form of government by his Majesty's Privy Council,' as Lauderdale called it, was restored in Scotland, to which Sharp and a fiery colleague, Alexander Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, were admitted. Rothes, son of the famous Covenanter, was named Lord High Commissioner, a genial debauchee, monumentally illiterate, whom Burnet found 'so unhappily made for drunkenness' that with little effect on himself he could drink all his friends 'dead' and 'subdue two or three sets of drunkards, one after another.' With humour he defended his loose morals on the logical plea that his office represented the king's person. To him and the archbishops Scotland was delivered until the consequences of their rule, patent in the Pentland Rising, called for Lauderdale's intervention.

The new Commissioner met Parliament, assembled for its third Session, in June 1663. Lauderdale was present to set him on his course. The latter's task was not easy. Parliament had supported Middleton stoutly in a policy

Lauderdale disapproved. He was generally regarded as the hope of a moderate settlement. But his interests at Court, along with his equivocal past, compelled him to appear the friend of the Episcopal establishment. His first Act gratified the bishops and put Parliament in his pocket by restoring the mode of electing the Articles adopted in 1633: the bishops chose eight nobles, the nobles as many bishops, the sixteen as many from the combined burgesses and county barons, and the Commissioner added the Officers of State. The method persisted till the abolition of the Articles in 1689. Truly Lauderdale reported to Charles, 'nothing can come to the Parliament but through the Articles, and nothing can pass in Articles but what is warranted by his Majestie; so that the king is absolute master in Parliament.' His programme thereafter was easy. To conciliate the Presbyterians he constituted a National Synod or Assembly of the Church, composed of the archbishops, bishops, deans, with the Moderator and one other deputy from each Presbytery. But it pleased neither bishops nor clergy, the latter complaining that power was wholly withdrawn from them in an assembly in which the bishops and their nominees, the Moderators, completely preponderated; the bishops objecting to the independent veto vested in Sharp as the Archbishop of St Andrews; and all cavilling at the restriction of their debates to matters introduced by the Crown. No one wished for a National Synod so constituted, and Lauderdale received credit for good intentions unrealized. The chief Act of the Session was endowed with more fatal vitality. Already the measures of the previous Session against nonconforming ministers had been confirmed and the Privy Council bidden to enforce them sternly. It was necessary, besides, to counter a growing movement to reject the ministrations of the conforming curates by whom the 'outed' ministers were being replaced. In June 1663 similar circumstances in England moved the Commons to pass the Conventicle Act, which forbade meetings for religious worship outside Parish

Churches. In July 1663 a similar measure passed the Estates, entitled an 'Act against separation and disobedience to ecclesiastical authority.' It subjected 'persons who shall hereafter ordinarily and wilfully withdraw and absent themselves from the ordinary meetings of divine worship in their own parish church' to fines, varying in amount according to the social position of the offender, 'and such other corporal punishment as they [the Council] shall think fit.' 'It is hoped,' Lauderdale wrote for his master's eye, 'the penalties will be stronger arguments to move them to outward conformitie then any divines could use.' The 'Bishops' Drag-net,' it was called, afforded the Council a mighty engine of repression whose employment drove the south-west into revolt. Meanwhile the Estates rose for a prolonged vacation. By Lauderdale's means Charles was as absolutely master of Scotland as his grandfather sixty years earlier. Lengthy Parliaments, he told his sovereign, 'are more unfitt for Scotland then for any other place,' while people were 'overwearied' with their 'pretended' government. Another did not assemble till 1669. English interference had withdrawn on the collapse of the mixed Anglo-Scottish Council at Whitehall. Scotland reverted to the 'good old form of government' by Privy Council, with Lauderdale at his master's ear at Whitehall to prompt or correct its actions.

The Council plunged at once into a stubborn contest with opponents whose obscurity and obscurantism invited severities. While the rest of Scotland remained quiet and obedient, the south-west, says Burnet, 'became very fierce and untractable.' Nowhere did the Act restoring lay patronage and episcopal collation rouse more bitter indignation. In the Synods of Dumfries, Galloway, Glasgow and Ayr, ministers turned out almost to a man: Wodrow names only twenty-three conformists in all that wide area. To replace the seceders was a difficult task and one of its agents admitted 'the negligent indifferent throwing in' of interloping ministers to have stirred the

disquiet that followed. The Universities and northern shires were ransacked to provide the vacant pulpits of congregations who complained of the new pastors as 'immoral, stupid, and ignorant,' criticizing 'the weakness and indecency of their preaching and their whole deportment.' To listen to these 'profane hirelings,' said an objector, afforded as speedy and certain a road to hell as idolatry and witchcraft. Robert Wodrow, writing the history of the Suffering Kirk early in the eighteenth century, details with satisfaction the shortcomings of unhappy 'Jeroboam's priests' who 'came in with perjury written in their foreheads' and 'over the belly of solemn oaths and covenants the kingdom was under to the Lord.' Some, 'alas, too many, were heard swearing very rudely': others were remarked 'staggering in the streets and wallowing in the gutters, even in their canonical habits': and one, notoriously a witch, was owned as 'Penman my chaplain' by Satan himself, who on occasion administered Communion to his chaplain's congregation! Charges so grotesque reveal the atmosphere into which these well-meaning men were obtruded. Yet, the ground of their offending was substantial. Some questioned the validity of their ordination at the hands of men who received pretended power from 'the supremacy.' Others rejected pastors set up by force and maintained by that authority. Some found their discourses 'tended to popery.' All held themselves bound in a Covenant with God to resist the prelates' underlings. The question became urgent, 'Might they hear the curates?' Sometimes they were entreated to be gone. Elsewhere reasoning and argument met them. Most generally they were entertained with affronts and indignities. Church doors were locked and inconvenient windows alone offered undignified access to the interior. Bell clappers were secreted to excuse the obligation of church-going. 'Bare walls and nobody to preach unto' was the common experience of the newcomers. Constrained to wander for lack of spiritual bread, their unpreached flocks sought the 'outed' ministers who

sojourned in their midst. Hovels and private houses proved too small for those who resorted to them for public prayers. In the Presbytery of Dumfries two of the nonconforming ministers, John Welch of Irongray and Gabriel Semple of Kirkpatrick, began to preach in the open fields, believing, like a later one of their kind, that 'if the Lord could be tied to any place, it is to the mosses and muirs of Scotland.' The practice became general: conforming curates addressed empty benches: under the skies of heaven their obstinate congregations defied the government and fulfilled their duty to their exclusive God.

The registers of the Privy Council and public records of the reign divulge the government's concern over these proceedings. In August 1663, under the penalties of sedition, nonconforming ministers were bidden to remove themselves and their families twenty miles from their late incumbencies and not to reside within six of a cathedral city or three of a royal burgh. Sharp and the bishops complained of the Council's remissness in executing the order and suspected Lauderdale's moderating influence. Hence, towards the end of the year, the archbishop's visit to Whitehall procured permission to set up a High Commission (January 1664) to take order that Acts of Parliament and Council were 'put in vigorous and impartial execution.' The preponderance of bishops and ecclesiastics upon it, and its facility to meet in places where the Council could not be readily summoned, made it, as in former reigns, the 'plight-anchor of bishops' and opposed clerical to lay authority in a manner the latter found disagreeable. Protested against as arbitrary and oppressive, 'Crail Court,' its enemies styled the Commission, did not survive the approaching rebellion. Its striking arm was a body of horse commanded by Sir James Turner, once an adherent to the Covenant, later an Engager in 1648, 'naturally fierce, but mad when he was drunk, and often so,' according to Burnet. He was commissioned to exact a fine of twenty shillings (Scots)

upon absentees from Church, quartering his troopers by pairs upon delinquents until their fines were paid, and acting without further reference upon the curates' information. The work of repression proceeded throughout 1664 and received fresh impetus from the relations of England and Holland, which developed to war in the spring of 1665. The government was apprehensive lest a Dutch success at sea should excite rebellion in the disaffected shires and suspected the Whigs of correspondence with Holland, whence money and arms might be forthcoming. Despite the protests of one of the bishops, who 'could not concur in the planting the Christian religion itself in such a manner, much less a form of government,' the dragooning of the south-west continued, though the Commission was discharged. The Indemnity fines, so far not levied, were now (September 1664) called in, and Turner received orders to disarm the troubled shires. More troops were raised under officers lately in Russian service, Sir Thomas Dalziel of Binns and William Drummond, of whom the former, according to Burnet, 'acted the Muscovite too grossly,' and the latter, *teste* Wodrow, was 'a person some more polite, and yet abundantly qualified for the work in hand.' Two regiments of foot and six troops of horse were raised which, with those already levied, provided a standing force of about 3000 foot and horse. The Indemnity fines met the charges of an establishment to which Scotland's experience was strange in time of peace.

The government's repressive measures incensed a population which had been foremost to resist the Engagement and had risen to coerce Lanark and the Resolutioners in 1648. Rothes, in March 1666, was glibly informing Whitehall that there was 'no hazard nor scarcely a possibilitie of any sturreing' against the established Church and State. But the Whigs were closely following the progress of the Anglo-Dutch War and in July their partisans were in communication with the Dutch government for the capture of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and

Stirling Castles. The Fire of London in September was reported as a clear mark of heaven's displeasure over a broken Covenant and as putting affairs in such disorder at Court that a vigorous stroke might completely unsettle the king's policy. The fermentation was increased by the Council's decision to take up the Indemnity fines, make heritors and landlords responsible for the conduct of their tenants, and disarm them all. Turner, who had been active in the south-west in the spring, was sent into Galloway in the autumn on this enlarged service. Towards the middle of November, as he lay at Dumfries, with a handful of cavalry quartered on the surrounding district, a sudden scuffle blazed into rebellion.

Reporting to Lauderdale when the crisis was over, Rothes gave his opinion that the rebellion was the work of 'damd ffulls who hes antisipat ther taym of raysing,' a judgment apparently sound. Its beginning was at Dalry where, on November 13, 1666, a party of nonconformists happened on Turner's troopers threatening a prisoner who refused to pay his church fines. A scuffle followed: the soldiers drew their swords and one of their number fell, 'barbarously shot in the body with a great many pieces of tobacco pipes, ten whereof afterward were by the surgeon's care taken out.' Turner was not distant and reprisals could be looked for. Sending out a hasty summons, the Whigs named a rendezvous at Irongray next day for a dash on Dumfries. Early on the 15th about fifty horse rode into the town, abducted Turner, inadequately clothed in nightgown, nightcap, drawers and socks, and impounded his papers and money. Having gone too far to retreat, they resolved to beat for recruits in Ayrshire, rendezvoused on the 21st near Bridge of Doon, about seven hundred strong, and had a valuable recruit in James Wallace, who served in the English Civil War with the rank of Colonel and gave competent military guidance to a force otherwise deficient in it. Hope mounted high; an advance on Glasgow was mooted and abandoned on the news that Dalziel was gathering his forces there, prepa-

ratory to an advance. Edinburgh, headquarters of the Presbyterian 'Popes' of an earlier generation, was reported friendly, and the prospect of a stroke by the Dutch fleet lured the Whigs towards the capital. In weather vile and most depressing the weary march was continued to Lanark where, on the 26th, the whole force, about 1200 strong, renewed the Covenant. Unofficial overtures promised pardon if they would lay down their arms. But their hearts were high, the Raid of 1648 was in their recollection, and the advance proceeded. At Colinton on the 28th the vanity of their hopes was patent; Edinburgh was close guarded and Dalziel hot on their track. Before nightfall he forced an action at Rullion Green and brought the rash adventure to an end. About fifty of the insurgents were left dead on the field. More were made prisoners.

Premeditated or not, the brief rebellion was the fruit of a heavy-footed policy. Little enthusiasm for prelacy animated the secular hierarchy. Cromwell had tolerated Presbyterianism while denying it an Assembly, the focus of disturbance since the Reformation. Charles was chiefly concerned to maintain the tractability Cromwell had secured and looked to the bishops to obtain it. Their provocations were in great measure responsible for the rebellion and it moved them to fresh severity. Rothes, in close concert with Sharp, assured Lauderdale that quiet would not be restored till the insurgents were 'totally ruined.' Dalziel expressed vindictive judgment upon 'that damnet crue' and concluded that the country would never be calm until the Whigs were removed or destroyed. Commissioned to pacify the disturbed area he followed his own counsel and 'acted the Muscovite too grossly,' says Burnet: 'When he heard of any that did not go to Church, he would not trouble himself to set a fine upon him, but he set as many soldiers upon him as should eat him up in a night. By this means all people were struck with such a terror that they came regularly to church. And the clergy were so delighted with it, that they used

to speak of that time as the poets do of the Golden Age.' Eighteen prisoners were hanged at Edinburgh. Others suffered at Glasgow and in their own counties. Many were hanged before their own doors, their dissevered arms being exposed at Lanark where they raised them to swear the Covenant. The criminal courts were overworked and a Commission of Justiciary was set up in December 1666 to try the authors and abettors of the rebellion. The torture of the 'boot' was applied, one of whose victims, Hugh McKail, 'died as in a rapture of joy' uttering a valediction long remembered: 'Farewell, sun, moon, and stars. Farewell, kindred and friends; farewell, world and time; farewell, weak and frail body. Welcome, eternity; welcome, angels and saints; welcome, Saviour of the world; and welcome, God the Judge of all.'

These severities were ill-advised; they failed to divert the nonconformists to other courses and lost the bishops an opportunity by leniency to capture public regard. Lauderdale's delicate situation forbade him to curb a policy of which he disapproved, though Rothes, who confessed that 'he liked sogers above all other ways of living,' and the archbishops appeared to be establishing a rival authority upon military force. But an opportune change in the political situation in England afforded him opportunity. Clarendon's position, already challenged by the nonconformists, who execrated the author of the penal code, and by the cavaliers, who held his Indemnity an act of betrayal, was wholly undermined by the humiliating course of the Dutch War. In August 1667 he was dismissed from office. Lauderdale dispatched Sir Robert Moray to Scotland to direct a similar change of government there. Sharp was ordered to confine himself to his diocese where, after an interval, a gracious letter from the king restored him 'as a resurrection from the dead.' Rothes was induced to lay down the Commissionership, which Lauderdale designed for himself, and instead received the Chancellorship, which Sharp had vainly hoped to fill. The Treasurership was put in commission,

Lauderdale's friends preponderating. His mastery was assured. In August 1667 the army was disbanded, excepting two troops of lifeguards and eight companies of foot, to the dismay of the Archbishop of Glasgow who declared that, now the army was dismissed, 'the gospel would go out of his diocese.' Finally, in October 1667, an act of pardon and indemnity was offered, with between fifty and sixty exceptions, to all engaged in the late rebellion. Though the bishops pressed for renunciation of the Covenant to condition the grant, the new 'bond of peace' merely required the subscriber not to rise in arms 'against or without his Majesty's authority.' The 'religious part,' Burnet remarked, was to be left to 'time and good management.'

The fall of Rothes and temporary obscuration of Sharp foreshadowed reversal of the policy which provoked the recent rebellion. Charles, writes Burnet, 'was now upon measures of moderation and comprehension.' Experience, Lauderdale told him, had shown that 'the old spirit of Presbitery did remaine with some of the Bishops, soe unwilling are Church-men, by what name or title soever they are dignified, to part with power.' He came down to Scotland as High Commissioner to correct it, to make his sovereign absolute master in all causes and over all persons at the expense of bishop and presbyter alike. Sir Robert Moray and the Earls of Kincardine and Tweeddale were his principal lieutenants. Sharp comported himself 'very meek and humble,' though his colleague of Glasgow, outraged as the stubbornest Protester by the Crown's relentless supremacy, made angry protest. On the episcopal bench the saintly Leighton of Dunblane counselled an effort to bring conformists and nonconformists together within a comprehensive establishment. His 'accommodation' proposed to settle the bishops in a position analogous to James VI's Constant Moderators, *primus inter pares* in their diocesan synods and without a veto, controlled by the majority of the ministers in their jurisdiction and prerogative of ordination, and subject to

a revision of their actions by Provincial Synods summoned every third year or oftener. The proposal left little more than the name of bishop, and could be construed so easily in England as 'a pulling down of episcopacy' that Lauderdale refused to accept a measure whose consequences would fall chiefest on himself. Moreover, the army being disbanded, a great increase of house-conventicles was reported and an 'insolent' spirit was abroad which revealed itself in July 1668, when James Mitchell, whom Wodrow's stereotyped vocabulary of unction labels 'a preacher of the gospel and a youth of much zeal and piety,' shot a brace of bullets into Sharp's coach in full daylight in an Edinburgh street, missed his target but shattered the arm of the Bishop of Orkney, Sharp's companion, walked off unmolested, and having 'shifted himself of an old wig' which concealed his identity, joined the excited crowd unconcernedly, and for the moment was safe.

In the circumstances, Lauderdale elected to attempt an indirect attack upon the Presbyterian citadel. On July 15, 1669, the Council had Charles' instructions to announce a scheme, thereafter distinguished as the First Indulgence, which proposed to restore to church, manse, functions, and stipend such ministers 'outed' in 1662 as since had lived 'peaceably and orderly,' provided their old cures were vacant and they accepted episcopal collation. To those who refused that condition manse and glebe were offered, with such a sum for maintenance as the Council might contribute from the revenue of vacant benefices. All who were restored were pledged to attend Presbyteries and Sessions, confine their ministrations to their own parishes, and refrain from 'seditious discourse or expressions in the pulpit.' About forty-two ministers availed themselves of conditions which, the Council declared hopefully, removed 'all pretences for Conventicles.' Their surrender compromised the essential principle of Presbyterianism—the Church's independence of secular authority—and divided its once irresistible ranks. By

their old parishioners they were treated with something of the contempt which the interloping curates had received. 'King's Curates,' 'Council's Curates,' 'dumb dogs that can not bark,' were names hurled at them in contumely. The Episcopalians equally resented the intrusion of Erastian Presbyterians into the establishment, and Burnet of Glasgow thundered so strong a denunciation of the Indulgence that, in punishment for his 'unchristened Remonstrance' and 'damned paper,' he was bidden confine himself to his city during the imminent session of Parliament.

In October 1669, opening the second Parliament of the reign as High Commissioner, Lauderdale announced the king's resolve 'unalterably to maintain episcopacy' and invited the Estates to reconsider with the English Parliament the prospect of a union of the two kingdoms. Charles urged it as conducing to strengthen his government, root out jealousies and animosities between his subjects, and preclude such divisions as had estranged the two nations in the recent troubles. Those who opposed Clarendon's ecclesiastical policy approved a proposal which promised to reinforce their cry for toleration. In Scotland commercial interests concurred. The poorer country had been too hardly hit by the Civil War to benefit from the Cromwellian gift of free trade. Its advantages were made patent at the Restoration, when the boon was withdrawn and negotiations for a commercial treaty broke down on England's refusal to except Scotland from the scope of the Navigation Act. But otherwise Scottish opinion supported Lauderdale in opposing a scheme whose adoption would automatically quash his viceroyalty. With satisfaction therefore he reported a few days after communicating the king's message: 'You cannot imagine what aversion is generally in this Kingdome to the Union. The [Cromwellian] indeavor to have made us slaves by garrisons and the [present] ruine of our trade by severe lawes in England frights all ranks of men from having to doe with England.' Both Parliaments assented

so far as to appoint Commissioners, who met at Somerset House in September 1670, and continued in Session until the following November, dissolving without arriving at a conclusion, uncompromisingly at variance upon Scotland's insistence to receive in the united Parliament representation equal to the numerical strength of her own.

With greater zeal Lauderdale introduced two measures designed to assure the Crown's supremacy. The recent Indulgence flatly conflicted with the legislation of 1662, which forbade persons not collated by their diocesan to preach, and for that reason was not entirely agreeable to the bishops. An assertion of the royal prerogative was necessary to enable the Crown to carry its purposes against a bench no longer trusted. But an Assertory Act (November 16, 1669) declaring the king's 'supreme authority and supremacy over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical within this his kingdom' was extravagant in its scope. It alleged the Crown's unqualified right to control the Church's administration and external government, meetings, and officers, and declared null and void all laws and customs inconsistent with the supremacy thus declared. 'I brought it into the Parliament before eleven and had it passed without so much as one contrary vote in the forenoone,' Lauderdale reported triumphantly to Charles: 'You may now dispose of Bishops and Ministers, and remove and transplant them as you please (which I doubt yow can not doe in England). In a word, this Church, nor no meeting nor ecclesiastick person in it, can ever trouble you more unless yow please.' Burnet of Glasgow, who flamed again in indignant protest, was the first victim of the new supremacy; he was ejected from his See. On the same day the Estates passed into law an Act ratifying the Council's otherwise illegal raising of a militia of 22,000 to replace the army disbanded in 1667, a force declared liable to serve in 'any part of his Majesty's dominions.' 'If you command it,' Lauderdale wrote joyously to his master, 'not only this Militia, but all the fensible men in Scotland, shall march when and where

you shall please to command, for never was King soe absolute as you are in poor old Scotland.' Such was Lauderdale's work. It secured him in his master's favour for ten years and laid a foundation upon which James VII built to his undoing.

Before the second session of Parliament opened in July 1670, what Burnet styles 'a great change' happened in Lauderdale's life. After the death of her husband in 1669 he revived an earlier intimacy with Elizabeth Murray, in her own right Countess of Dysart, a woman of great beauty, extraordinary brilliance in ability and conversation, but restlessly ambitious, extravagant, ravenously covetous, and quite unprincipled in the means she employed to reach her ends. Over Lauderdale she acquired absolute mastery, was the sole avenue of approach to his favour, and jealously set herself to sever him from his accustomed friends. After the death of his wife (1671) he married her (February 1672) and became, says Burnet, 'quite another sort of man than he had been in all the former parts of his life.' Moray, Tweeddale, and ultimately Kincardine quarrelled with him, and lack of their influence to counteract his mistress' imperiousness set him on another course and detached him from the policy of toleration he so far had pursued. He was influenced also by a great revival of conventicles which, after the suppression of the Pentland Rising, had been discontinued. A large field meeting was held in Ayrshire in January 1669, the first since Rullion Green. But their principal arena was no longer the diocese of Glasgow, where the Indulgence had accomplished its divisive work. The nonconformists of Fife and Lothian, of old stubborn centres, looked to obtain the boon their brethren in the south-west had compelled and to extort it by similar methods. In 1669, for the first time, a field conventicle was held in Fifeshire: a larger one met in June 1670 near Dunfermline. To the latter some 'gentlemen of estates' came bearing arms, causing the government to suspect rebellion and transporting Lauderdale 'almost to fits of rage.'

These circumstances, personal and political, drew from Lauderdale what he termed 'a clanking Act against Conventicles,' passed by the Estates on August 13, 1670. Unlicensed ministers and others attending house prayer-meetings or preachings where more than the family were present were made liable to severe penalties. Field conventicles were declared treasonable and, for the preacher, punishable with death. The Act passed unanimously, but displeased Charles' good humoured indifference: 'bloody laws do no good,' he remarked. By other Acts 'outed' ministers were forbidden to baptize, and persons absenting themselves from their parish church on three successive Sundays incurred heavy fines. Still, Conventicleism increased. The bogey of Popery also was raised, and with cause; in the secret Treaty of Dover (May 1670) Charles had committed himself to restore the Catholic faith with France's aid. The Court's wooing of moderate Presbyterianism was suspected to announce a wider toleration for Papists. Fiery zealots rabbled the houses of conforming ministers, robbed and wounded them, and instanced the Israelites' plunder of the Egyptians and slaughter of the Canaanites as approving Biblical precedents. Lauderdale, moved to fury almost ungovernable, prayed for a rebellion which should permit him to bring over the Irish 'to cut all their throats.' Meanwhile the outbreak of the Dutch War summoned Parliament to Edinburgh in June 1672 and afforded opportunity to enlarge the lengthening list of minatory Acts against nonconformity. Illegal ordinations were made punishable by confiscation of goods and banishment. Fines were imposed on persons failing to have their children baptized by their parish minister, and the 'clanking Act' of 1670 was continued for three years beyond its approaching expiry in 1673. In September 1672, to diminish conventicles and divide the Presbyterian ranks still further, the Council issued a Second Indulgence to about eighty ministers ejected in 1662, who were now offered parishes, chiefly in the diocese of Glasgow,

upon the conditions of the First Indulgence. The boon worked its subtle poison. 'The Presbyterians, who before this had been very much of a piece,' Wodrow sadly admits, 'did now divide; and the scar of this wound is yet continuing among us.' The conformists held it reasonable to resume charges from which they had been unlawfully excluded. The extremists scouted the Indulgence as an act of unlawful Erastian authority. The quarrel grew to an angry broil.

When Lauderdale again met Parliament in November 1673, to his astonishment and anger he faced organized opposition from a 'Party' or 'Faction,' led by Hamilton and his former friend Tweeddale, founded on a general suspicion that his policy marched in close association with the Cabal in England. The Militia Act was construed as abetting the Crown's popish policy there, and his proferred Indulgences were suspect as prefacing one of more embracing character to include the Roman Catholics. In England Protestant fears already, in March 1673, had procured the Test Act, which forced the Duke of York's withdrawal from the Admiralty and his revelation as a Papist. Lord Shaftesbury, chief opponent of the Catholic design in England, was active in Scotland, with results, says Burnet, which struck Lauderdale 'as one almost dead; for he had raised his credit at Court by the opinion of his having all Scotland in his hand.' His 'insolence' and 'engrossing every thing to himself and a few of his friends,' the venality of his wife and brother, the Master of the Mint, the incompetence of his wife's 'creatures' in the Court of Session and elsewhere, her meddlesomeness, which caused men complain that there were two Commissioners, were aggravations generally challenged. The debasing of the coin and imposition of heavy duties upon tobacco, salt, and brandy, to the enrichment of private monopolists, were protested with such vigour and angry remonstrance to Charles that Lauderdale prorogued and finally dissolved Parliament, which had no successor until 1681. Estrangement from his own order threw him upon the bishops, for whose favour he paid a price. The

Hamilton 'Faction' was inclined to the Presbyterians, a fact, along with the animosities of political parties, which encouraged a great increase of their activity. House and field conventicles were general in Fife, Perth, the Merse, as in the counties below the Forth. The nonconforming leaders, conducting 'perambulations,' preached to large audiences, sometimes in the fields, sometimes in vacant churches, even in Edinburgh itself, and provoked the Council to revive a discipline formerly imposed upon the Roman Catholics. In June 1674, heritors and masters were bound in damages to restrain their tenants and servants from attending house-conventicles ('seminaries of separation') and field-conventicles ('rendezvouses of rebellion'), and rewards were offered for the apprehension of ministers attending them. A year later (August 1675), 'unsatisfied with this small game of picking up a minister here and there,' the Council issued 'letters of intercommuning' against more than one hundred persons, of whom about twenty were ministers, a process which made those who harboured, entertained, or conversed with them art and part in their offence.

A fierce and savage spirit was engendered by this last measure in those it menaced, who, apprehending persecution, left their homes and roamed at large, 'like a sort of banditti.' Troops patrolling the disturbed districts, and local garrisons quartered in private houses, failed to restore the situation. Hence in 1677 the proclamation of 1674 binding heritors and masters was repeated. The impossible obligation was widely refused, an evasion which moved Lauderdale at the Council table, his arm bared to the elbow, to swear that the bonds should be subscribed. In February 1678, at the ploughing season, eight or nine thousand Highlanders and Lowland militia were distributed throughout Ayrshire to enforce the bond and disarm the county. The Highland Host behaved with 'exorbitant rudeness and insolence,' exacted free quarters from an indignant population, and after a month withdrew, laden with spoil as if from a battlefield.

Lauderdale's measures deliberately provoked rebellion. 'There was no pre-concert,' Wodrow declares; 'but the oppressed people gradually fell into the rising by a chain of things making it some way necessary to them.' More dramatic, its beginning was as unpremeditated as that of 1666. On May 3, 1679, certain outlawed Whigs, lurking on Magus Muir near St Andrews to apprehend one of Sharp's agents, fell in with the archbishop himself, travelling with his daughter from Edinburgh. To his other offences he had added recently the execution of Mitchell, his assailant in 1668, though the wretch was convicted solely on his own confession extracted on a promise of mercy. To the disordered bigots who chased his carriage Sharp's very presence was a divine injunction: 'Kill, kill.' With characteristic ferocity they pistolled and hacked him to death before his daughter's eyes. Three weeks later (May 29) a larger band, the archbishop's murderers among them, entered Rutherglen, extinguished bonfires celebrating the king's birthday, burned the Acts which established and supported episcopacy since 1661, and having affixed their Declaration or Testimony, withdrew. The movement had passed into other hands than those which guided its early steps. Field-preachers ordained for that work, whose livelihood depended upon their vogue with the undisciplined rabble they led, as ready to molest indulged ministers and congregations as to fight the forces of the Crown, now captained peripatetic or ambulatory conventicles which assembled at stated places on Sunday and never wholly dispersed. Their motions were closely watched by the regular forces, reinforced in the autumn of 1678 by three new troops of horse; to the command of one of which John Graham of Claverhouse, lately in service in the Low Countries, was promoted. Encounters had already taken place with the Whigs, whose leaders, Claverhouse inferred, were accustoming them to face regular troops. It fell to him to track the authors of the Rutherglen defiance. On June 1 he came upon them at Drumclog, near Strathaven, in superior

numbers and a position not easily accessible. Eager to distinguish himself on the threshold of his career, he engaged, was repulsed, and rode headlong from his defeat. 'This may be counted the beginning of the rebellion,' was his comment on the day's tussle.

The events that followed, but for their grim issue, have an aspect of comedy which *Old Mortality* barely exaggerates. Drumclog was a trumpet-call to the persecuted. They flocked in hundreds to Hamilton, a devoted mob prating of 'testimonies' but at fierce issue upon the terms of them, Indulged and rejectors of Indulgence, victims of a military leadership of incompetence sufficient to damn the cause of archangels. Had James Wallace, who headed the revolt of 1666, been present, another story might have been told. Robert Hamilton, whose social position marked him out for leadership, had no other qualification; his courage was as suspect as his honesty and ability. While the forces of the government fell back on Stirling to await reinforcement, the insurgents, a considerable body, occupied Glasgow (June 6) and misspent a fortnight in angry wrangling and indecision. The 'honest' or non-Indulged demanded of the conformists a testimony against 'the defections and apostacies of the times.' The need for a public Declaration was admitted and the factions met to draft one. Each producing a document to the other's dissatisfaction, the Moderates affixed their Declaration to Hamilton Cross. The 'honest' condemned it as inadequate in everything but its refutation of prelacy and called for explicit condemnation of the Indulgence. On Sunday, June 15, contention reached its height. Rival Boanerges struggled for the pulpits; the 'honest' threatened force, declaring that if their rivals did not preach, 'name and sirname, against the Indulgence, they should preach none.' As in 1650, suspected Achans were expelled, and the removal of Moderates from positions of command was proposed.

Meanwhile the government was taking large measures to quell the sudden revolt. The Militia were called out, and reinforcements were dispatched to Berwick by sea. The

Duke of Monmouth, the favourite of the English nonconformists, was judiciously selected for the command, and reached Edinburgh on June 18, 1679. Two days later he advanced towards Hamilton Moor, where the insurgents were encamped. Their divisions continued, though their precarious situation drew them together in a rejected overture to Monmouth promising submission if a free Parliament and Assembly were conceded. Within a few hours the host, leaderless, distracted and unprepared, blundered into battle. Deserters were not a few, 'for it was our common discourse that we could do no good,' writes one who was present: 'we were not concerned with an enemy, as if there had not been one within a thousand miles of us. I do really think there were few or none that had both powder and ball in all the army to shoot twice.' On June 22 the armies faced each other, Bothwell Bridge intervening. By ten in the morning the Whigs were in utter rout with a loss in killed and prisoners of nearly one-third of their strength. The survivors scattered before Monmouth's cavalry. Before the end of the month the duke returned to Edinburgh and ten days later, after receiving its Freedom in a gold box, departed for London. The circumstances of the Popish Plot inclined Charles to lenient treatment of the Scottish mutineers. Seven persons were hanged, and of 1400 prisoners most were released. About two hundred, shipped for Barbadoes, were drowned in a storm at sea. Meanwhile, on his return to Court, Monmouth, says Burnet, convinced his father that 'all this madness of field conventicles flowed only from the severity against those that were held within doors.' His interest procured an Indemnity for the recent rebellion and a third Indulgence (June 1679) which, enforcing the standing laws against field conventicles, authorized house conventicles elsewhere than in the immediate neighbourhood of Edinburgh, St Andrews, Glasgow, and Stirling, a concession withdrawn (May 1680) after Monmouth's disgrace.

The arrival of the Duke of York in Scotland in the

autumn of 1679 dashed the prospects of a policy of conciliation. Expelled from England, he was permitted to select Edinburgh for his exile and successfully courted those whom Lauderdale's despotic courses had driven into opposition. In any circumstances the 'tumultuary rebellion' must have ended the minister's career. Stripped of honours, offices, and pension, this 'noble and Extraordinarie person,' his successor in the title called him, died in August 1682. A zealous Covenanter in early years, his later career was never wholly inconsistent with that tradition. Had he stood in Middleton's place in 1662 the Restoration Church conceivably would have been placed on a foundation of different and less provocative character. Though he set himself to suppress field conventicles, the effort was against an unreasonable minority, nor was adventured until accommodation had been attempted without success. The nonconformists were obnoxious to him as rebellious subjects, not as religious dissidents. Rothes and his prelatical advisers made rebellion, or the fear of it, an excuse for religious persecution. Those who followed Lauderdale preferred that example to his own, and within ten years of his death the dynasty at whose supremacy he had connived was expelled from both its kingdoms.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE REVOLUTION

BEFORE Lauderdale, bowed and bulky, passed from the scene, the stage was set in Scotland for the Revolution, the last tragedy of the reigning Stewarts. On it already contended two clashing extravagances, equally aloof from the spirit of their period, narrow, bigoted, intractable, yet moved by impulses for whose sanction conscience was invoked: on one side 'a strange spirit of fury' actuating a minority to disown their civil allegiance; on the other, a government resolute to impose a Popish king upon a stubbornly Protestant kingdom, too nervously apprehensive of opposition to distinguish the fanatical vapouring of a few from the tolerant passivity of the majority, goading the latter to action by intolerable and senseless severities, and stirring violent apprehensions of Popery to which Scotland had been deadened for three generations. Even the equable Leighton, dying in 1684, expressed to Burnet shortly before his death 'a greater severity against popery than I had imagined a man of his temper, and of his largeness in points of opinion, capable of. He did this with an edge that I did not expect from so recluse and mortified a man.' By the summer of 1681 these angry opposites were face to face. In June 1680, twenty-one insignificant persons published at Sanquhar their Declaration against the sovereign. A year later (July 1681) the king's Roman Catholic brother sat as Commissioner in the Parliament House to sanction an Act declaring his religion no bar to his future accession.

Ever since the first Indulgence (1669) government and people had moved uneasily towards that compromise which alone promised equilibrium between the absolutism of Knox and Melville and the divine right of the Stewarts.

Three Indulgences in ten years had drawn all but the people of a corner of the kingdom into an establishment nominally episcopal but innocent of the aggravations which provoked a nation to arms in 1638. Bothwell Bridge afforded the Moderates convincing proof of the futility to prolong a dangerous and profitless partnership with fanatics. The latter were moved by the same experience to dissociate themselves from those whom they styled the 'rotten hearted,' who, in their judgment, invited defeat by compromising the essential principles at stake. Even Wodrow's biased judgment knew the unreasonableness of this faction, its invincible narrowness, slavish subservience to windy formulas, and deliberate contempt of all preachers but those who were 'very much obliged' to say nothing but what was expected of them. Self-styled 'the godly' and 'the honest' party, and bearing the names of two leaders actively associated with it, Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill, its instigators were two ministers—John Brown and Robert McWard—banished to Holland after the Restoration, who bitterly attacked the Indulgence from that safe shelter, and 'all our temporizing pursuers of peace,' denouncing the Assertory Act of Supremacy as a deposition of Christ from His 'chair of state,' assailing conforming ministers as betrayers of the citadel, men who exchanged God's House for 'an Erastian synagogue,' and the established government, in the words of one of their Declarations, as having 'altered and destroyed the Lord's established religion, overturned the fundamental and established laws of the kingdom, taken away altogether Christ's church-government; so that none can say that we are now bound in allegiance unto them, unless they will say we are bound in allegiance to devils, whose vicegerents they are.'

A similar disposition to extravagance produced the Gibbites or Sweet Singers of Israel, of an exclusiveness so aristocratic that they found nobody in the kingdom, 'in or out of prison,' with whom to converse as Christians, abjuring Covenants, conventional customs and clothing,

and authority of all kind whatsoever. Both types fall within Burnet's category of 'frantic people.' A modern government would bestow on the former the amused indifference with which the Duke of York regarded 'King Solomon' Gibb. The standards of that age demanded another policy; treasonable talk translated into treasonable action was too serious a menace to authority nervous of public opinion. Its error was its senseless confusion of Cameronians with Presbyterians, who neither approved nor countenanced the extremists, and its rigour towards all, Moderates as well as others, from whom opposition to its Popish designs was looked for.

Richard Cameron was in Holland during the Bothwell revolt, sitting at the feet of McWard, who liked his 'savoury gospel-spirit.' Returning to Scotland in the spring of 1680, he found his 'honest' party crushed and hopeless, applied to many non-Indulged ministers to gather the scattered flock round them as preachers, and was refused by all but Donald Cargill, 'the times being so very hazardous.' Cargill had fought at Bothwell and welcomed in Cameron one newly come from the fount of inspiration. After meeting for drafting a Declaration, the two ministers and nineteen other persons, on June 22, 1680, the anniversary of Bothwell Bridge, rode into Sanquhar, with drawn swords and pistols in their hands, and after a solemn procession and singing of psalms affixed upon the Market Cross 'a most treasonable and unparalleled paper.' Asserting it to be not amongst the Lord's smallest mercies 'to this poor land' that at no time had there been lacking some to give testimony 'against every course of defection,' 'a remnant in whom He will be glorious,' it alleged it to be 'one of the Lord's great controversies against us' that none yet had disowned 'him who (it is true so far as we know) is descended from the race of our kings, yet hath so far deborded from what he ought to have been, by his perjury and usurpation in Church matters, and tyranny in matters civil.' Therefore, 'considering the great hazard of lying under such a sin

any longer,' the authors of the Declaration 'disown Charles Stuart as having any right, title to, or interest in the said crown of Scotland for government, do declare a war with such a tyrant and usurper and all the men of his practices, and far more against such as would betray or deliver up our free reformed mother-kirk unto the bondage of Antichrist the Pope of Rome,' in particular 'the Duke of York, that professed Papist.'

The Council received this document with horror at the audacity of its authors, 'most of them ruffians and the scum of the people,' and offered 5000 marks for Cameron's arrest, dead or alive, and lesser sums for his associates. A month later the irreconcilables met the fate their action invited. On July 22, 1680, their party was surprised at Airds Moss near Auchinleck in Ayrshire. Cameron was killed on the spot and seven or eight of his small company with him. David Hackston of Rathillet, one of Sharp's murderers, made prisoner there, was executed with the barbarities the law prescribed. Of the leaders only Cargill remained. With undaunted spirit, in the wildest Hildebrandine mood, and, remarks Wodrow, to the 'much reproach and ludibry to the enemies of the Church of Scotland,' at Torwood near Stirling in September, 1680, after preaching from the text, 'Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person,' he passed sentence of excommunication upon the Dukes of York, Monmouth and Lauderdale, Rothes, Dalziel, and Sir George Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate and conductor of the recent prosecutions. The rhodomontade of this surviving pontiff of a Presbyterian Rump exasperated the government further, a mood intensified by the publication of pamphlets justifying public rebellion and private assassinations. In November a reward was offered for Cargill's apprehension, dead or alive; three of his followers, one of them a brother of the Laird of Skene, were hanged at the Market Cross, Edinburgh, in December. The soldiery and Justiciary courts were active in the south-western counties, beating energetically for evidence against suspected

participants in the Bothwell rising, and in April, 1681, an emphatic order was issued by the Council against now infrequent Conventicles, declared, 'by the undeniable experience of all sober men, to have bred up the unwary commons unto a most atheistical giddiness, [and] to the owning of murdering principles.' Cargill, apprehended in July 1681, contended before the Council, 'that the Scripture says "that the Lord giving a call to a private man to kill, he might do it lawfully"'; he instanced Jael and Phineas. He could expect, and received, no quarter. On July 27, 1681, the day before the Duke of York opened the last Parliament of the reign, he was executed with four of his adherents. In the following October five more sufferers followed the same road. The Cameronians were headless and overborne, as divided from their Presbyterian brethren as from the government that persecuted them, until in 1683 James Renwick, returning from Holland, revived them and provoked the so-called Killing Time.

On July 28, 1681, the Duke of York, as High Commissioner, opened the last Parliament of his brother's reign with a letter from the king declaring the purpose of its assembling to be the 'enacting of such laws as experience hath discovered to be wanting for distribution of justice in several cases which have emerged since our last Parliament.' Reference was made to recent 'rebellious extravagances.' But the chief designs in view, in Wodrow's words, were 'to bear down separation, that is, Presbyterians in Scotland, and to secure the Duke's succession, that is, Popery in Britain.' On August 13 the latter purpose was achieved at the cost of a measure ratifying former Acts of the present reign and of Charles I and James VI securing the liberty of 'the true Kirk of God,' and confirming all Acts 'made against Popery.' A second Act on the same date declared, any law passed or to be passed notwithstanding, that no difference in religion could forfeit the rights of succession and lineal descent of the Crown to the nearest of kin (the Duke of York) and his lawful heirs. The Act answered and rebuked the English

Whigs who were pushing the Exclusion Bill, and cleared the way to consider the problems peculiar to the Scottish situation. On August 31 an Act, hereafter known as the Test Act, called upon public officers to put into strict operation the laws against papists and 'all fanatic separatists from this national Church'; directed parish ministers annually in October to furnish the bishops with a list of papists and 'schismatical withdrawers' from church in their bounds; and presented a lengthy and ambiguous oath to be taken by all persons (the king's lawful brother and sons only excepted) in civil and ecclesiastical office. The subscriber swore that he professed the true Protestant religion contained in the Confession of Faith of 1567; renounced principles contrary to and inconsistent with it; accepted the king's unchallenged civil and ecclesiastical supremacy and promised full allegiance; admitted it unlawful for the subject to enter into Covenants or Leagues, rise in arms against or endeavour to overthrow the established government in Church or State; and undertook to maintain the king's jurisdiction 'against all deadly.' An oath simultaneously pledging the subscriber to maintain the Confession of Faith and the king's supremacy, which the Confession explicitly denied, deserved its description as a medley of Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and self-contradiction. It encountered much opposition. The Confession of 1567 was so 'worn out of use' that none of the bishops had read it! But repudiation of the Covenants, acknowledgment of the royal supremacy, and acceptance of the doctrine of passive obedience were obligations which offended a vastly larger public than the Sanquhar Declaration spoke for. The President of the Session, Sir James Dalrymple, a colleague of Lauderdale's milder courses, was deprived for refusal to take the Test. Many hereditary Sheriffs followed his example. Argyll, the son of the first Marquess, protested against the royal family's exclusion from the Test, holding them potentially the chief source of danger. He took the Test, but with a qualifying clause, 'as far as it is

consistent with itself and the Protestant religion,' was imprisoned for leasing-making, condemned to death, but, escaping to Holland, survived to deal an ineffectual stroke against James in 1685. Burnet, Sharp's colleague, who now received his place as Primate, heartily approved the Test. But there were many objectors among the clergy, chiefly of the Moderate school. The majority said openly that it was against their conscience, remarks Gilbert Burnet; 'but they saw they could not live in Scotland unless they took it.'

In May 1682 Sir George Gordon of Haddo (first Earl of Aberdeen) succeeded Rothes as Chancellor, and the Marquess of Queensberry became Treasurer. Their policy was to hold the country so securely that nothing should impede the Duke of York's succession at his brother's death. Grossly blundering, and tempted by the collapse of armed rebellion and total cessation of field conventicleism, they wantonly provoked the passive dissenters, whom at all hazards they should have placated, by treating them as abettors of the Cameronian fanatics, a body of whom burnt the Test Act at Lanark in January 1682. Claverhouse, lately appointed Sheriff of Wigtown, was sent into the south-west to put this policy into effect. He was empowered to summon before him persons absenting themselves from their parish churches, guilty of conventicles, disorderly baptisms and marriages, harbouring and resetting rebels since Bothwell Bridge, and to levy fines conform to the Acts of Parliament. With nice economy of punitive effort he expended his severity upon persons implicated in the last rising, resetters and ringleaders, whom he pursued with relentless vigour, eating up their substance, like Turner before him, and compelling them to give bonds for good behaviour. The rank and file he summoned to meet him, exposed the consequences of contumacy, and had the satisfaction of reporting, as at Kirkcudbright, that the churches were again attended by persons who for seven years past had never entered them and so far had evaded compulsion.

The efficiency of his methods brought hundreds into touch with the law whose passivity long since had purged them of complicity in the events of 1679.

The government's firm determination and its instruments' efficiency filled the churches, though many, says Burnet, 'did not mean to worship God, but only to stay some time within the church walls; and they were either talking or sleeping all the while.' Not content with the ordinary processes of compulsion, the Council instituted, in April 1683, Circuit Courts at Ayr, Dumfries, Wigtown, and elsewhere, alleging that a population, which in fact was cowed, was moved by 'principles of disloyalty to disturb the quiet of our reign.' The Courts were instructed to carry their inquisition so far as to search out persons suspected merely of harbouring or conversing with 'open and declared notour rebels and traitors,' whether implicated in the revolt of 1679 or not, and to send them for trial before the Council, where they were liable to 'banishment, fining, or other arbitrary punishment.' The inquisition was authorized to continue for three years from January 1, 1684, and was retrospective in regard to Acts committed prior to May 1, 1683. The taking of the Test alone promised immunity from this prolonged supervision. In practice it was extremely vexatious; in Ayrshire alone more than one thousand persons were summoned on one plea or another. In the autumn of 1684 minuter instructions were offered to those engaged upon this work. They were ordered to seize all preachers and chaplains unauthorized by a bishop; search out persons fled from their dwellings; remove indulged ministers who had transgressed; secure pedlars without passes and take caution for their good behaviour; turn out wives and children convicted of conversation with offending husbands or parents; assist the conforming clergy to bring people to obedience and settle Kirk Sessions; suffer no man to travel with arms excepting gentlemen of known loyalty who had taken the Test, and no yeoman to journey three miles from his dwelling-house

without a pass from his minister or a Commissioner of Excise; put the oath of allegiance to any persons and, in case of refusal, banish them to the Plantations, men and women. A more intolerable scrutiny of the daily lives of a population in the main law-abiding it would be difficult to fashion.

To the anxieties of a passive and distracted population was now added a renewal of Cameronian activity, with its certain sequel of increased severity. Having no longer a minister since Cargill's death, the sect had dissolved into local societies, making occasional demonstrations against the Test Act and Act in favour of the Duke of York's succession. James Renwick, a precocious youth of twenty, having obtained ordination in Holland, took up Cargill's mantle in the autumn of 1683. A year later (November 1684) his 'Apologetical Declaration and Admonitory Vindication,' alleging repugnance of the 'hellish principle of killing all who differ in judgment and persuasion from us,' warned the Council, its officers, and enemies of every kind, that the 'sinless necessity for self-preservation, accompanied with holy zeal for Christ's reigning in our land,' compelled its adherents to treat them as enemies of God and the Covenanted work of reformation and to punish them as such 'according to our power.' The threat was translated instantly into practice. On November 20, 1684, a couple of lifeguardsmen were shot dead in cold blood at Blackburn in Linlithgow. Three weeks later (December 11), in circumstances of peculiar brutality, the conforming minister of Carsphairn in Kirkcudbrightshire was enticed to his door and shot dead as he opened it to four armed men; he was suspected to be an informer. Five days afterwards a band of above one hundred, the Carsphairn murderers among them, raided Kirkcudbright, released the prisoners, seized arms, and rode off with impunity till Claverhouse overtook them at Bridge of Dee (December 18), took three prisoners, and left five of them dead in the track of their flight. 'It shews of what abominable principles they are,' York wrote to Queens-

berry, 'and what all loyal men are to expect from them.' The Council rose to the crisis. On November 22, 1684, it prescribed the terms of an oath to be offered by competent authority to any person, requiring him to abjure Renwick's Declaration. The penalty for refusal was summary execution in the presence of two witnesses.

On such a situation Charles II expired (February 6, 1685) and James VII entered upon his brief sovereignty. The new king, his immorality apart, was a true son of his father, as determined to maintain his prerogative, as aloof from the constitutional standards his period was moulding, and as bigoted to settle a religious establishment his subjects in two kingdoms abhorred. Unlike his brother, whose attachment to Rome was cryptic, James had deliberately and openly joined the Roman communion, an act which from 1679 to 1681 put his prospects of reigning in jeopardy. From that sacrifice he had been rescued by the monarchical bias of the English Tories and the absence of an effective opposition in Scotland, and relied on the same factors to settle his religion upon the only foundation consonant with its dignity and his own—toleration, if not supremacy. But as he miscalculated the ingrained Protestantism of the English establishment and nonconformity, so he misread the apparent servility of Scottish institutions, though Scotland played little part in the circumstances which expelled him from the throne; had it depended upon her efforts the event must have been indefinitely postponed.

In one of the wittiest pages of his *History of the Reign of King Charles II* Burnet etches the character of a sovereign 'whom I knew for some years so particularly.' From his early youth there was a spirit of audacity in James which provoked him to court risks where his inclination was engaged. More open and ingenuous than his father, he lacked his brother's indolence, genuinely desired to keep in touch with affairs and, measured against his brother, passed for the superior, though Buckingham remarked shrewdly that Charles 'could see

things if he would, and the duke would see things if he could.' He lacked intellectual ballast, was easily led by those who flattered and as obstinate against those who opposed him, having been bred to suppose all who resisted the king rebels at heart. His amours were inconstant and indelicate; Charles conjectured that his mistresses were selected by the priests as a penance. He lacked Charles' natural cleverness and easy versatility, substituting for it a dull conscientiousness which drove his determination to relieve his co-religionists of the disabilities the Reformation had imposed upon them. By his rashness he afforded his two kingdoms opportunity to revise the hasty conditions upon which the dynasty had been restored to its ancient dignities in 1660.

To apprehensive Protestant consciences James' accession was the consummation of 'a deep laid plot of hell and Rome for overturning the liberties of Britain and Ireland and introducing Popery and slavery.' In England the new king discarded his hitherto enforced custom to attend Mass in private. In Scotland he evaded the obligation to take the coronation oath to maintain the Protestant religion, an omission which four years later afforded ground upon which to declare the throne 'forfeited' and vacant, while England in similar circumstances was forced to assert an act of 'abdication.' Neither in England nor in Scotland did he venture at once to raise the question of Catholic relief. His first act proclaimed a comprehensive Indemnity, conditioned by the taking of the oath of allegiance, from which the murderers of Sharp and the recent assassins of the two lifeguardsmen and Carsphairn minister were excepted. The Indemnity, proclaimed on March 2, 1685, was instanced as demonstrating 'our innate clemency (which also has shined in the whole line of our royal race).' But before the end of the month the activities of the Renwickites invited another tone. The 'supine negligence' of civil authority was alleged by the Council to justify the institution of military commissions empowered to constitute courts for the summary trial of

persons guilty of reset, harbouring, entertaining or conversing with 'rebels,' with power immediately to 'shoot such of them to death as you find actually in arms.' The liability to take the oath rejecting the Apologetical Declaration remained in force; summary shooting in the presence of two witnesses was the penalty for refusal.

The first three months of the new reign are distinguished in Covenanting hagiology as the 'Killing Time.' That its proportions are very grossly exaggerated in a popular literature to which the adjective 'historical' is not applicable is patent from the discrepancy between the actual and alleged severities of Claverhouse, in the eye of tradition the most savage executant of savage laws. Stated by Defoe at above one hundred, Claverhouse's victims in the Killing Time actually were eight, though an obliterated epitaph in a country churchyard names four more, the circumstances of whose death are not recorded. These eight persons were not passive nonconformists, but misguided sufferers for Renwick's Declaration, and represent Claverhouse's activities on four occasions. Five of the eight lives were taken in an armed encounter with the fugitive raiders of Kirkcudbright and murderers of the Carsphairn minister on December 18, 1684. The other three, in May 1685, are cases of summary execution, of which John Brown of Priesthill's is the most familiar but not the most poignant. He was a man well on in years, a carrier by occupation, expressly excluded from the recent Indemnity as one who refused the oath of allegiance. He had fought at Bothwell Bridge, arms were found underground near his house, and 'treasonable papers' were in his possession. Suspect as a Renwickite or 'Sanquharian,' he was offered the Abjuration Oath and refused it. 'I caused shoot him dead, which he suffered very unconcernedly,' Claverhouse reported. Brown, an active and conscientious rebel, was shot on May 1, 1685. Ten days later, by other agents, two women, Margaret Lauchlison or McLachlan and Margaret Wilson, the one over sixty

years old, the other under twenty, were drowned at Wigtown as self-convicted Renwickites by their refusal to take the Abjuration Oath. Repugnant to modern consciences, the crime of their death lightly scarred that of a generation whose civilization was disgraced by the vogue of witch-hunting. Whatever the dimensions of the persecution, Renwick cannot escape censure for rivetting a needless test upon rustic consciences 'perplexed by Cameronian casuistry.' He was himself conscious of his error, and before his own violent death often wished the Apologetical Declaration had not been published.

Before he met his English Parliament James convened the Scottish Estates on April 28, 1685, he told them frankly, to give them opportunity 'of being exemplary to others, in your demonstrations of affection to our person and compliance with our desires.' The example was invited for English observation and fulfilled James' purposes. The members, elected for the first and only time on the Test Act, offered convincing proof of their loyalty. The Commissioner denounced the 'hellish and barbarous designs' of 'some of our nation.' The Chancellor was eloquent in denunciation of the Renwickites, 'a new sect sprung up among us from the dunghill, the very dregs of the people, who kill by pretended inspiration, and instead of the temple of the Lord, have nothing in their mouths but the sword, whose idol is that accursed Covenant, and whose only rule is to have none at all.' The Estates rose unanimously to the invitation 'to rid ourselves of these men and of all who incline to their principles.' Processes of treason before the Justiciary were facilitated; owning and defending the Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant was made a treasonable offence; preachers at house or field conventicles and hearers at field conventicles were declared liable to death; and a new tender of the Test was imposed. When Parliament rose in the middle of June it had entirely fulfilled James' anticipations. Presbyterian nonconformity was shattered, the Civil Service subservient, a general revenue at the Crown's disposal. An Act

7
6
5
4
2
Orkney Is
Pentland Firth
Dunnet Hd
Stromal
Duncansbay Hd
C. Wrath
Loch Erriboll
Kyle of Tongue
Strathy Pt
Dunnet
Thurso
Sinclair Bay
Wick
Butt of Lewis
L. Inchard
Naver R.
R. Halladale
MACKAY'S
SINCLAIRS
Eddrachillis B.
Flannan
Loch Roag
Broad Bay
Stornoway
Eye Peninsula
Lewis
MACKENZIES
L. Erisort
Ardvreck Cas.
L. Assynt
Thurso R.
Ridendale
Latheron
Enard B.
Loch Shin
SUTHERLANDS
R. Brora
Helmsdale
Scarpa
MACLEODS
Boreraig
Loch Broom
Golspie
Dunrobin Cas
58
58
Taransay
Tarbert
Shiant Is
Harris
L. Ewe
R. Orkel
Dornoch
Dornoch Firth
Tarbat Ness
North Minch
Ullapool
Glen More
ROSS
Moray Firth
Sound of Harris
Berneray
Poolewe
Loch Maree
Belnagowan Cas.
Invergordon
Lossiemouth
Findlater Cas
Kinnaird Hd
North Uist
MACDONALD
Duntulm Cas
Pt of Aird
Gair Loch
L. Glass
Fannich
Cromarty
Fraserburgh
Banff
Dunvegan Loch
Loch Snizort
MACDONALD
Raasay Sound
Inner Sound
Loch MACKENZIES
Torridge
L. Luichart
Fortrose
Nairn
Forres
Elgin
Fochabers
Craigston Cas.
R. Ugie
Little Benbecula
Dunvegan Cas
MACLEODS
Portree
Kilcoy Cas
Redcastle
Auldbarn
Deveron
Applecross
R. Carron
R. Orrin
Beauly
Inverness
R. Findhorn
Rothes
Huntly
Frendraught
Fyvie Cas.
Reasay
Strome Cas
Strome Ferry
FRASERS
CHISHOLMS
R. Beauly
R. Nairn
Moy Cas
Balveny
R. Ythan
CLANRANALD
Lesmore Cas
Skye
L. Bracadale
L. Eynort
Eilean Donan Cas
L. Duich
Affrick
GRANTS
L. Ness
MACKINTOSHS
GRANTS
Inverurie
R. Don
Kintore
South Uist
MACKINNONS
MACRAES
Glenelg
MACLEODS
Cluanie
Strathdon
Alford
Old Aberdeen
Girdle Ness
Sound of Barra
Eriskay
L. Eishort
Soay
Cuchullin Sound
L. Hourn
L. Quoich
C. Carry
Rothiemurchus
Aviemore
R. Spey
Cairn W.
FORBES
R. Dee
Aberdeen
Canna
CLANRANALD
Rum
MACDONELL of GLENGARRY
Invergarry
Kingussie
MACPHERSONS
Braemar
Banchory
57
57
Barra
MACNEIL
Watersay
Eigg
Arkaig
Gl. Roy
Laggan
Inverey Cas.
FARQUHARSONS
Stonehaven
Dunottar Cas.
MACLEANS
Muck I.
L. Moidart
CLANRANALD
L. Ailort
L. Eil
Inverlochy
or KEPPOCH
Fort William
L. Treig
R. Lochy
R. Tilt
R. Garry
ATHOLL
LINDSAYS
R. North Esk
Fettercairn
Bervie

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for securing 'the true Church of God' alone need have caused the sovereign a twinge of dissatisfaction.

Meanwhile the present security of the throne was demonstrated by the collapse of a challenge launched from Holland, where Argyll and Monmouth had been passing their exile. Both men's fortunes were affected by Charles II's death. Encouraged to assert his legitimacy by Robert Ferguson, 'the Plotter,' Monmouth was urged to invite Protestant backing in England against his usurping uncle. Argyll held James his mortal enemy, whose overthrow alone could restore him to liberty forfeited in 1681. For the moment the prospect was inviting in neither kingdom. The English establishment accepted James with effusive loyalty, and only the Renwickite remnant seemed in a mood to contest his sovereignty in Scotland. Caution suggested delay until his provocations had alienated public opinion: 'in this country I see no great party that desire to be relieved,' Argyll reflected bitterly in an Edinburgh prison when the mad adventure was over. But the plotters in Holland were driven to premature action by William of Orange, whose relationship to James forbade him to comfort his enemies. Monmouth was warned to leave Dutch soil, and another asylum was not easily to be secured. Viewed from Amsterdam, prospects of success seemed not discouraging, and the exiles commanded considerable means for the purchase of arms and transport. Soon after Charles II's death simultaneous risings in England and Scotland were concerted: Monmouth would try his fortune in England, and Argyll precede him to Scotland by about ten days.

Neither its contriving, equipment, nor leadership afforded Argyll's expedition prospect of success. He was as little a man of war as his father. His companions, Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth and Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, equally implicated in the Rye House Plot (1683), neither displayed qualities which supplied their leader's deficiencies, nor attracted the Lowland support they encouraged him to expect. The Campbell country

was occupied by Atholl, whom the Council settled there at the earliest rumour of Argyll's design. To the Cameronians, the only active dissidents, Argyll was obnoxious as Lauderdale's sometime associate; his vote had been given for Cargill's hanging, and his published Declaration appeared to slight the Covenants. His associates, moreover, were suspect as Malignants; Cochrane was concerned in Cameron's fate at Airds Moss. The leaders were divided, the attempt to unite Highlanders and Lowlanders upon a common field of action was a feat beyond Argyll's contriving, and schism bereft the enterprise of every prospect of success.

Leaving Holland on May 1, 1685, the ships touched at Kirkwall, losing precious time and some of their company. In Mull three hundred recruits were welcomed, but 'several rubs' sacrificed three more days. Thence to Kintyre, where time was spent in launching a Declaration of repellent length denouncing the government's 'hellish mystery of anti-christian iniquity and arbitrary tyranny,' and its evident purpose 'to bring us back, not only to Popery, but to paganism' at the bidding of 'a notorious apostate and bigot papist.' The indictment fell coldly on a population more impressed by Atholl's power; nor was it stirred by Argyll's promise, if restored, to satisfy all debts due by his father and himself. Only a meagre three or four hundred of his name rallied to his call at Campbeltown. Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck having joined with eight hundred men, Argyll moved up Loch Fyne, proposing to recover his Castle of Inveraray, whose garrison was weak and awaited reinforcement. The project was opposed by Cochrane and the Lowland contingent, who insisted that Ayrshire promised more favourable ground and demanded to try their fortune there. Argyll yielded and fell back to Bute, whence Cochrane and Polwarth crossed to Greenock. Watched by English frigates, they found an apathetic welcome, and rejoined their chief after an interval which afforded Atholl opportunity to complete his defences. Argyll now

resumed the interrupted assault on Inveraray. Leaving his ships and stores under the shelter of Eilean Dearg, he marched along Loch Fyne's southern shore while his advanced contingent seized Ardkinglass Castle. But the news that his base at Eilean Dearg was blockaded by English frigates compelled him to retire. Denied the use of his ships, whose crews surrendered to the enemy, Argyll marched round Gareloch, heading for the Clyde and Lowland succours. Closely pursued, his dwindling force scattered and he himself was made prisoner in a chance encounter. He was sent to the block a few days later (June 30, 1685) on the old charge and without further trial.

The simultaneous and complete collapse of two rebellions encouraged James to broach the purpose closest to his heart. Monmouth's rising had permitted him to increase the military establishment in England, and Parliament's liberality placed him in a situation of advantage in Scotland. Across the Channel he found encouragement in Louis XIV's *dragonnades* against the Huguenots, which culminated in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (October 1685). Never since the defeat of the Armada had Protestantism in Britain faced acuter peril. In November 1685, James summoned the English Parliament to hear his determination to employ Roman Catholics despite the Test Act, and dismissed it abruptly upon its entreaty that he would not use his asserted dispensory power to set aside the law. As once before, he turned to Scotland to offer docile example to the larger kingdom. Here converts in high position already had been made. The Earl of Perth, Aberdeen's successor as Chancellor, and his brother Lord Melfort, one of the Secretaries of State, chose the moment to announce their adoption of James' religion and flatteringly alleged his instrumentality in their conversion. Before the end of the year the arrival of vestments and furniture for Perth's private chapel excited disorderly riots in Edinburgh, in which his Countess and others were insulted. The Earl of

Moray, shortly to appear in Scotland as High Commissioner, was also suspected of Popery, and Sir Robert Sibbald, regarded as an agent in Perth's conversion, was mobbed by demonstrators who threatened to 'Rathillet' him. In March 1686, Queensberry, whose antagonism to the new trend of the king's policy required his removal, was deprived of the Treasurership, which Perth and others received in commission, and the Catholic Duke of Gordon was admitted without oath to the Captaincy of Edinburgh Castle. It became known at the same time that a meeting of the Estates was imminent, and that repeal of the penal Acts against the Roman faith would be demanded. Public opinion was deeply stirred: a preacher in the High Kirk, Edinburgh, in February 1686, was applauded by his hearers and suspended by the Council for declaring the Roman religion one 'that no one without renouncing his sense and reason can embrace.' The Synod of Aberdeen, a strong prelatical centre, petitioned the bishop to vote in Parliament against any proposal to hazard the true Protestant religion 'by taking off or weakening the force of the penal statutes against the Papists.'

Opening Parliament on April 29, 1686, Moray communicated a letter from James which remarked the contrast between his clemency for crimes against his person and authority and the lot of 'others our innocent subjects, those of the Roman Catholic religion, who have, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, been always assistant to the Crown, in the worst of rebellions and usurpations, though they lay under discouragements hardly to be named.' He asked for them the protection of the law, the security accorded to other subjects, and that no longer they should 'lie under obligations which their religion cannot admit of.' With characteristic dulness he dangled, as a bribe, his intention to open free commercial intercourse between his two kingdoms, recover Scotland's ancient privileges in French markets, and facilitate her trade with Holland. A dutiful reply offered humble and hearty thanks for these favours, but in regard

to the penal laws only promised to 'go as great lengths therein as our consciences will allow.' The laws had been little executed for a generation, but the proposal to expunge them revived ancient fears and appeared to withdraw a principal security of the Protestant establishment. In spite of the Commissioner's efforts to break it, opposition from the episcopal bench was considerable, and that of the burgesses incorrigible. Parliament's utmost concession was to discuss a Bill which, while maintaining the penal laws, proposed to allow Roman Catholics exercise of their religion in private houses. For James' purposes the concession, warmly debated, was wholly inadequate. After a session of six weeks the Estates were adjourned. Till the Convention of 1689 which declared the throne vacant they had no successor.

In Scotland as in England James fell back upon the dispensing power to achieve his ends, adding jealousy of the royal autocracy to his subjects' abhorrence of Popery, and so decreed his doom in both kingdoms. In exercising his alleged power James acted with particular boldness in Scotland. In England he fortified himself with the decision of a packed judicial bench. In Scotland he asserted the power he employed as unchallengeable in what Wodrow terms a 'brisk' letter to the Scottish Council (August 1686). Remarking that the recent invitation to Parliament was an opportunity for a demonstration of loyal duty and in no way an admission of impotence in the Crown, James announced his resolution to protect the Roman Catholics 'against all the insults of their enemies and severity of the laws made against them heretofore,' and, 'to the end the Catholic worship may with the more decency and security be exercised at Edinburgh,' declared his resolution to 'establish our chapel within our Palace of Holyrood-house.' The Abbey had long been the parish Church of the Canongate, whose congregation was now accommodated in a new building. The Protestant fittings of the Abbey were burned to make way for a Catholic equipment, consisting in part of stalls for the

Knights of the Thistle, whose Order James proposed to revive with a view to reconciling public sentiment to the innovations attending its restoration. A printing press under Jesuit direction was set up in the Palace for propaganda purposes, and a Jesuit school, established in the same quarters 'to teach virtue and learning,' offered the lure of free education, burdened only with the charges of pens, ink, paper, and books.

Six months intervened between the promise of Indulgence and its proclamation. In the interval James took measures to remove from office all upon whose concurrence he could not rely. Bishops were deprived, Privy Councillors were ejected from the Council, public officials, Sir George Mackenzie among them, were dismissed. Sir John Dalrymple, afterwards Earl of Stair, whose father had refused the Test and retired to Holland, and himself had incurred the Court's disfavour by defending Argyll, received Mackenzie's post as Lord Advocate to assist James' policy of indulgence, which only necessity reconciled him to extend to Presbyterians as well as Catholics. On February 12, 1687, a first Indulgence suspended all penal laws against the Roman religion and its free exercise, substituted an oath of non-resistance for the Test, and offered a bribe to Protestant objectors by authorizing house conventicles, provided no treasonable speeches were uttered in them. The Indulgence afforded the Catholics a footing they had not held since the Reformation, and was strongly opposed within the Council, which was again purged in consequence. Outside it failed to capture that measure of popular support James realized to be necessary if the work upon which he was set was to achieve permanence. In particular, the new oath asserting the royal supremacy and unlawfulness of resistance to it was a stumbling block to Presbyterian consciences. Consequently, on March 31, 1687, a second communication to the Council authorized withdrawal of the oath as a condition of legalized nonconformity, provided indulged persons behaved peaceably. Even in

this shape the king's grace was not acceptable; not one of the 'suffering' Presbyterian ministers conformed. Three months later (June 28, 1687), therefore, James made complete surrender to Presbyterian prejudices: full religious freedom was accorded, other than in field conventicles, upon the sole stipulation that nonconformist chapels should be open and conducted with the authorities' knowledge of their locality and preachers.

James' concession of full religious liberty was the corollary of a similar surrender in England, but met more favourable response. The towns, from which opposition to indulged Papists could be expected, were coerced by a shameless assault on their privileges as the third Estate of Parliament, forbidding the election of their magistrates and councils and nominating as officials persons on whom the Crown could rely: Claverhouse in this manner became Provost of Dundee (March 1688). To the Presbyterian ministers and others in prison or under discipline the Indulgence gave welcome relief. Many who had withdrawn or been banished returned, and from all parts, towards the close of July 1687, Presbyterian ministers gathered at Edinburgh to offer heartfelt thanks for a boon which ended their 'long sad sufferings for nonconformity,' and to declare themselves the sovereign's 'most humble, most faithful, and most obedient subjects.' Their ancient spirit, sorely chastened, at length promised to entertain a settlement in which Church and State could function harmoniously. Only the Cameronians stood out, but in February 1688 lost their leader. Captured in hiding at Edinburgh, Renwick stubbornly refused to acknowledge the king's authority, and gave his last testimony for an impossible cause. He died affirming the Covenants and the outworn shibboleths of other days, foretelling with prophetic instinct a coming storm which should rock Scotland to her foundations, and sounding the warning: 'Scotland must be rid of Scotland before the delivery come.' Little as he realized it, the passing of his own ideals was implicit in his prophecy.

The birth of an heir to James on June 10, 1688, immediately provoked a revolution which Scotland contributed nothing to bring about, from which so much to her lasting good resulted. The threat of prolonged misrule moved her as keenly as England; her inactivity did not betoken condonation of the king's misrule and religion for the favour of Indulgence, as was shown by her instant use of the opportunity the decisive action of England put into her hands. Meanwhile the Council obeyed the orders of Whitehall. So soon as William of Orange's designs were bruited, the militia of the eastern counties, from Forfar to Lothian, were called out (September 18, 1688), with directions for firing beacons upon the appearance of any considerable body of vessels at sea. But William's course was towards England. Before the end of the month an urgent summons from Whitehall commanded the whole standing military establishment, excepting the garrisons of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton Castles, to march to Carlisle and thence southward with dispatch. The order had the Council's reluctant sanction and deprived it of power to hold Scotland in its master's interest. Early in October the army, under three thousand horse and foot, including Claverhouse's regiment, set out for Carlisle. Before the end of the month they were quartered in and round London.

Meanwhile one of England's invariably opportune Protestant winds bore William down the Channel early in November. On the 5th he landed at Torbay, and at once issued a Declaration of the reasons moving him to arms for preserving the Protestant religion and restoring the laws and liberties of Scotland: 'the lamentable effects of an arbitrary power and of evil counsels' were so manifest in 'the deplorable state' of the kingdom that 'both our reason and conscience do prompt us to an abhorrence of them'; his 'just design' was 'the freeing of that kingdom from all hazard of Popery and arbitrary power for the future,' proposing, as in England, to afford a free Parliament opportunity to settle the kingdom's civil and

ecclesiastical affairs upon a solid basis. The document gave no indication of ecclesiastical bias. But the Scottish bishops, who already had published their loyalty to James, 'the darling of heaven,' expressing the hope that God would give him the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies, hardly looked for the countenance of a Prince in whose territory the victims of episcopacy had found asylum. The late nonconformists, on the other hand, were encouraged by his denunciation of their past sufferings. In spite of the Council's care to suppress it, his Declaration was widely published in the south-west. The Pope and the Scottish archbishops were burned in effigy at Glasgow, and William's supporters on December 10 raided the royal Chapel at Holyrood, rifled it and the Jesuit schools of their contents, 'went through' the houses of known Papists and gave their books, beads, crosses and images to a roaring Protestant bonfire. Perth vainly attempted flight to the Continent, and before the end of the year the Duke of Gordon in Edinburgh Castle alone represented the authority of a sovereign who had left (December 18) Whitehall for ever. The news afforded the extremists in the south-west encouragement to vent their anger upon the conforming clergy. Early in December many of the Ayrshire episcopal clergy were 'rabbled.' On Christmas Day a methodical process of eviction was begun which, spreading to the other counties between the Solway and the Clyde, resulted in the expulsion of about two hundred ministers whom the rioters associated with the persecution of the past generation.

From the flight of James, until George IV in 1822 broke a persistent habit of neglect, not one of her reigning sovereigns visited Scotland. That William would journey so far was not anticipated. Upon the news of his arrival at Whitehall Scotsmen of all ranks hastened to London. Claverhouse, whom James created Viscount of Dundee immediately before his flight, was delegated, along with the Earl of Balcarres, to manage his affairs in Scotland. But the king's departure altered the situation. Dundee

approached William through Gilbert Burnet, and promised to 'live quietly, unless he were forced.' Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, who represented the Scottish bench, was accorded an interview which decided the fate of episcopacy. Despite his upbringing and the distorted pictures of Scottish prelacy which the exiles had drawn, William's interests so clearly rested upon that order's support in England that he was inclined to invite a similar alliance in Scotland, among whose aristocracy, moreover, he detected no general or rooted objection to prelacy. To Rose, therefore, he expressed the hope that his order would 'be kind to me and follow the example of England.' But Scottish episcopacy, as Wodrow commented a few years later, till his death displayed violent attachment to James' person and virulence against the Revolution that pulled him down. To its reluctance to desert him Scotland owed it that a Presbyterian establishment from which Episcopacy dissented replaced an Episcopal establishment in which by 1689 all but the Cameronian extremists had found it possible to be comprehended: 'I will serve you, Sir,' Rose answered William, 'as far as law, reason, or conscience shall allow.' Meanwhile, on January 7, 1689, Scottish notables in the capital, over one hundred in number, met William at St James' to advise him how best to secure Protestant interests in Scotland. They urged the summoning of a Convention in March, and meanwhile invited the Prince to undertake the administration of the kingdom. A month later England offered a lead for Scotland's following: on February 13, 1689, William and his consort, the fugitive James' daughter, were proclaimed in London joint sovereigns as William III and Mary II.

The Convention sat down at Edinburgh on March 14, 1689. The episcopal bench was full, and the representative character of the assemblage was secured by disregarding Test and forfeitures as bars to membership. Dundee and the Jacobites were present by James' permission, but with an intention, if circumstances prescribed that course,

to summon a rival Convention to Stirling. The first day's proceedings revealed the strength of William's supporters: by a majority of fifteen votes the Duke of Hamilton was preferred as President of the Convention to Atholl, a member of the Jacobite committee. Two days later another division revealed the weakening of the Jacobite ranks. Letters from William and James were produced: the first was read without protest; the second was not listened to until a resolution had been made that, whatever its tenor, the Convention should sit on to secure the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. Dundee voted for the resolution, having every reason to suppose the letter conciliatory. In fact it was provocative, a fatal instance of Melfort's stupidity, and called peremptorily upon the members to return to their allegiance. Heard with consternation, it ruined James' cause. Dundee called at once upon his associates to secede. Concealed bands of Cameronians were known to be in the city, whose demeanour, if not their threats, supported his declaration that his life and Sir George Mackenzie's were threatened. March 18 was fixed for the Jacobite exodus. Neither Atholl nor Balcarres stirred, urging another attendance at the Convention the better to concert their design to secede. With a single troop of horse Dundee rode from the city to the town which gave him his title. All thought of the Stirling Convention was abandoned; the timid Jacobites withdrew to their homes, leaving behind them a solid party to accomplish the task which they could not impede.

A week after Dundee's flight the Convention turned to the legislative measures necessary to resolve the crisis. A Committee, from which the bishops were excluded, was set up and, closely following the procedure of the English Parliament, produced a Claim of Right, adopted on April 11, 1689, nearly a month after the Convention's first sitting. It rehearsed the late sovereign's misdoings and acknowledged William and Mary as King and Queen of Scotland, with succession to the queen's issue, whom

failing, to the queen's sister Anne and her heirs, whom failing, to the heirs of William himself. In two particulars the Act differed from the English Declaration of Right passed in the previous February. On the ground that James, 'being a professed Papist, did assume the regal power, and acted as king, without ever taking the oath required by law,' it declared the crown 'forfeited.' In the second place, enumerating offences which had converted 'a legal limited monarchy' into 'an arbitrary despotic power,' subverted the Protestant religion, violated the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and inverted all the ends of government, the Act interpolated a resolution, 'that prelacy, and the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters, is, and hath been, a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, ever since the Reformation.' The motive of this irrelevant declaration was to free William, already governor of an episcopal establishment in England, from the odium of its abolition in Scotland after he became king. A deputation from the Convention forthwith waited on him in London on May 11, 1689, and read to him the Scottish Claim of Right and supplementary Articles of Grievances. To the clause of the oath binding him to be 'careful to root out all heretics' he demurred, rejecting an obligation to become a persecutor. His apprehensions on that account having been allayed, the new sovereigns took the oath. As a dynastic settlement the Revolution was complete. Having given the Stewarts to England eighty-six years before, Scotland followed England in rejecting them. Encouraged by the resources of the larger kingdom, they had provoked their ancient monarchy in its dearest prejudices and now paid the penalty.

Easily as the change of sovereign was effected, other problems awaiting solution promised to test William's rule to its foundations. The drawbacks of his foreign birth were even more apparent in Scotland than in England, since neither the country nor its people were under his

direct observation. The Episcopalians were his enemies as James' supplanter, and he could anticipate nothing but hostility from the clans, who resented the imposition of a Dutch intruder and disapproved the restoration of the house of Argyll. Episcopacy had been expressly condemned in the Claim of Right: but what should take its place promised to rouse strong passions. To carry such an establishment as William desired, purged of the Covenants and Presbyterian extravagance, would not be easy. Facing opposition in England, while James already challenged his authority in Ireland, the king's interests demanded conciliatory courses in Scotland. As Secretary of State he chose the Earl of Melville, a moderate Presbyterian who had joined William in Holland after the Rye House Plot and fought under Monmouth at Bothwell Bridge. Sir John Dalrymple became Lord Advocate, and, to balance him, for the management of Parliament William chose the Earl of Crawford, whose father had resigned the Treasurership in 1661 rather than renounce the Covenant, and had bequeathed to his son remarkable fluency in the Puritan idiom. Melville's choice keenly disappointed Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie, an extreme Covenanter, who had visited Holland in connexion with the invitation to William; chagrin made him an active leader of opposition in Parliament.

Before these problems were faced, Dundee menaced the government with civil war. To overturn it was beyond the powers of a leader who could appeal only to the clans. But James had landed in Ireland two days before the Convention sat down in Edinburgh, and France was ranged against the Revolution. Dundee proposed a campaign which would divert the usurper's attention somewhat from Ireland and create in Scotland a situation of which James could take advantage when Ireland had been reduced. The action of the Estates in declaring him a rebel (March 30, 1689) hurried him into action. Hugh Mackay of Scourie, whom Burnet's experience singled out as the 'piousest' man he knew 'in a military way,' with

the Scots Brigade lately arrived from England, was commissioned to watch his movements. No communication from James reached him until shortly before his death, though a commission as Lieutenant-General in Scotland was signed in his favour at Dublin Castle (March 29). Towards the middle of April Dundee saw its terrific Provost raise the royal standard and sweep across the Sidlaws. An army had to be raised, the clans sounded. On May 18 he summoned them to rendezvous in Glenroy. Lochiel's Camerons, Stewarts of Appin, Macdonalds of Clanranald, Morar, Keppoch, Glencoe, Sleat, with Glengarry's Macdonells, Macleans, Macleods, and others joined Black John of the Battles, something short of two thousand in all. For two months he led his panting enemy round the Highlands, 'skipping from one hill to another like wildfire,' said a contemporary newsletter. Towards the middle of July a single tattered regiment under Colonel Alexander Cannon arrived from Ireland, the meagre reinforcement that James, whose strength he trumpeted so loudly to the Chiefs, could afford him. 'So,' he assured Cluny, 'with the assistance of Almighty God we will now in a verie short time see our Gracious King restored to the Throne of his Ancestors.' But the disappointment was bitter: a stroke was needed to revive drooping hopes. Mackay gave an opening by marching to recover Blair Castle, the seat of Atholl, whom caution had removed to Bath, ostensibly to 'pump his head.' To frustrate Mackay Dundee gave battle at Killiecrankie on July 27, 1689, and won an encounter which his death robbed of result. Cannon took over the command, for which he was ill suited, and after an unsuccessful encounter with the Cameronian regiment at Dunkeld (August 21), withdrew to Lochaber for the winter. The enterprise, now that Dundee's personality was withdrawn, was hopeless. But early in 1690 Major-General Thomas Buchan was sent by James to revive the effort. Surprised at Cromdale, on Speyside, on May Day, his army dispersed, and the military challenge to the Revolution collapsed.

While Dundee carried James' cause upon his shoulders in the field, one of the most stormy Parliaments in Scotland's experience was in session at Edinburgh. Nothing less than a constitutional revolution was in progress. Government from Whitehall through the Privy Council was discredited by its abuse during the last four reigns. Asserting powers it so far had not pressed, therefore, Parliament abandoned a habit of docility which impaired its utility in the Constitution, and fastened upon the Committee of the Articles, whose normal constitution made it its master, a pliant medium through which the Crown introduced and carried measures its interests required. In its Articles of Grievances, the Convention (April 13, 1689) had condemned the Committee and asserted Parliament's right to initiate legislation through Committees set up by itself. William now offered (June 18, 1689) each Estate power to elect its own members on the Articles and agreed that measures thrown out by the Committee were not closed against the House's discussion. But he insisted that Officers of State must be members of the Committee. Parliament was unicameral, without machinery for revision, the royal veto was rarely used, and the association of ministers and Committee alone offered the guidance it required and secured the influence the Crown was not disposed to surrender. The proposal was strenuously resisted by the opposition, which refused to entertain a 'constant Committee,' a fixed number of members upon it, or the admission of ministers to it. Hamilton, as Commissioner, vainly proposed increased representation of the three Estates on the Articles and frequent elections of the Committee. The opposition would not listen, and prevailed. The Articles were discharged and abrogated for all time coming, the House's competence to elect its own Committees as it pleased was affirmed, and the Officers of State's membership of them was expressly conditioned by their inability to vote (May 8, 1690). With the Act the venerable machinery by which the Stewarts had controlled Parliament disappeared.

Whereas to this point it was in bondage to a body which usurped its legislative functions and prescribed its business, the Union of 1707 found it seized of the power to initiate, and with its Committees subordinate to itself.

The stormy constitutional debates, and divergence of opinion over the impending religious establishment, made the Parliament of 1689 almost barren of conclusions upon the matter, which, above others, focussed Scotland's interest. The future government of the Church exercised William not less than his subjects; on it the stability of his rule depended. The concern of English Episcopacy for the sister Church in Scotland weighed with him; but the latter's stubborn Jacobitism alienated his regard—between April and November 1689 nearly two hundred episcopal ministers were ejected from their churches for refusing to read a proclamation discharging obedience to James VII and enjoining public prayers for the new sovereigns. On the other hand, putting aside the Cameronian standpoint as an impossible anachronism, a Presbyterian solution which restored to the Kirk its sometime ascendancy was disagreeable to the prerogative, all the more because such a settlement was urged by Montgomery, whose 'Club' was busily organizing opposition among the Jacobites, careless of their associates provided the usurper's government could be impeded. Fortunately, in his chaplain, William Carstares, William found an adviser of whom it has been said, 'he was the first Presbyterian who did not cease to be a Presbyterian when he became a statesman,' but regarded Episcopacy and Presbyterianism alike from the standpoint of modern statesmanship and reason, 'believing that order to be the most divine, which did most to promote peace on earth and good will among men.' Since the days of Melville no Scottish Churchman had greater opportunity to exercise statesmanship; none used his opportunity with more wisdom and restraint. Purged thoroughly of its former mood, the Church he spoke for 'fell in love with moderation.'

Carstares' influence convinced William that Episcopacy was pledged to Jacobitism, that the inclination of the majority rejected a prelatical establishment, and that a moderate Presbyterian settlement offered the surest guarantee of public quiet. But Parliament's mood in 1689 lacked the moderation William desiderated: Montgomery's 'Club,' if it had its way, would have carried a measure ostracizing from public life all persons who, 'in the former evil government have been grievous to the nation.' The Commissioner was therefore content merely to declare prelacy abolished (July 22, 1689). The terms of the Act marked a victory for Carstares' statesmanship. Not on the ground of the divine right of Presbyterianism, not as a breach of the Covenants involving the nation in perjury before God, but simply as 'a great and unsupportable grievance to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, ever since the Reformation' Episcopacy was overthrown. For the moment nothing was put in its place.

When Parliament reassembled in April 1690, William's policy was decided. Melville replaced Hamilton as High Commissioner, with instructions to satisfy the opposition regarding the Committee of Articles (May 8) and to restore a Presbyterian Establishment. On April 25, 1690, two Acts of the previous session were reintroduced and passed. The first repealed the Assertory Act of 1669 establishing the royal supremacy, an Erastian position now declared to be inconsistent with the established Church government it was proposed to set up, obnoxious to Presbyterian consciences ever since James VI asserted it. The second Act restored to their churches and manses, whether vacant or not, all ministers who, since January 1, 1661, had been deprived or banished 'for not conforming to prelacy, and not complying with the courses of the time.' Only sixty of them survived—the Sixty Bishops—a minority to whose hands, by a following Act, the building of the new Establishment was entrusted. A fortnight later (June 7) the Commissioner

'touched' the Statute which for more than two hundred years has regulated the constitution of the Church of Scotland. It ratified the Westminster Confession of Faith as 'the public and avowed Confession of this Church, containing the sum and substance of the doctrine of the reformed Churches'; confirmed the Act of 1592, which established the government of the Church by Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, as 'the only government of Christ's Church within this kingdom'; vested the Church's administration in the ministers restored by the previous Act and such ministers and elders as they should admit or receive; and pronounced all parishes vacant whose ministers had been the victims of Cameronian 'rabbling' in 1689 or had been removed for disobedience to the order to disown the late king, a decision which at once emptied about 400 parishes. Finally (July 19), and against William's wishes, private patronage was annulled and the right of presentation was transferred to the heritors and Kirk Sessions.

The First General Assembly since 1653 met in October 1690, and the government watched with anxiety the Church's use of its recovered liberty. The proportion of exact conformists to Episcopal clergy was small; the former were wholly inadequate to provide nine hundred livings—less than two hundred ministers and elders attended the Assembly; from beyond the Tay not one. The very insufficiency of orthodox Presbyterian clergy imposed moderation, since, if Episcopal ministers were ejected altogether, the greater number of parishes would be left without divine service. And otherwise the Assembly fulfilled William's request for 'calm and peaceable procedure.' No attempt was made to revive the Covenants—indeed the Act of 1662 condemning them was allowed to remain in force—and the leaders of the Cameronians made their submission. But the appointment of Commissions north and south of the Tay 'to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous ministers, by due course of ecclesiastical process

and censures' afforded an opportunity of retaliation for byegones which was used with immoderate vigour against the Episcopal clergy, who complained that instead of fourteen they now were ruled by sixty bishops. The charges impugning their competence were often frivolous, and provoked particular resentment in the North, where Episcopacy was strongly rooted. The conforming prelatists averred that they differed from the orthodox ministers on matters not fundamental—high-flying Episcopalians had been purged out already by the Act of April 11, 1689—and were as ready as they to perform the distinctive duties of ministers of religion. But the Sixty and their associates, in spite of the fact that they represented an insignificant minority numerically, were determined to maintain the superiority the Act of 1690 conferred. The prospects of real comprehension consequently vanished, and an Act of 1695, while it secured in their livings Episcopal incumbents who accepted William and Mary as their lawful sovereigns, excluded them from the governing Courts of the Church.

Thus, while on its constitutional side the Revolution settled Scotland as a limited monarchy served by a Parliament at length competent, in its ecclesiastical aspect it broadly conceded the liberty of conscience Cromwell postulated. Its characteristic was comprehension. The Presbyterian stalwarts outed in 1662 and restored in 1690, those who had retained their livings by accepting James' Indulgence, and Episcopal conformists to the Acts of 1689–90, made up an Establishment fairly compact below the Tay. As late as 1710 nearly one hundred and twenty Episcopal 'curates' still held livings in the Church, though they were not admitted to its governing Courts. Consequently, to the north of the Tay the Church's fabric was a skeleton. Secessions came later: a Cameronian minority resented the obliteration of the Church's Covenanting experiences and reversion to the original Presbyterian charter of 1592; while the growth of Jacobitism, and a closer approximation of Anglican and

Scottish Episcopacy, widened the breach between the two parties within the Scottish Church. Standing between these extremes, the solid phalanx of exact conformists, partisans of the Revolution in its constitutional and ecclesiastical aspects, drew the moderates from each wing and maintained the predominance which the State conferred in 1690, as in 1662, upon the party on whose allegiance it could most surely count.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE UNION

'THE Revolution Settlement, to use an old term of 1689, was in its nature a different movement and produced different results on each side of the Tweed. In England it was at bottom a conservative movement. In Scotland, on the other hand, it was in the strictest sense revolutionary.' The statement is fundamental for the comprehension of the seventeen years that culminated in the Parliamentary union of the two systems in 1707. For a century Scotland, with fluctuating fortunes, had waged a conflict against the divine right of Monarchy and to assert the divine origin of Presbyterianism. England in the same period had been provoked to arms to secure civil liberties implicit in her Parliament's constitution. On her initiative and resources the Revolution was carried; but the change of sovereign was not accompanied by patent changes in the apparatus of her State and Church. The constitutional principles for which Pym and Hampden contended were preserved; the Church of Charles I and Laud was that of William III. In Scotland, whose part in the Revolution was passive, the event worked fundamental changes. An ecclesiastical polity, set up and established for the greater part of a century, was abandoned for ever; in its room Presbyterianism and a clerical Assembly were settled as the religion and Parliament of the national Church, a system to this point the subject of brief experiments under James VI and his son. Side by side with a clerical Assembly, the Revolution erected a national Parliament under conditions which made it for the first time an efficient instrument of legislation and the national will. In the spirit that informed it the Revolution

marked a still greater breach with the past. Ever since 1560 religion held chief place in Scotland's regard, at first because of the Reformation's appeal, latterly because of Stewart provocation. Had the spirit of 1641 persisted, the Revolution Settlement could not have been permanent. It was so because religion ceased to be an absorbing preoccupation.

To all but the Cameronian Rump the Church question was settled at the Revolution and secular interests beckoned to other fields. In that fact lay promise, but also danger. For a century James VI's boast had been justified: Scotland was ruled from Whitehall by the royal pen through the Privy Council and Articles. But her subservience could not be expected to continue. Conceivably, secular interests might lead her, as in fact they did, to paths where England must hold her an interloper and rival. In that event, would the two kingdoms be willing to re-examine the frustrated schemes of union propounded in the past century? or would the stronger again dominate the weaker in the spirit of Cromwell? Throughout William's reign Scotland suffered annoyances which accentuated her sense of nationality and enlarged her suspicion of English policy. England embarked upon a great Continental war in circumstances which made Scotland's goodwill imperative, her secession unthinkable. Union was the difficult product of this situation, and was achieved at a moment when mutual provocations had drawn the two countries to the verge of conflict.

Of these provocations the Glencoe Massacre was the first. Buchan's defeat at Cromdale in May 1690 did not stifle the belligerency of the rebellious clans. As long as Ireland was in arms, and French succours were anticipated, they remained at the orders of James VII. But in October 1691 the Treaty of Limerick pacified Ireland, and Louis XIV was preoccupied by the activities of the Coalition on the Continent. To prolong an unaided contest being futile, the chiefs, having already entertained overtures from the government through the Earl of Breadalbane, who was

employed in the old Tudor way to purchase agreement with gold, generally obeyed a proclamation threatening the law's utmost extremity against those of their number who had not sworn allegiance to William and Mary by January 1, 1692. That date found Macdonald of Glencoe and Macdonell of Glengarry still delinquents. Glencoe, presenting himself at Fort William in the last days of December, was sent on to the Sheriff at Inveraray, who alone could administer the oath. In bitter weather and much impeded he travelled thither, and on January 6 swore his allegiance. Technically he was debarred from the royal amnesty and Sir John Dalrymple, now Master of Stair, pressed the opportunity to enforce the penalty against a popish 'sect of thieves.' In February an armed force occupied their glen, lived for a fortnight among its unsuspicious inhabitants, and on the morning of February 13 rose up and slaughtered their familiar hosts. The Highland Host was not forgotten, and between Lowlanders and Highlanders there was little sympathy. But the Massacre stirred indignation which contributed not a little to unite the populations. Exploited by the enemies of Stair, and by the Jacobites, it was execrated as an act of English tyranny.

The Church also was led into a posture of suspicion. Though the aristocracy, landed interests, and better educated classes were, on the whole, agreeable to a prelatic Establishment, political considerations, in large measure, had condemned Episcopacy, entrusting to sixty 'Antediluvians' the reconstruction of a Presbyterian polity, and the purging of the Church's pulpits of 'scandalous and erroneous' ministers. Cameronian 'rabbling' and Jacobite attachment forthwith emptied about four hundred of the charges, whose ejected clergy, refusing the oath of allegiance, were styled Non-Jurors. The purging Commissions removed from their Churches another large batch of ministers. But, when William intervened in 1693, there still remained about three hundred non-Jacobite Episcopal clergy occupying their old charges, partly

because they had taken the oath of allegiance, largely because, in the districts beyond Tay particularly, their congregations refused to part with them. Judged by the standards of public worship, little divided the Presbyterian from the Episcopal wing of the Establishment. The latter observed and the former neglected Christian feasts and fasts. Both received the Communion sitting, and the Episcopalians stood, while the Presbyterians sat, during prayers. Neither used a set liturgy, but the Episcopalians recited the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Doxology at appointed places. Episcopacy in its present-day form has never existed in Scotland except as a form of Dissent from the Revolution settlement.

William was inclined to make fidelity to his throne rather than ecclesiastical tests the condition of ministerial office. The oath of allegiance, exigible under the Claim of Right, merely exacted an obligation to be 'faithful, and bear true allegiance to, their Majesties.' In order to counter an inclination among the Episcopal clergy to swear the oath with a mental reservation against William's right *de jure*, Parliament, on May 19, 1693, framed an 'Assurance' which pledged the subscriber to acknowledge William and Mary sovereigns 'as well *de jure* as *de facto*,' and to 'maintain and defend their Majesties' title and government against the late King James.' Another Act (June 12, 1693) declared admissible to the Establishment all ministers who subscribed the Westminster Confession, oath of allegiance, and Assurance, a proposal regarded as an insidious attempt to swamp the Church with Episcopalians, which only ceased to be protested because the Non-Jurors refused to sever themselves from the absent Stewart. On their part, the Presbyterian clergy also rejected an oath whose imposition seemed a flagrant assertion of civil supremacy. Influenced by Carstares, William abandoned the Act and sacrificed the prospect of a comprehensive Establishment, though Episcopal ministers continued in their charges in large numbers, conducted their ministrations in the parish churches, lawfully up-

lifted the revenues of their benefices, but were excluded from the established Church Courts.

During the remaining years of William's reign Scotland was absorbed in an adventure which brought her relations with England to a crisis. For generations her poverty had been proverbial: in 1695 little more than £750,000 in coin was said to be in the country. Indigence crippled her at every point, sold her statesmen to English purses, starved her industries and seats of learning, drove the flower of her youth to foreign countries, and depressed her influence in the counsels of her neighbours. Everywhere the international rivalries of the seventeenth century prompted enquiry into the foundations of national power, and encouraged the quest of wealth to support it. The eighteenth century was a period, consequently, of feverish commercial activity, and at its beginning chartered Companies endowed with exclusive trading monopolies were held proper pioneers of the State's commerce and getters of its wealth. John Law of Lauriston's French Mississippi scheme in 1717, the English South Sea Company in 1720, both were founded with those objects and their fate revealed the crude economic calculations which inspired them. Stimulated by her recent association with England, Scotland, after the Restoration, passed many measures to promote her industries and commerce, but with little success. The dynastic Union affected injuriously her commercial privileges in France. Charles II's war with Holland weakened another of her markets, and the Navigation Act, framed in 1660 in the interests of English trade, drew in 1661 a retaliatory measure from Scotland whose provisions recoiled on herself. From this depressing situation the unfathomed possibilities of colonial trade were summoned to extricate her. On June 26, 1695, Parliament gave a charter to the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, a corporation of twenty-one persons, chiefly Scotsmen, who received a monopoly of trade with 'any lands, islands, countries, or places in Asia, Africa, or America, and there to plant colonies, build

cities, towns, or forts, in or upon the places not inhabited, or in or upon any other place by consent of the natives or inhabitants thereof, and not possessed by any European sovereign, potentate, prince, or state.' One-half of the subscribed capital was reserved for 'Scottish men within this kingdom' until August 1, 1696, after which date the unsubscribed amount was at the disposal of Scotsmen and foreigners abroad.

The suggestion of a Scottish Company came from a Scottish merchant in London, but the scheme was drafted by William Paterson, a native of Dumfriesshire, whose Directorship of the Bank of England and wide experience of finance gave him considerable authority. Encouragement for its inauguration was found in the situation of the English East India Company, whose monopoly recently had been challenged and its privileges invaded by competing interlopers. But the Act carried a challenge which could not fail to be resented. It infringed an English monopoly; engaged the Crown to support the Scottish adventurers, an undertaking which postulated the services of the English navy; suspended the Navigation Act in the Company's favour; and exempted its commerce from taxation for twenty-one years. In large measure to placate English opposition, half (£300,000) the capital was earmarked for the London market and the utmost secrecy was observed to forestall the likelihood of interference. The capital invited being over-subscribed in a few days, a Court of Directors was set up in London, and resolved to fit out ships for the East Indies without delay. When Parliament met in November 1695, an outcry was raised by the English monopoly and its friends. Lords and Commons denounced the Scottish Company as an interloper, insisted that its exemption from fiscal burdens would divert English capital to Scotland, and that Scotland would supplant England as the emporium of the East Indian trade, whose products would be smuggled from Scottish ports to the detriment of honest undertakings. They complained that the king's obligation to

protect the Company from damage at the public charge offered trespassers on English preserves the English navy's protection, and had they carried their will, would have impeached the authors of the design. William, who was abroad when the Act was 'touched' and was ignorant of its details, yielded to strong protests, declared he had been 'ill-served' by the High Commissioner and dismissed him, an act which inflamed Scottish sentiment. Thoroughly frightened by the storm, all but five of the London shareholders withdrew from the Company and reduced its English capital to £15,000.

In February 1696 the Company's books were opened at Edinburgh, where indignation at the proceedings in England had expressed itself by the burning in effigy of the leader of the Parliamentary agitation. Owing to the withdrawal of the London shareholders £400,000 were asked for; before August the sum was subscribed in full and half the capital was paid up. The upper and middle classes subscribed eagerly, and if Macaulay exaggerates the enthusiasm, the provision of so large a sum in so short a time supports a Scotsman of a later generation, who likened it to that of 1638. Excepting the Covenant, no event since the Reformation so concentrated the interests of all classes upon a national undertaking. Meanwhile England pursued it with her jealousy. Her Resident in Holland frustrated an endeavour to complete the capital required, and made it necessary to modify the original programme. In place of trading with India it was resolved to establish a settlement upon the Isthmus of Darien or Panama connecting North and South America. The territory had been discovered two centuries before by the Spaniards, who refrained from settling there only because, as the Scottish adventurers discovered, the climate was fatal to Europeans. Probably the project had filled Paterson's mind from the outset and the opposition he encountered afforded him opportunity to revive it. He set unbounded hopes upon Darien's prospects, praised it as the 'door of the seas and the key of the universe,

linking the Atlantic and Pacific, commanding a nearer route to the Indies than England and Holland followed round the Cape, and promising its proprietors mastery of two oceans and to become 'arbitrators of the commercial world, without being liable to the fatigues, expenses, and dangers, or contracting the guilt and blood of Alexander and Caesar.'

After two years spent in acquiring ships in Holland and materials for barter, the first colonists sailed from Leith in July 1698 to found New Caledonia. They numbered twelve hundred emigrants and carried a most unsaleable cargo of periwigs, kid gloves, buttons, blue bonnets, grey paper, and English Bibles, curiously inappropriate to a native market. Tweeds, serges, coarse stockings, and caps were also provided for a tropical climate, and burdened the ships' holds in place of provisions, which were inadequate in quantity, and in quality were found to be 'damnified.' Eldorado was reached in November and at once revealed its treacherous climate. Fever, dysentery, and bad food, took a heavy toll of victims. The leaders quarrelled and were incompetent. No buyers appeared for the periwigs and kid gloves, and Spain gave clear indications of intention to expel the intruders. A rude fort, named after the national saint, and a few huts alone occupied the site of New Edinburgh when the miserable adventurers, reduced to nine hundred, abandoned the depressing spot in June 1699. Few of them reached Scotland, whence already a supporting expedition had been dispatched. It arrived in August, found a vacant wilderness, lost a ship through the carelessness of some who entered the hold with a lighted candle to draw brandy, and withdrew to Jamaica, where most of the party died. Three months later (November 1699) a third expedition of about thirteen hundred colonists arrived upon the fatal coast and found two small sloops there carrying survivors of the first expedition. As before, the supply of provisions was inadequate, and lack of credit and an unsaleable cargo made it impossible to augment it.

Whether to stay or return was debated angrily, and a plot to seize the ships sent one of the disillusionized colonists to the gibbet. Upon this black outlook, in February 1700, a sloop from Scotland appeared opportunely to support the last effort of the moribund colony. Before the end of the month the Spaniards closed the harbour. In March they mastered the isthmus and surrounded the peninsula on which Fort St Andrew flew the flag of Scotland. On the last day of the month, decimated by fever and reduced for water to a 'brackish puddle,' its defenders capitulated on honourable terms and turned their backs on New Caledonia, whose black fortune pursued them to the last. Of the four ships only one reached Scotland. In two years the Company had lost most of its fleet, nearly 2000 lives, and about £250,000 sterling.

From north to south Scotland raised a chorus of anger and denunciation. Already, in August 1699, the Lord Advocate had remarked of the enterprise: 'The nation is bent one way and the King is of another persuasion; and whether it succeed or not, it is like to have ill consequences; for, if it prosper, it is but a state of war, which we cannot maintain, with the Spaniard, but must soon be exhausted; and if not, yet much is laid upon it, and we will be ready enough to blame whom we should not blame.' The fundamental cause of failure was in Scotland herself, her inadequate resources and inexperience, the misadventure which selected for the scene of her colony a locality since made habitable for Europeans only by the inventiveness of modern science. But of these considerations she was impatient. The brunt of her disappointment was vented on England, with such savage intentness that a correspondent of Carstares in June 1700 protested: 'God help us! we are ripening for destruction. It looks very like Forty-one. We are all in flame.' Such a national opposition, indeed, seemed possible as before faced Charles I. But it was not discriminating. The English Parliament and English commercial interests were competent to oppose the Scottish Company's formation and impede its

activities. The case against William was that, as King of England, he submitted to English clamour and thwarted an Act of the Scottish Estates to which, through his Commissioner, he had given his assent, and that he and the diplomatic agents of the English Crown acted as the prejudiced allies of Scotland's competitors. William could retort that it was unreasonable to claim his encouragement for an enterprise, hopeless in itself, which placed his larger policies in jeopardy. He was engaged in delicate international diplomacy, striving to avert a threatened European conflict upon the question of the Spanish Succession, and to prevent the dying Charles II from linking his monarchy to that of France. Scotland's ill-timed adventure provoked Spain's anger and, had William supported it, threatened most serious consequences. In objecting that 'invincible reasons' instructed his refusal to countenance Scotland's attempt to colonize Darien, he spoke under a responsibility which his objectors neither shared nor understood.

The Darien fiasco faced Scotland with two imperative alternatives—either to abandon her dearest ambition, the prospect of material prosperity, or, at some sacrifice of national pride, to seek partnership in the trade and colonies of her English neighbour. To England the event exposed the inconveniences of linking two independent kingdoms under one Crown. So long as Scotland represented a distinct political system, the possibility of war between them, Scotland's alliance with France, and her attachment to the Jacobite cause, could not be overlooked. Such considerations had already prompted thoughts of union. The invitation to William to assume the provisional administration of Scotland in January 1689 was accompanied by a recommendation of union. William's first message to the Convention sounded the same note. By some that body was urged to postpone the dynastic settlement until the terms of union with England had been arranged, in the opinion that England would come to an agreement rather than allow the destination of the

Scottish Crown not to follow her own conclusion. The proposal was not pressed; for the Jacobites held aloof and the Presbyterians feared to permit union before Episcopacy was overthrown. But, in the letter conveying the tender of the crown to the sovereigns in April 1689, the Estates approved the idea of 'one entire and perpetual union' and even nominated Commissioners to treat with England, whose neglect to appoint others to meet them caused annoyance. The temper generated in Scotland by events in Darien, and the dangers latent in the situation, forbade William to tolerate the passivity of his English legislature. In a message to the House of Lords expressing deep concern for Scotland's misfortunes (February 12, 1700) he warned his hearers that similar difficulties were likely to embroil the two kingdoms 'unless some way be found out to unite them more nearly and completely,' and that nothing would contribute more to their security than 'some happy expedient for making them one people.' His last message to the House of Commons (February 28, 1702) expressed the same belief, declaring that he should hold it 'a peculiar felicity' if his reign witnessed 'some happy expedient for making both kingdoms one.' The fruition of the wish was denied him. Eight days later he died, the first sovereign since James V who consistently adjusted his policy to the idiosyncracies of his Scottish people. Suspected as a foreigner, he was respected and even popular as the author of the 'Scriptural and Reformation Presbyterian Church government.'

The circumstances under which Anne succeeded her brother-in-law produced a quarrel between her Parliaments which made union an imperative problem. Her heir, the Duke of Gloucester, to the unconcealed satisfaction of the Jacobites, had died in 1700. Anne, childless and like to remain so, was the last of those whom the Revolution named in the succession for both kingdoms. In England, by the Act of Settlement (1701), her successor was James VI's granddaughter and nearest Protestant heir, Sophia, widow of the Elector of Hanover, a vivacious

lady of seventy-two, to whom the religion of the House of Savoy and its desertion of the Grand Alliance gave the heirship of the English Crown. Anne's heir in Scotland had not been determined when, in March 1702, she began her reign. In default of legislation he would not be the same as in England, a prospect which English statesmen could not view without anxiety. Nor was the danger remote. Scotland had ceased to regard the Union of 1603 as satisfactory. For one hundred years her interests had been almost uninterruptedly subordinated to those of her more powerful associate, who churlishly closed the colonial and commercial avenues she chiefly desired to explore. She could only regard as providential the opportunity, on the morrow of her disappointment over Darien, to prescribe the terms on which union should continue. Whether she limited the prerogatives of the Crown in order to reduce or restrict opportunities for English interference, or definitively broke the union upon the death of Anne, or bargained for its continuance, her action must embarrass English policy and compel the purchase of her goodwill.

Scotland generally welcomed Anne's succession. Her sex recalled the last queen regnant, and her personality was agreeable. But chiefly she was a Stewart, whose elevation to her father's seat expiated in some sort Scotland's desertion of her ancient princes; less agreeable to the Whiggish Presbyterians she found in power than to the Tories, who knew her sincerely attached to the Episcopal church and Tory principles and suspected her preference for her exiled brother in France above her German cousins. In two matters she announced herself William's heir. On May 4, 1702, England declared war on France and Spain, and for twelve years was the mainstay of the anti-Bourbon Coalition. In such a crisis, though not herself involved, Scotland could confound English strategy if she encouraged France to support a Jacobite restoration. Consequently the War of the Spanish Succession gave England an inclination to union, and caused

her for the first time to originate measures to that end. In her first speech (March 11, 1702) the Queen desired Parliament to 'consider of proper methods towards attaining an union between England and Scotland, so lately recommended to it.' In view of the international situation and the undetermined succession in Scotland, the Commons met the wishes of the sovereign readily. On the following May 6, she gave her assent to a Bill empowering her to nominate Commissioners to treat with Scotland on the subject.

The Scottish Parliament assembled a month after the passing of the enabling Bill, and in circumstances which provoked opposition. An Act of 1696, framed in consequence of Sir George Barclay's plot to assassinate William, provided that the Estates, not being in session at the moment of the sovereign's death, should be convened within twenty days of the event. Not meeting in March 1702, within the specified period, the omission was alleged to have put a term to their existence. Moreover, the members had been elected to the far off Convention of 1688; a term of fourteen years was wholly alien to constitutional practice. But the Whiggish ministers in power, suspecting that an appeal to the constituencies would disclose a strong Jacobite reaction, persuaded Anne that in Scotland, as in England, it was advisable to make her first declaration of policy to assured supporters of the Revolution. To the disgust of the Tories, the Convention, having already been 'transubstantiated' into a Parliament, was now, when dead, revived again. The Duke of Hamilton and a numerous opposition consequently withdrew on the opening day, leaving a Whiggish Rump, 'all one man's bairns,' fixed in Revolution principles, and aided by their opponents' secession to reassert them in the present crisis. An Act securing the 'true' Protestant religion was passed, the Queen's title as William's lawful successor was affirmed, and an attempt was made to compel office holders to abjure James VIII. A similar measure had passed at Westminster. For

Scotland to follow that example was to throw away her most effective means to coerce England. Nor was Scottish sentiment so strongly arrayed against James VII's exiled son. The first reading of the measure was carried by only four votes, and Parliament was at once prorogued after inviting the Queen to nominate Commissioners to treat for union; taking the precaution to point out to her that Scottish Presbyterian polity was founded on the Claim of Right, and begging 'a gracious and careful regard to the maintaining' of it.

Once again, as in 1604, in 1652 during the Commonwealth, and in 1670, Commissioners of the two Kingdoms met in London to discuss the conditions of union. Meeting in the Privy Council Chamber at Whitehall on October 27, 1702, with leisurely and, on the part of the English, irregular attendance, the Commissioners addressed themselves to a task whose fulfilment, the Queen assured them, would 'render the island more formidable than it has been in ages past.' While both sides professed that purpose, the Scottish Commissioners also commended union as affording security for the Protestant religion 'everywhere.' But religion entered not at all into the languid negotiations that followed. The English, coming at once to the point, desired the succession of the united 'Kingdom of Great Britain' to be settled uniformly upon Sophia and her Protestant issue. The Scots replied, approving a united Monarchy and a single Parliament, but demanded 'mutual communication of trade, and other privileges and advantages' of a commercial character. The English agreed: such a 'mutual communication' was 'proper and reasonable'; but would not discuss its conditions until a 'complete' union had been determined and Scotland clearly accepted the Act of Settlement (1701) as governing the united monarchy. Accepting that condition, the Scottish Commissioners thereafter endeavoured to secure an understanding equally categorical upon the meaning of a 'mutual communication of trade.' They sketched their interpretation con-

cisely: free trade between the two kingdoms; equal conditions in their export and import trade; rescinding of the Navigation and similar Acts; neither realm to be burdened with the debts of the other; Scotland in the meantime not to pay heavier taxation than at present; and preservation of the privileges of the Darien corporation. On all these matters, except the last, substantial agreement was obtained and the way seemed clear to discuss the Parliamentary, Church, and legal systems. But these topics were never broached. On February 3, 1703, the Queen adjourned the Commission for eight months, congratulating it upon 'the great progress already made, beyond what has been done in any former treaties.' It never met again. Nor did its proceedings impress the Scottish members favourably. Concessions had been extracted rather than conceded, and the apathy of their English colleagues suggested that their participation in the proceedings was due to the Queen's insistence rather than their own convictions. It was reserved to the last of Scotland's Parliaments to make her neighbour understand that nothing short of surrender to her demands for commercial equality could maintain the dynastic union.

By a happy stroke the Parliament of 1703–1707 more accurately represented Scottish opinion than any that met after the Union of the Crowns. Hence it had behind it unusual authority for the momentous act it accomplished. For the first time since Dundee shook the dust of the Convention from his feet in 1689, a formidable Jacobite body attended, encouraged to return to public life by the government, from which the less flexible Whigs had been removed. An indemnity for treasonable acts committed since the Revolution, promise of protection for the non-juring clergy, and hints of the Crown's preference to commit its interests to their hands, brought together a number of nobles and lairds who covered their Jacobitism under the title 'Cavalier,' and to whom the 'Court' party controlled by the Duke of Queensberry, as Secretary of

State, and the Earl of Seafield, as Chancellor, looked to secure the government's chief requirement, supply. A similar Tory reaction had declared itself in the English general election of 1702 and the formation of a Tory administration which, substantially unchanged, negotiated and completed the Union.

The government's rashness in introducing a third Party, whose unwillingness to hand Scotland to a German prince was profound, was demonstrated forthwith. On May 6, 1703, the ceremonial 'Riding' of the Estates from Holyrood opened the last Parliament that sat in Parliament House. The Cavaliers fulfilled the government's hopes by moving supply. But their fundamental objects drew them rather to the Country party, whose leader, the Duke of Hamilton, half a Jacobite and wholly independable, had been prominent in the Darien agitation. A motion (May 19) to postpone all business until securities were taken for the religion and liberties of the kingdom at the Queen's death drew the two parties together in interested partnership, the one anxious to assure Scotland against English dictation, the other concerned to open a door for the return of the House of Stewart.

On June 9, 1703, in flat opposition to the Queen's earnest recommendation to settle the succession, the Earl of Tullibardine, a zealous member of the Country party, introduced a measure familiar as the Act of Security. Approved by the Estates (August 13, 1703) by a majority of nearly sixty votes, and passed into law in the following Session (August 5, 1704), the Act provided that, in the event of the Queen's death without heirs of her body, or before the Estates had named her successor, they should, within twenty days of her demise, appoint a sovereign of the Stewart line and Protestant religion, but not the holder of the English Crown, unless in the meanwhile 'there be such conditions of government settled and enacted, as may secure the honour and sovereignty of this crown and kingdom, the freedom, frequency, and power of Parliaments, the religion, liberty, and trade of

the nation, from English or any foreign influence.' Lest England should minimize the reality of its defiance, the Act provided that all Protestant burghs and heritors should furnish fire-arms and hold monthly levies for exercise and discipline within their local bounds. Many voted for the measure who desired to break the union of 1603 and restore Scotland to a course of her own choosing. The majority hoped by it to induce England to throw open the seas and her colonies. Wiser heads, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun among them, discerned Scotland's impotence, detached from England, and were content to accept the same sovereign, provided limitations were placed on his prerogative subjecting him strictly to Parliament's control. But the general mood was defiant; a motion in favour of the Electress Sophia roused fierce cries for the mover's incarceration in the Castle. Even more aggressive, since its terms were not conditional, was an Act anent Peace and War (August 20, 1703) which passed the Estates a week after the Act of Security and received the Commissioner's approval at the close of the session (September 16, 1703). It adopted Fletcher's 'limitations' in the stipulations that, even if a dynastic union survived the Queen's death, it should be incompetent for her successor to commit Scotland to war with a foreign State without the consent of the Estates; that without it no obligation of service should rest upon Scottish subjects; and that a similar condition should control treaties of peace, commerce, and alliance. The Estates, moreover, gave an immediate example of the authority they asserted. England was at war with France; yet the fact did not deter them from passing an Act allowing the importation of French wines, which, to the satisfaction of the Cavaliers, promised convenient means of communication with the Pretender.

The conclusion of the session (September 16, 1703), therefore, found the government without supply, committed to an Act which crippled the royal prerogative, and faced with another explicitly threatening Scotland's

secession unless she received her terms—concession of the privileges whose withholding had embroiled the two nations over Darien. For the moment English opinion, somewhat indifferent, refused to regard Scottish protestations as serious, and amused itself with the conjecture that to bribe the Estates into good behaviour would be neither costly nor difficult. Its complacency was shaken by a mysterious intrigue whose details became known before Parliament assembled for its second session in July 1704. Called in England the Scots Plot, and in Scotland the Queensberry Plot, the revelations of Simon Fraser, afterwards Lord Lovat, suggested that prominent Scotsmen were plotting for the restoration of the Pretender. Fraser, altogether unscrupulous, had private reasons to allege Atholl's collusion with the exiled Stewart. His accusation, undoubtedly, was opportune to Queensberry at a moment when Atholl, Hamilton and others implicated were opposing the government. The Jacobites ridiculed the 'Sham Plot' as 'the Handle the Courtiers laid hold on to ruin the Cavaliers and Country Parties.' But the House of Lords, instituting a judicial enquiry, which Scottish patriots denounced as intrusive, concluded that collusion with the Pretender was proved, and that its encouragement resided in Scotland's failure to settle the succession in the House of Hanover.

The Queen's message at the opening of the second session of Parliament on July 6, 1704, bemoaning the 'differences and animosities' the Plot revealed, and its encouragement to France's emissaries to 'debauch our good subjects,' recommended, 'with all the earnestness we are capable of,' settlement of the succession in the Protestant line. But, as in 1703, the opposition was resolved to sell its assent. The Queen's letter was taken into consideration on July 13, when, on the motion of the Duke of Hamilton, the Estates resolved not to nominate a successor until a treaty of commerce with England had been conceded, and Scotland's religion, liberties, and

independence were secured. In the circumstances surrender was inevitable. The war had reached a critical stage. Marlborough was marching on the Danube, and Blenheim was imminent. The Scottish Treasury was empty, the military establishment in Scotland was unpaid, and, in view of the outcry it would excite, the provision of English funds to maintain a force necessitated by France's hostility was impossible. Tweeddale, the Commissioner, therefore advised surrender. On August 5, 1704, the Act of Security became law. A week later (August 13) Blenheim was won, and the English Parliament could venture to retort. In the autumn angry debates filled the House of Lords, addresses passed for raising the northern militia and repairing the fortifications of Hull, Newcastle, Berwick, Tynemouth, and Carlisle, and on March 14, 1705, an 'Act for the effectual securing the Kingdom of England from the apparent dangers that may arise from several Acts lately passed in the Parliament of Scotland' received the royal assent. Popularly known as the Alien Act, it compelled Scotland to understand that England was as ready as herself to defend her interests and could not suffer the dynastic union to be broken. As in 1702, but more earnestly, Scotland was invited to negotiate a treaty of union. Otherwise, unless she followed England in naming the Electress Sophia and her Protestant issue to succeed Anne, after December 25, 1705, and until she made such a settlement, no Scotsman except those living in England would be permitted to hold property there; Scottish coal, linen, and cattle would be excluded from England and English wool from Scotland. The Act sounded a warning. Unlike the Act of Security, it offered Scotland alternatives: either to confirm the dynastic union concluded in 1603 and renewed in 1689, or to negotiate completer union on terms mutually agreeable. To the latter end the Queen was invited to name Commissioners, but not until Scotland had indicated an intention to follow the same course.

Ten days before the Alien Act became law a judicial

decision by the Scottish Court of Admiralty imperilled the prospects of an amicable settlement. The arrival of an English vessel, the *Worcester* (Captain Green), in Leith Roads, in the summer of 1704, afforded an opportunity to retaliate the seizure of one of the bankrupt Darien Company's ships in the Thames. As the authorities would not take action, the Company's secretary, assembling a number of 'genteel pretty fellows,' handy with their weapons, boarded the *Worcester* in separate parties to disarm suspicion, entertained the crew with Scottish drink and melody, and having by one agency or the other reduced them to physical impotence, mastered and carried the ship into Burntisland, actually under the guns of an English man-of-war lying in the Firth. The comedy had a tragic ending. Questions addressed to the *Worcester's* crew elicited answers which roused suspicion that the English ship was responsible for the murder of the captain and crew of one of the Darien vessels long missing. On March 5, 1705, Captain Green and his men were arraigned for murder and piracy, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. Efforts were made from England to intervene between them and a grossly improper sentence. But the Edinburgh mob, determined not to lose its victims, menaced the Council and had its will. On April 11, 1705, Green and two of his crew were hanged.

The event evidenced the vindictiveness engendered by the Darien disappointment, and affected the already delicate relations of the two Parliaments. The government's failure to restrain the mob and save the Englishmen damaged its credit at Court: the Whigs particularly made a 'national Jacobitish business' of it and suspected it stage-managed deliberately to widen the breach between England and Scotland. At the same time, the Alien Act brought home to Scotland the critical situation into which she had drifted and invited the intervention of politicians disposed to face it from the standpoint of the Revolution. Hence, when the Estates assembled for their third session,

on June 28, 1705, the young Duke of Argyll, whose grandfather's and great-grandfather's careers spoke for his principles, appeared as Commissioner. Tweeddale, his predecessor, took the leadership of the New Party of the previous session, which now assumed the designation 'Squadrone Volante' and, professing a detached standpoint between the Court and its opponents, had the support of the traditional Whigs. By its votes the Union eventually was carried.

Argyll's task was to procure from the Estates a favourable answer to the invitation conveyed in the English Alien Act. His speech and that of the Queen urged the imperative need to negotiate a complete union 'before all other business.' At the outset his prospects of success seemed small. Hamilton carried (July 17) his motion of the previous session. Fletcher of Saltoun offered his programme of radical 'limitations' on the prerogative, and such an orgy of debate indulged the House that Argyll reported it 'stark mad.' Queensberry's arrival from England, his authority as Secretary of State, and deft management at length diverted the members to calm courses. On July 20, 1705, the Earl of Mar, 'Bobbing John' of the '15, moved an Act for a treaty with England. Five weeks later (September 1) it was approved, subject to the rescinding of the obnoxious alien clause in the Alien Act. Whether the Commissioners for union should be named by Parliament or the Queen was of urgent importance; if by Parliament, Jacobites and hot Presbyterians would certainly be included and put union in jeopardy. With characteristic inconstancy, and on a private understanding with Argyll, Hamilton gave the government its crowning triumph: on September 1, 1705, on his motion it was agreed to leave the nomination of Commissioners to the Queen. The resolution in effect decided the carrying of the Act of Union, though Lockhart, making the wish father of the thought, supposed that not a man in Britain anticipated its imminence. In fact, the acrid controversy between the Parliaments

rivetted the conviction in both that, as the dynastic union was no longer adequate, so completer union alone could avert the perils the crisis had revealed.

It was of good omen for the imminent negotiations that the English elections of 1705, influenced by Marlborough's successes, returned a Whig majority to Westminster and reacted upon the composition of the ministry, which was encouraged to broach union with Scotland, conscious that popular opinion was favourable in Parliament and outside. The sections of the Alien Act to which Scotland took exception having been repealed (November 27), the single impediment to the appointment of Commissions was removed, though the inconveniences of winter travel postponed their nomination until the following spring. On February 27, 1706, the Crown named thirty-one Scottish Commissioners, guided in their selection by the frank intention to secure a representative body from which shades of public opinion undecided or uncompromisingly hostile to union were excluded. All but one were of the Court or Whig interest; all the Officers of State except the Commissioner and Lord Advocate, along with four judges of the Court of Session, were included; the Lord Provost of Edinburgh and late Provost of Glasgow represented the burghs. Of the thirty-one nearly half (12) were members of the Commission of 1702. Hamilton's unreliability forbade his inclusion; Argyll, who had promised him nomination, declined to act on that ground. The Squadrone was excluded for a similar reason. The Jacobite Lockhart of Carnwath, M.P. for Midlothian, owed his selection to his relationship to Lord Wharton, one of the English Commissioners, and the consequent belief that it would be easy to 'carry him off' in favour of a policy of which his party were the stoutest opponents. He attended only because his friends thought he would be 'serviceable' in affording information from inside, and refrained from signing the Articles of Union. The English Commissioners were not appointed until April 10, 1706, within a week of the Commission's opening. Fourteen of them had served in

1702, all were persons whose official positions and authority would impress opinion on both sides of the Border, and all but one, the Archbishop of York, an uncompromising high churchman, sympathized with the object for which they were assembled. The composition of the Commissions clearly indicated that the government designed them to act as a Committee of the Articles to draft a conclusive measure for submission to the Parliaments, backed by a body which spoke for the soundest constituents of both.

The Commissioners met on April 16, 1706, in the Cockpit at Whitehall, as in 1702, and in the space of three months drafted a treaty signed by all but nine of them on July 22. The English Commissioners, approaching their task in a spirit of earnestness and accommodation wanting in 1702, loyally observed the Lord Keeper's opening injunction 'to prevent all misunderstandings, to cherish and improve the good dispositions to one another we meet with, to have the general and joint good of both kingdoms solely in our view, and not the separate of either; but to act as if we were already united in interest, and had nothing left to consider, but what settlements and provisions are most likely to conduce to the common safety and happiness of this whole island of Great Britain.' At the same time, the procedure adopted emphasized the distinctness of the two bodies as plenipotentiaries of independent kingdoms. They met in separate apartments of the Palace, held no joint conferences, except once to discuss the numerical representation of Scotland in the United Parliament, and only commingled to exchange written resolutions or to attend upon the Queen, who thrice addressed them. The studied absence of social hospitalities marked the same characteristic; it was observed that none of the English Commissioners during the proceedings 'had one of the Scots so much as to dine or drink a glass of wine with them.' The procedure otherwise was that of 1702, with the additional stipulation that conclusions should be held confidential.

A week having been exhausted in preliminaries, the English Commissioners (April 22), taking the initiative left to Scotland in 1702, proposed the union of the kingdoms under the style 'Great Britain,' settlement of the monarchy in the Electress Sophia and her Protestant heirs, and representation by 'one and the same Parliament.' In view of the outcry certain to be made in Scotland against the sacrifice of the Estates, the Scottish Commissioners, formally rather than anticipating acquiescence, proposed a federal union which, satisfying England's other conditions, would leave both Parliaments intact (April 24). Having regard to the objects in view, a single Parliament was imperatively necessary; the English, the Earl of Mar reported to a correspondent, 'think all the notions about foederal unions and forms a mere jest and chimera.' The Scottish proposal, therefore, was emphatically rejected, and its authors, having saved their faces with their constituents, accepted a conditional agreement (April 25) upon the terms stated by the English. The concession of complete intercourse of trade and navigation at home and in the colonies offered material solatium.

The constitutional foundation having been laid, negotiations were diverted to the fiscal aspects of union. The relative resources of the two kingdoms were very unequal. The English National Debt approached £18,000,000, or three years' revenue; that of Scotland was £160,000, equivalent to one. The proportions of revenue raised by taxation were similarly diverse; the English land-tax produced £2,000,000, the Scottish no more than £3600. On the other hand, equality of privilege postulated equality of obligation, and a basis for negotiation was laid when the Scottish Commissioners accepted the principle in regard to Customs, Excise, and other imposts (May 9). They stipulated, however, that neither kingdom should be burdened with the Public Debt of the other, and since Scotland as a taxable unit of the United Kingdom would, after the Union, contribute to the service of the Debt,

obtained the promise of an 'Equivalent,' subsequently (June 25) fixed at £398,085. 10s., payable on the day the Union came into effect, for the liquidation of Scotland's Public Debt, refunding of the capital of the Darien Company (which was to be dissolved), encouragement of the fisheries and manufactures, and adjustment of the coinage to English standards. In view of the kingdom's economic backwardness, the Scottish Commissioners also asked (May 13) that, until the beneficial effects of the Union were apparent, relief should be granted from the full brunt of taxation. With calculated generosity the appeal was conceded. Several commodities were scheduled (May 15) as exempt from duty in Scotland for a term of years, particularly malt (till June 24, 1707), and salt (till 1714). Her normal contribution from the land-tax was settled (May 23) at £48,000, less than one-fortieth of the amount raised in England on the same rate. The most potent argument by which the Scottish Commissioners could hope to commend Union to their constituents was the material advantage it offered. By the concession of free trade and fiscal allowances their task was shrewdly aided.

While fiscal conditions were being adjusted, proposals were submitted and approved (May 29 and 30) assuring to Scotland the maintenance of her legal system, addition of a Court of Exchequer for fiscal purposes, assimilation of her public law to that of England, conservation of laws establishing private rights, immunity of her judicature from English appellate control, preservation of her Privy Council until Parliament should ordain its abolition, maintenance of heritable offices and jurisdictions, and the rights and privileges of the Royal Burghs. These agreements placated powerful interests whose opposition might have wrecked the Union. The institution of a Commission of Admiralty for Great Britain (June 11), a uniform coinage (June 21), a common standard of weights and measures (June 21), a common Great Seal, public arms, and Union flag bearing the Crosses of St

George and St Andrew (July 3), presented no difficulties.

To decide Scotland's representation in the United Parliament was less easy. On the basis of taxation she was entitled to a meagre thirteen members in the House of Commons. On the basis of population (about 1,000,000) her share was about eighty. In the Cromwellian Parliaments her representation was thirty. On so critical and intricate a matter the agreement forbidding oral discussion was relaxed. To the two bodies meeting jointly on June 12 the English proposed a representation of thirty-eight members; the Scots demanded fifty; and both sides compromised (June 18) upon forty-five, which put Scotland on a level with Cornwall, but gave her one-eleventh of the House of Commons, whereas her tax contribution was one-fortieth. Thirty of the forty-five seats were ultimately allotted to the shires, and the remainder to the Royal Burghs, which alone were represented in the Scottish Parliament. Only sixteen Scottish peers were to be admitted to the House of Lords, a limitation to which their Commissioners agreed (June 18) upon the concession that all Scottish peerages existing at the moment of Union should be reckoned peerages of the United Kingdom with the privileges attaching thereto. The question of religion was expressly withdrawn from the Commission, a fact which indicates in both sides a wise sacrifice of the zeal for uniformity which misguided their policies in the seventeenth century. The period for the commencement of the Union having been fixed (July 11) for May 1, 1707, fifty-three Commissioners appended their signatures to the Treaty of twenty-five Articles on July 22, 1706, and on the following day heard the Queen's approval of their labours.

Three months intervened between the Commission's conclusion and the submission of the Treaty to the Scottish Estates, an interval in which public opinion, not yet instructed upon the terms, was wrought to a pitch of excitement by an angry war of sermon and pamphlet.

Events were to prove that Union claimed the majority of each Estate, for a reason concisely phrased in a verse of Ecclesiasticus (x. 27): 'Better is he that laboureth, and aboundeth in all things, than he that boasteth himself, and wanteth bread'; better a share in £6,000,000 than exclusive possession of a revenue of £160,000. While her neighbours had expanded into world-States beyond the oceans, Scotland alone had made no territorial growth. Only through England could she enter a profitable arena otherwise closed against her sons. The commercial and industrial middle class was resigned to sacrifice sentiment to prosperity. The nobility, accustomed for a century to resort to a sovereign resident in England, were equally alive to the benefits of union; such opposition as they offered was inspired mainly by reluctance to desert the House of Stewart, or, in the case of Hamilton, by personal ambition pursuing an elusive crown which had lured his family at intervals since James II's daughter married the first lord of his name. But outside these classes, in Highlands and Lowlands alike, popular prejudice stubbornly protested an act of betrayal. Andrew Fairservice in *Rob Roy*, imputing the dropping of a horse's shoe to the malevolent influence of the Union, expressed a prevalent mood. Cameronian opinion bewailed another desertion of the Covenants. Presbyterian clergy misliked union with a prelatical establishment and feared for the stability of their own. Episcopalians and Roman Catholics opposed the extinction of Stewart hopes. Aided by a Church mollified by safeguards, the Union was carried by Parliament against the country.

In England, also, the Union was imposed against popular prejudices, which, left to themselves, would have wrecked it. The substitution of Great Britain for England as the name of the United Kingdom, the fiscal concessions made to Scotland, the gift of the Equivalent, intrusion of elective peers into the House of Lords, danger to Episcopacy apprehended from the presence of Presbyterian nobles in that body, and, in particular, the surrender of

England's colonial monopoly, caused jealousy and misgiving. Had not William III handed to his successor a legacy of war, Anne's oft-repeated wish to associate the completed union with her reign would not have been fulfilled. As it was, Scotland strategically, like Hanover later, was England's Achilles' heel, the weak salient in otherwise sure defences. Nothing less than the conviction that, even if dynastic union was prolonged, a common foreign policy was not possible while two Parliaments represented independent sovereignties, could have impelled the English ministry to purchase unanimity of outlook at the price of commercial concessions. With shrewd wit the writer of a contemporary pamphlet summed the impulses which brought England and Scotland upon a common platform of purpose: 'The English are so bent upon securing the backdoor against enemies, and the Scots so bent upon opening the fore-door for an outlet into England.'

With the careful forethought which marked the government's procedure, the Scottish Parliament was first invited to give a verdict upon the treaty, partly because influence could more easily be applied there if pressure was needed, chiefly because as a tactical move it was preferable for Scotland to revise the treaty to the form she approved, and give England the opportunity, as actually happened, to accept it practically without amendment. A similarly judicious decision selected Queensberry to act as Commissioner. His position as head of the Scottish Whigs, his loyal service to William III and the Revolution, approved the choice; his character, at once firm and conciliatory, confirmed it. He was a man, in Defoe's words, who knew that the work before him must be accomplished 'not by too much Fire or too much Water, neither by want of Zeal or too much Zeal.' In all the heats and animosities of the occasion he held himself unruffled in face of exceptional violence and threats outside the Parliament House; inside it he showed himself a master of political tactics, conciliatory but not deflected from the

goal before him, penetrating and forestalling the counsels of his opponents, judiciously repressing the urgings of the more hot-headed of his party, winning for himself the remarkable triumph which awaited him at the conclusion of his task, when a procession of forty-six coaches and over a thousand horsemen attended his carriage as he entered London to report Scotland's acceptance of the Union. He faced a House in which parties were grouped as in the last two sessions: a phalanx of Whigs who regarded Union as the corollary of the Revolution; the Country party, led by Fletcher of Saltoun and Lord Belhaven, who opposed it as a betrayal of the country's proud traditions; the Jacobites, who fought it in the interests of James VIII at Saint-Germain; and the Squadrone Volante, a body of twenty-four members, who, in the words of one of their number, regarded Union as a potion 'wise men will be forced to drink to prevent greater evils,' and by their votes assured the government's victory. In the several Estates, while a small majority in favour of Union declared itself among the barons (or county members) and the Commissioners of the Royal Burghs, the nobles by a clear majority voted for it throughout its stormy passage, though the measure admitted only one-fifth of their order to the House of Lords; the protection against arrest for debt which a peerage of Great Britain conferred, and the prospect of obtaining such a hereditary seat as recently rewarded Argyll, added motives for their support.

Assembling for their last Session on October 3, 1706, the Estates again listened to the Queen's earnest recommendation of 'an intire and perfect union' as the 'solid foundation of lasting peace. It will secure your religion, liberty, and property, remove the animosities amongst yourselves, and the jealousies and differences betwixt our two kingdoms; it must increase your strength, riches and trade; and by this Union, the whole island being joined in affection, and free from all apprehension of different interests, will be enabled to resist all its enemies, support

the Protestant interest everywhere, and maintain the liberties of Europe.' Desiring an interval in which to organize opposition, the Jacobite and Country parties demanded preliminary discussion of the Articles before voting their acceptance or rejection. The government concurred, being anxious to conciliate, and October was devoted to that task. The opposition then sought further delay by declaring the Estates incompetent to decide the issue without a mandate from the constituencies, though Parliament had been summoned with Union in view. At the same time, to enable Presbyterian pulpits to level their artillery against the 'treaters'—styled traitors by an easy manipulation of vowels—a day of national fasting and humiliation was proposed, which the moderating influence of Carstares, now Principal of Edinburgh University, converted into a day of supplication for divine guidance of Parliament's deliberations. A last effort of obstruction was defeated on October 15, when a motion for adjournment was rejected. Inside Parliament opposition manifestly was powerless. It turned to a more plastic public outside.

Seventy years earlier, when Laudian uniformity threatened Scotland, a campaign of 'supplications' had been organized. The procedure was revived. Throughout October civil and parochial constituencies were canvassed to present addresses to the Estates. For the most part they were of uniform purport, challenged incorporation as a humiliating surrender of traditions 'maintained by our heroick ancestors for two thousand years,' represented the 'trembling state' of the Church, invited regard for its 'dying groans,' and anticipated an outbreak of Popish and 'disorderly' practices. The Convention of Royal Burghs demanded retention of Parliament for defence of the principles asserted in the Claim of Right. Much was made of the fact that no petitions were presented in support of Union. On the other hand, addresses against it were sent up only by one-third of the shires, one-quarter of the burghs, one in fifteen of the

parishes, and one in twenty-three of the presbyteries. Argyll dismissed them as only fit to make kites of, and the opposition behind them resorted to less constitutional methods of protest. Edinburgh, in whose midst Scotland's tragedy was being enacted, offered particularly inflammable material. Hamilton was the idol of a mob which daily thronged Parliament Square and its approaches, hooting the Commissioner and his supporters. On October 23 excitement reached its height. The House sat late debating with considerable warmth the Article relating to the Customs and Excise. Outside, a mob grew to such proportions that Parliament Square was blocked. Hamilton emerging had a noisy ovation and, 'in his chair with the glasses down,' was escorted to Atholl's lodging. His escort grew to thousands and, ripe for mischief, assailed the lodging of the ex-Lord Provost, one of the Commissioners earlier in the year. The intervention of the military saved him, but the mob, reinforced from Leith, 'went raving about the streets' till midnight, displaying so threatening a demeanour that, at Queensberry's orders, a battalion of the Royal Guards was called into the city, cleared the streets of demonstrators, and restored quiet. Until the end, Edinburgh maintained its hostile demeanour, the Commissioner was the object of daily insults, and on a day in November his coach was pelted with missiles, till the horses, taking fright, bore him to the Parliament House at an unseemly gallop ahead of jeering runners and a clattering escort.

Naturally the south-west was not passive. On November 20 two hundred Whigs entered Dumfries, burnt the Articles of Union in the Market Place along with a paper containing the names of the Commissioners, and affixed to the Cross their vigorous denunciation of Union, the threatened return of prelacy, and breach of the Covenant. Glasgow flared in protest about the same time. The opponents of Union there, resenting the magistrates' refusal to present an address against it, mobbed the Council Chamber and, after an interval, finding a leader

in 'a loose sort of fellow' who had served in Flanders, set upon the Provost, who withdrew himself into a box-bed from his pursuers. For a period the mob was master of the city, and challenged the citizens with the question, 'Are you for the Union?' A determined band set out to effect a junction at Hamilton with a considerable force of Whigs and others whom Major Cunningham of Ecket, acting under Jacobite inspiration, proposed to assemble there, purposing an advance upon Edinburgh to 'raise' the Parliament. The government's energetic measures and the Duke of Hamilton's characteristic timidity obstructed the enterprise. Glasgow, like Edinburgh, was quieted by military force, and the design to coerce Parliament by Whig-Jacobite pressure from without was not repeated.

On November 1, 1706, the Estates at length addressed themselves to 'further and more particular consideration of the Articles of Union, in order to approve them or not.' Thenceforward until January 14, 1707, when the last of the twenty-five was approved, the fate of the measure was decided by debates whose standard declared the ability of the institution whose continuance was at stake. Upon the first Article, enacting the Union of the two kingdoms on May 1, 1707, on which considerable ingenuity of obstruction was expended, Lord Belhaven delivered a much applauded utterance in which his prophetic vision discerned the dreadful consequences of Union: an independent kingdom yielding a prize which 'all the world hath been fighting for since the days of Nimrod,' the right to autonomy; a national Church 'voluntarily descending into a plain' on equal terms with Jews, Papists, and other sectaries; an honourable and once proud peerage so reduced that 'a petty English Exciseman' received more honour than 'quondam Maccallanmores'; learned judges, 'gravelled with Certioraries,' painfully digesting rudiments of English law; honest tradesmen, loaded with taxation, 'drinking water in place of ale' and eating 'fatless pottage'; landowners' 'pretty daughters petitioning for

want of husbands'; mariners 'earning their bread as underlings in the Royal English Navy.' 'But above all, I think I see our ancient mother Caledonia, like Caesar, sitting in the midst of our Senate, ruefully looking round about her, covering herself with her royal garment, attending the fatal blow, and breathing out her last with a *Et tu quoque mi fili*.' An Old Testament verse extinguished the orator. 'Behold he dreamed, but lo! when he awoke, he found it was a dream,' remarked Lord Marchmont. The House was of his opinion. On November 4, the first and fundamental Article was carried by a majority of thirty-two. On November 15 the second, and on November 18 the third Article, the one devolving the Crown upon the Electress Sophia and her Protestant heirs, the other decreeing the union of the Parliaments, passed by similar majorities in a House of about two hundred members.

The essential conditions of union were secure. But simultaneously the full blast of popular objection fell upon the Act. From November 1 addresses poured in from the country, and in Mar's opinion the Church's opposition threatened to wreck the measure. To placate it was imperative and easy. Immediately after the vote on the first Article (November 4) an Act 'For security of the true Protestant religion and government of the Church as by law established within this kingdom' was introduced. It amply guaranteed to the Scottish people their Presbyterian creed, discipline, and government in perpetuity; required the Professors of the four Universities to subscribe to the Confession of Faith and conform to the Presbyterian establishment; absolved Scotsmen from any obligation to take oaths or tests contrary to their religious convictions; and bound the sovereign 'in all time coming' by his coronation oath to maintain the Scottish Church as then established. The Act formed an integral part of the Treaty of Union and a clause in it expressly invited a similar measure on England's part.

The Church being placated, progress was accelerated.

Vainly the opposition proposed conditions calculated to prejudice the measure in the eyes of the English Parliament. On the other hand, the government was prepared in advance to sanction amendments on matters exercising public concern. The unpopular salt duty was lightened, a bounty was allowed to exporters of oatmeal, beef, and pork, and immunity from the malt tax was prolonged for the duration of the war. On the twenty-second Article, restricting Scottish representation to sixteen peers and forty-five Commoners, the opposition proposed to rally for a last stand, with an offer to accept the Hanoverian succession as an alternative to incorporation, and, if the amendment was lost, to secede in a body. Hamilton's incorrigible unreliability wrecked the scheme. An opportune toothache kept him within doors on the critical day. Forced by his friends to present himself in the House, he failed them again by not raising the motion. Their theatrical secession did not take place, and a week later (January 16, 1707) the completed Act of Union, and the associated Act of Security, were 'touched' by the Commissioner.

Lockhart of Carnwath gloomily reminded himself that the Act passed on the anniversary of Charles I's condemnation sixty years before, and alleged that English gold bought it. Undoubtedly considerable sums rewarded the Commissioners and others whose labours contributed to its completion. But its passage through the Estates certainly was not won by bribery. Meanwhile the Treaty passed to Westminster, while the Estates occupied themselves on details wisely left to their decision, notably, the mode of electing members to the United Parliament. To ensure the immediate return of Whigs and Unionists, the House resolved to elect them from its present representatives. Thereafter each shire (except three groups of two which received one member each) became a one-member constituency. The remaining fifteen seats were distributed among the sixty-seven Royal Burghs, Edinburgh receiving one member, and the remainder, grouped in fourteen

constituencies, one for each group. Though their voting power was reduced to one-fifth, all the constituencies of the Scottish were continued in the United Parliament; a judicious policy of conciliation left Scotland herself to adjust them to the new conditions.

At Westminster the Act made swift progress. Familiar arguments against an incorporating union were repeated, and the cry of danger to the Church was met by an Act amply securing the Church of England. No popular demonstrations were organized and the country watched a swift and foregone conclusion. The Unionists had a majority in both Houses. The Queen and the Ministry ardently desired union. Marlborough's victories at Blenheim and Ramillies not only enhanced the credit of the Whigs but shattered the Continental forces on which the enemies of union could expect to rely. Moreover, substantially unaltered by its passage through the Scottish Estates, the Treaty assured to England the advantages on which she insisted: the dynastic union was unbroken, the Parliaments were united, her supremacy in the United Parliament was assured, and, in spite of minor concessions, the principle of fiscal equality was admitted. Hence, in view of its momentous significance, the Act was passed in almost flippant haste, in Defoe's words, 'after the sedatest reading, calmest considering, and leisurely proceeding, without any opposition, amendment, or alteration, no not in the least.' Reported to the two Houses on January 28, 1707, it was carried in the Commons a month later (February 28), passed to the Lords on March 1, and received the Queen's assent on March 6. 'I make no doubt,' she told the Houses, 'but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter, to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion.'

The last scene was enacted with singular lack of circumstance. On March 19, 1707, Queensberry communicated to the Estates an exemplification of the Act under the Great Seal of England. Seafield, the Lord Chancellor,

received it and handed it to the Lord Clerk Register with a 'despising and contemptuous remark,' Lockhart alleges, which perhaps covered emotion—'Now there's ane end of ane auld sang.' A week later (March 25), New Year's Day in Old Style England, the doors of Parliament House were opened to the Estates for the last time. In a brief speech Queensberry declared his conviction that posterity would acclaim the Union now happily concluded, and adjourned Parliament to April 22. It never met again, and was dissolved on April 25. A week later (May 1) the Queen attended a thanksgiving service in St Paul's Cathedral to celebrate the birthday of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. At Edinburgh the bells of St Giles' chimed out over a listless city, 'Why should I be sad on my wedding day?' Two States had been joined in one. But the nations were preserved.

CHAPTER XXV

CIVIL WAR

'I THINK myself obleiged in duety,' Mar wrote in June, 1708, 'to lett your Majestie know that, so farr as I understand the inclinations and temper of the generallity of this country, it is still as dissatisfied with the Union as ever, and seems mightily sow'rd.' Swift, in *On the Union*, ridiculed the

> Blest revolution! which creates
> Divided hearts, united States!

and predicted that

> Tossing faction will o'erwhelm
> Our crazy double-bottom'd realm.

That the new relationship produced faction is not surprising, nor was agreement reached until the civil war Swift foresaw had taken place. English statesmen looked apprehensively to the accession of a German prince, doubting the Union's durability against Scotland's intelligible preference for her native dynasty. Their partner's rich toil in the colonial field as yet was unsuspected, and Scotland's admission to it was given grudgingly. They resented the presence in Parliament of a phalanx sitting aloof, pressing an unfamiliar standpoint, and snatching favours by time-service to a government ready to buy votes. Nor was the seventeenth century sufficiently remote to permit a non-uniform ecclesiastical establishment to be held other than an invitation to faction.

Better grounded was Scotland's quarrel with the Union's working. The material benefits for which she bartered independence were slow to declare themselves. Had she indeed sold her birthright for a mess of 'fatless pottage'? She had surrendered her capital, the

"Crown of her Israel,' depressing its prosperity, and withdrawing the social and political influence it had exerted for generations upon her national life. The burden of taxation drew angry protests from her: the rapacity of English collectors was a popular theme. Lockhart names a Scottish pedlar in England whose fears of highwaymen were abated by the assurance, 'they are all gone to your country to get places.' The Malt Tax (1713) and Walpole's Excise Bill (1733) stirred indignation. The smuggler drove a trade at once patriotic and profitable; the Porteous mob (1736) revealed the public's approving attitude towards him. Amendments of Scottish law, though competent to Parliament under the nineteenth Article of Union, were provocative, as the adjustment of the law of treason to that of England in 1709 demonstrated. The status of the Scottish peerage was belittled, and the Church's security under a Tory Parliament was placed in grave jeopardy. The Toleration Act (1712), Patronage Act (1712), and Yule Vacance Act (1712) outraged Scottish feeling. In 1713, so great was the tension, that the repeal of the Union was moved and supported at Westminster by the very men whose votes carried it six years before.

In such a soil Jacobite seed germinated fruitfully. A contemporary, to the tune, 'Auld lang syne,' pointed the moral of apostacy:

O Calidon, O Calidon, look back from whence ye fell,
And from your sufferings learn your crime, and ne'er again rebel,
Redeem your ancient liberties, regain your rights and laws,
Restore your injured rightful Prince, or perish in the cause.

For half a century after the Union Jacobitism ploddingly sought to disrupt it; found an ally selfish rather than magnanimous, constant but wholly ineffectual, in France; harnessed Sweden briefly to its service in 1717; and in 1719 won Spain to the Cause. With Spain's accession to the Quadruple Alliance in 1720 Europe reached an oasis of peace untroubled by Jacobite activity until Prince Charles

distinguished its single heroic episode in 1745. Had the Pretenders raised a Protestant banner the issue might well have been different. But the titular James III and VIII, an infant in arms when his father fled before William III, Britain's 'Dutch ironical saviour,' grew up in a Catholic atmosphere and preferred his religion to a kingdom. Throughout, Jacobitism assumed the guise of the Counter-Reformation, its princes were pensioners of France and the Vatican, and the last of its titular kings was a Cardinal of the Roman Church. Challenging the foundation principle on which the Union stood, it contrived its own failure.

The Union opened on a note of disagreement. Having been ratified in Scotland nearly four months before it took effect, there was ample opportunity to elaborate plans for commercial profit. Until May 1, 1707, the Scottish tariff remained considerably lower than the English, and since trade between the two countries was free from that date, merchandize imported into Scotland before it promised large profits when unloaded on the English market. Not being in a state of war with France, Scotland also could import French wines and brandy for ultimate English consumption. Tobacco offered another profitable speculation. Imported from the Plantations into England it enjoyed a heavy rebate of duty on being exported to foreign countries, among whom Scotland was counted until May 1, 1707. Re-exported to England from Scotland after that date tobacco would reach the English consumer after paying on each pound only one penny instead of fivepence duty, a difference which promised the Scottish exporter enhanced profit on his sales or would enable him to undersell English competitors. Observing large consignments of tobacco shipped to Scotland before May 1, 1707, and phenomenal stocks of French wines and brandy accumulating there, London merchants petitioned the Commons in the interests of fair trading. To meet their complaints, the House proposed a duty on goods passing from Scotland into England after May 1, 1707, which had

been imported into Scotland after the previous February 1. The Lords disagreed; the proposal clearly varied the provisions of the Act of Union. After May 1, 1707, therefore, an avalanche of merchandize descended upon English ports, and in June a fleet of vessels bearing French wines and spirits entered the Thames. The Customs' officials forbade the cargoes to be landed, ordered the vessels to be seized, and proposed to treat the crews as smugglers. Loud outcry was raised in Scotland, where anticipated profit seemed likely to become heavy loss. The Convention of Royal Burghs petitioned for redress, and the matter was referred to Parliament. In the result proceedings against the ships and cargoes were stayed in the interests of mutual comity. But the dispute was of ill omen and was aggravated by other annoyances. The tardy payment of the Equivalent disappointed those who had claims upon it: it did not reach Edinburgh until August 1707. The adjustment of Scotland's fiscal system to that of England, provided for in the sixth Article, entailed the supersession of the Scottish farmers by two Commissions of Customs and Excise, whose English officials, Lockhart declares with some exaggeration, 'treated the natives with all the contempt imaginable.'

The first Parliament of the United Kingdom met in October, 1707, passed three measures affecting the Union, and witnessed the first Jacobite endeavour to upset it. James VI had established Justices of the Peace and justice-ayres in 1587; but, except under Cromwell's vigorous rule, the new magistracy was never effectual. The need was the greater because heritable jurisdictions did not embrace the burghs, while the Act of Union specifically provided that the Customs and Excise should be regulated in Scotland as in England. As from September 1707, therefore, Justices of the Peace were invested with the powers competent to their office in England, both administrative and in matters relating to Customs and Excise. A Court of Exchequer was set up as from May 1, 1708, to the same purpose. The abolition of the Privy Council divided the

Scottish vote in Parliament. Queensberry and the Court interest were anxious not to act upon the nineteenth Article of Union, which permitted Parliament to abolish it; it offered a convenient instrument of direction they were not disposed to sacrifice, particularly on the eve of a general election. On the other hand, the Squadrone, whose members had voted Union to restrict English domination, were concerned to abolish the Council for that reason. Patriotic sentiment did not cling to it as to Parliament, and the existence of two Privy Councils in one kingdom could be represented as unnecessary; the more so since Justices of the Peace exercised some of its powers. The Jacobites were anxious to abolish an institution convenient to thwart their activities, and the Whigs opposed it on other grounds. Its abolition as from May 1, 1708, was carried by large majorities in the Commons and by a narrow margin in the Lords, breaking a 'yoke,' a contemporary declared, which the courtiers had designed to 'wreathe harder about our necks than ever.'

Since the death of James VII and his supplanter, the situation in Scotland had been closely observed from France, whom the military situation prompted to exploit the Jacobites in her interests. In 1705 Louis XIV's agent, Colonel Nathaniel Hooke, came over to examine the position, rather to stir up civil war in his employer's behalf, than to advance the Pretender's service. Marlborough's victory at Ramillies, Eugene's at Turin, and the progress of the Archduke Charles in Spain, spurred Louis' inclination to make a diversion elsewhere. In April 1707, shortly before the Union came into force, Hooke returned to Scotland, but found little encouragement. It was 'one of your saucy English poets,' Flora MacIvor told young Waverley, who wrote of Scotland's

> Bootless host of high-born beggars,
> Mac-Leans, Mac-Kenzies, and Mac-Gregors.

To these valuable allies Hooke unwisely gave no attention. Hamilton made large professions but refused to see him,

being concerned for his large interests in England or his own claims to the throne, which, Hooke gathered, he had 'very much at heart.' The Atholl and Gordon dukes were equally cautious. Ker of Kersland, Queensberry's spy, gave an egregious assurance that James' undertaking to secure the Protestant religion would bring out 13,000 Cameronians and Presbyterians. But the Hamilton faction was backward, and from Atholl's following Hooke obtained only a thinly signed memorial which made heavy demands on France for equipment and reinforcement and urged James to denounce the Catholic entanglements of his father.

His partisans were encouraged to expect James in the summer of 1707, when indignation at the recent Union was at its height. The situation was favourable otherwise. Though Hooke's negotiations were known to the government, no measures were taken to meet rebellion; either the probability of invasion seemed remote, or Marlborough was not adverse to a French landing on British soil which could but harden the nation against inclinations to peace. The establishment in Scotland numbered only 1500 'almost naked' troops, the principal castles lacked munitions for defence, and the guns of Dumbarton and Blackness were unmounted and unserviceable. That the Equivalent was in Edinburgh Castle under feeble guard offered a prize to instant action. But without French aid the Jacobite nationalists would not move, and there was no sign of it until February 1708, when operations at Dunkirk portended action. On March 1 James drafted at Saint-Germain an elaborate proclamation, reminding Scotland that 'usurpations have always been fatal and ruinous' to her liberty, promising to annul the Union, give Protestants liberty to exercise their religion, and submit 'differences about Church government' to a Scottish Parliament for settlement. A week later he set out for Dunkirk, where a fleet of five men-of-war with numerous transports was assembled, carrying an expeditionary force about 5000 strong under Maréchal de

Matignon. Inopportunely, James developed measles; it was not until March 17 that the squadron loosed anchor. Sir George Byng, cruising on the alert, followed in hot pursuit. Heavy gales blew and the prince and his suite were sick '*jusqu'aux larmes*' before the ships made the Firth of Forth at nightfall on March 23 (March 12, O.S.). The following day Byng hove in sight. The French, whose signals to the shore had been disregarded, dashed for the open sea to avoid action. Running northward along the coast, James importuned to be set on shore, but was refused in view of Byng's close pursuit. On April 7 (March 27, O.S.), after a stormy passage and with only nine ships in company, he returned to Dunkirk.

The Jacobite fiasco, Burnet wrote, 'to be reckoned as one of those happy providences for which we have much to answer,' was to its partisans 'too melancholy a subject to insist upon.' All the prisons in Edinburgh, declared Lockhart, were 'crammed full' of prisoners suspected of collusion, and a number of the nobility, including Hamilton, were brought up to London. Lack of evidence, and a desire to assuage opposition on the eve of a general election, procured the release of all but five Stirlingshire lairds, who had ridden towards Edinburgh on a rumour that James had landed. In November 1708 they were put on their trial at Edinburgh for high treason. The verdict 'not proven' which released them suggested that the Scottish law of treason was inadequate, and though the Act of Union expressly conserved the laws and judicatories of Scotland, an 'Act for improving the Union of the two Kingdoms' was passed in the next session of Parliament. It made the penalty for treason uniform and transferred jurisdiction over such cases from the High Court to special Commissions. Scottish opposition was able to secure two amendments, though their operation was expressly, and for obvious reasons, delayed until the death of the Pretender and the completion of three years of the reign of the Queen's successor. By one, landed estates were declared non-forfeitable for treason beyond a single

life, a qualification more merciful than English practice hitherto, which sanctioned confiscation on conviction. By the other the accused was assured a copy of the indictment against him, and the names of witnesses supporting it, ten days before his trial.

Meanwhile, in June 1708, Scotland held the first general election since the Union. The government no longer employed the Privy Council to promote its interests, but its machinations procured a result satisfactory and even remarkable. The recent French attempt had exposed the imminent peril of civil war. Calculated leniency to the Jacobite prisoners won Hamilton and his following. The Presbyterians abandoned their dangerous alliance with the Pretender's friends, and strenuous exertions in the constituencies returned a large Whig majority. Meeting in November 1708, the first British Parliament constituted by ordinary election sat till April 1709, and, besides the Treason Act, gave its attention to business revealing the keenness with which the election had been fought. Two shires (Aberdeen and Linlithgow) returned the eldest sons of peers, an innovation upon former practice disagreeable to the Commons as an invasion of their domain. Both were ordered to hold fresh elections, a decision as unwelcome to the peers as to the government, whose interest was to enlarge the former's influence: the disability was removed by the Reform Act of 1832. The election of representative peers also raised a difficulty. Queensberry's vote for the Sixteen was challenged on the ground that he was also a peer of Great Britain (Duke of Dover), that it gave him an advantage over his brother peers, and that, by conferring a sufficient number of English titles on Scottish nobles, a body of representative peers could always be secured in the government's interest. The Lords decided that a Scottish peer advanced to a post-Union English title was ineligible to vote at the election of representatives of his order, and when, two years later (1711), Hamilton was created Duke of Brandon in the peerage of Great Britain, fearful of an enlargement of its

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privileged ranks, the House ruled that Scottish peers created peers of Great Britain since May 1, 1707, were ineligible for a seat in that capacity. The drastic order was not reversed until 1782; meanwhile, it was protested vigorously as violating the conditions of Union and reducing the Scottish peerage 'to a worse condition, in some respects, than the meanest or most criminal of subjects.'

Prorogued in April 1709, a new Parliament assembled in November 1710, of a complexion which closely affected the fortunes of the Union by putting into power the party least attached to the principles on which it was founded. In the interval the intrigues of Robert Harley (Chancellor of the Exchequer), the Queen's rebellion against the Duchess of Marlborough's tyranny, and the country's growing inclination to make terms with France, produced a situation which only needed a popular impulse to overturn Godolphin and the Whigs. A sermon preached by Dr Henry Sacheverell before the Lord Mayor at St Paul's in November 1709 provided one. Taking as his text, 'in perils among false brethren,' he challenged the Revolution's supporters among the clergy and in the government, railed at their policy of comprehension and toleration, and under a pseudonym familiar to his hearers criticized Godolphin's 'crafty insidiousness.' The government, resolving to impeach him, made him a hero. Gratitude to the party that secured the Revolution had long been exhausted. Sacheverell's denunciation of that event as 'odious and unjustifiable' in the measures which secured it was less impressive to a war-weary population than their discovery of a personality through whom to demonstrate for a change of policy. The mildness of his sentence was acclaimed as a popular victory, and the Queen identified herself with the general enthusiasm by presenting him to a rich benefice in the city. In the summer of 1710 Godolphin was dismissed, the Duchess of Marlborough followed him into seclusion, and Harley, soon to be created Earl of Oxford, came to power at the head of a

party whose principal achievement was to sign peace with France in 1713. In September 1710 Parliament was dissolved after a thorough reconstruction of the ministry. The Whigs were well-nigh obliterated at the polls, and Scotland swelled the Tory majority.

With anxiety, however, Scotland regarded the advent of a party whose stalwarts in England were rabbling Presbyterian clergy. Her apprehensions were fulfilled; assaults upon her prejudices were delivered which confirmed an impression that the Union rivetted and had not relaxed her impotence, and inspired a formal motion in 1713 for its dissolution. The Union, as had been foreseen, drew the Episcopal bodies of the two kingdoms together. As early as April 1707 the increasing vogue of the English Book of Common Prayer invited from the General Assembly, asserting the jurisdiction as well as the position of a State Church, a condemnation of 'set forms.' In 1709 its competence was challenged by James Greenshields, an Episcopal minister lately come from Ireland to Edinburgh, where, after taking the Abjuration Oath, he set up a meeting house, obtrusively near St Giles', and claimed the liberty conferred by the Act of 1695 to conduct public worship, though excluded from Church Courts and ordinations. As his congregation was chiefly drawn from English residents settled in Edinburgh since the Union, he used the Book of Common Prayer. The Edinburgh Presbytery, contending that he was 'within their bounds,' inhibited him from conducting a form of public worship 'contrary to the purity and uniformity of the Church established by law.' Greenshields denied its jurisdiction and eventually, on a warrant from the magistrates, was put into prison, where he lay for seven months. Appeals to the Court of Session proving ineffectual, in February 1710 he laid his case before the House of Lords and published a narrative of his experiences which brought home to English Episcopalians vividly, and for the first time, the situation of their communion in Scotland. Sacheverell's trial conveniently

coincided with the revelation. A Tory Parliament dealt with Greenshields sympathetically. In March 1711 the House of Lords reversed the decision of the Courts below, and awarded him costs and damages.

The occasion had important consequences. The use of the English liturgy became common, especially in the North, where, according to Wodrow, the Episcopalians displayed a demeanour 'extremely insolent and outrageous.' The Assembly's claim to exercise national jurisdiction had been corrected by a secular institution of which English bishops were members. But the case had a more disturbing aspect. Towards the end of 1711 Lockhart published a pamphlet in London intended to influence Parliament to ease Scottish prelacy, at a moment when the Occasional Conformity Bill was closing dissenting chapels in England against municipal officials under heavy financial penalties. By an overwhelming majority a Toleration Act passed the Commons in February 1712. In March it received the royal assent. It declared it free and lawful for the Episcopal communion in Scotland to meet for divine worship to be performed after its own manner by pastors ordained by a Protestant bishop, and to use in its congregations the liturgy of the Church of England, with liberty to conduct marriages and baptisms denied to the non-conforming Episcopal clergy by the Act of 1695. The addition of a clause gave the measure a political bearing, which, while it effectually barred Jacobite Episcopalians, trebly wounded the susceptibilities of the Presbyterians. It required both Episcopal and Presbyterian clergy to take the Abjuration Oath and to pray during divine service for the Queen and the Heiress Apparent. The oath impinged on the liberty guaranteed by the Union, submitted the Church to secular discipline, and bound the subscriber to maintain the succession 'as the same is and stands settled by' the Act of 1701, which required the sovereign to be in communion with the Church of England. Presbyterianism, otherwise outraged by the favour shown to Episcopacy,

resented an obligation to maintain the exclusive claims of the English Establishment upon the sovereign's attachment, and was released from it in 1719.

Popular opinion held the Toleration Act a violation of the Union. Ten days later a patent attack upon it was introduced (March 13, 1712) in a Bill to restore patrons to their ancient rights from May 1, 1712, provided they had taken the oaths and were purged of suspicion of Popery. Thus patronage, abolished in 1649 and 1690, was again restored in an Act fated to cause bitter controversy and division. It passed, in spite of the Assembly's protest against 'grievous and prejudicial' legislation, and was accompanied by a measure wholly vexatious, an 'Act discharging the Yule Vacance,' directing the Scottish law courts to observe the Christmas vacation, a deliberate slight upon Scottish religious feeling, repealed in 1715.

National discontent, inflamed over the treatment of the Church, was heightened by evidences of Parliament's disregard of the country's commercial interests. The imposition of an export duty on British linen (1711) was felt to be a particular grievance, since it taxed Scotland's staple export and augmented her contribution to the Exchequer. Failure to secure public funds for her economic development or to open an English market for her timber were other instances of neglect which prepared an angry reception for the proposal (May 1713) to subject Scottish malt to a duty of sixpence the bushel, uniform with the English rate. By Article XIV of the Union malt was exempt from duty 'during this present war,' of the cost of which also Scotland was expressly relieved. Peace with France had already been signed, but not with Spain. The Scottish members therefore had a valid case against the proposed duty and affected to see in it evidence of a 'national disposition against Scotland.' A campaign of somewhat inflated protest culminated in a motion in the Lords (June 1, 1713) for the dissolution of the Union itself, moved by Seafield, now Earl of Findlater, and supported by men of such divided opinion as Argyll and

Mar. By only four votes a motion was lost which neither side, perhaps, took seriously, whose practical result was the suspension of the malt duty till 1724, when its revival excited sharper controversy. In spite of its provocations, inadequate economic results, and galling indignities, the Union after seven years' experience still expressed the convinced opinion of the stable element in two populations. It had weathered foreign assault, proved itself of a fibre to resist the strain of party politics, and, in a debate which, however unreal, demonstrated its waning popularity, mustered a majority to confirm it.

The Tory reaction evident in the election of 1710 was confirmed by that of 1713. But, as the earlier indicated war-weariness rather than a loosening attachment to the Revolution, so the later event was opportunely timed to establish the Tory managers on the credit of the recently signed Peace of Utrecht. In the following spring (May 1714) the death of the aged Electress Sophia left her less gracious and agreeable son, George Louis, Anne's successor, who, though he had been heir presumptive for thirteen years, remained incorrigibly and contemptuously ignorant of his future subjects' manners, customs, and language. If, as has been said, the Hanoverian Succession was the greatest miracle in our history, it reveals the extent of the nation's antipathy to its alternative. That it soon would be called on to decide between them was evident from the Queen's declining health. Naturally drawn to him, her interest was subtly engaged for her brother by her Secretary of State, Lord Bolingbroke, and Mrs Masham, the Duchess of Marlborough's successor in her confidence. Encouraged by the elections, which strengthened his position in Parliament, Bolingbroke moved cautiously for James' succession. The Duke of Ormonde, as Warden of the Cinque Ports, was relied on to hold the southern harbours open to French succours when the moment for action arrived. Edinburgh and other strong places received Jacobite custodians: the army was officered with that party's sympathisers. But, for the

success of Bolingbroke's plan to form a whole-hearted Jacobite ministry, it was imperative to destroy Oxford, the Lord Treasurer. On July 27, after a violent scene in Council, Anne dismissed him. Bolingbroke, whose association with financial scandals was notorious, could not hope to take his place. While the reconstruction of the Cabinet, to include Mar, Ormonde, and other crypto-Jacobites, was in consideration, the Whig Dukes of Somerset and Argyll, sensible of the crisis, acted with swift decision. Presenting themselves (July 30) unsummoned at the Council, they nerved the Queen, in a last effort of authority, to give the Treasurer's White Staff to the Duke of Shrewsbury, a man of Whig antecedents whose agreeable personality in early years won him the sobriquet 'King of hearts.'

The act was decisive. Friends of the Protestant succession, realizing the danger in which Bolingbroke's underground plotting placed it, rallied to the Whig leaders. The fleet was committed to reliable hands, and precautions against disturbances were taken in the provinces. On August 1, 1714, when the Queen expired, George I was quietly proclaimed in London, and at Edinburgh, according to a beholder, with 'extraordinary joy.' Seven weeks later the new sovereign tardily landed in England, took the Whigs to his heart, and pointedly excluded the Tories from his favour. Ormonde, Bolingbroke, and Mar were not given office. Oxford, who presented himself at Greenwich on George's arrival, received a cold finger and contemptuous stare. Reacting to these conditions, the constituencies sent up to Parliament in March 1715 an overwhelming Whig majority, to whose triumphant proportions Scotland contributed. All but one of her sixteen representative peers and all but five of the commoners were Whigs, whose party sedulously enlightened the electors on the dangers of the Jacobite programme: in Inverness-shire Duncan Forbes of Culloden beat his Jacobite opponent. Prompted by the Court, the new Parliament displayed a vindictive demeanour

towards the Tory leaders, whom it threatened with 'condign punishment.' Forestalling impeachment, Bolingbroke, in March 1715, crossed the Channel to become James' Secretary of State. Ormonde followed him in August. Mar remained meanwhile to plumb his prospects at the Hanoverian Court.

The accession of his rival found the Pretender at Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine, whither the Treaty of Utrecht had driven him. He was now in his twenty-sixth year, 'slender, tall, and comely,' with a resemblance to Charles II which did not embrace his character, and a 'perceptible eye' which failed to give him intelligent insight into the conditions of his 'law suit.' Bolingbroke remarked that the English preferred even a Turk to a Catholic. But James would neither dissemble nor change his religion. To the Pope, on his coming of age, he wrote: 'how infinitely the kingdom of heaven transcends all the kingdoms of this world,' a pious opinion, but inconvenient for Pretenders. Anne's premature death cheated him of hopes founded on her regard for him, and Bolingbroke's flight left his party leaderless. Jacobite sympathy expressed itself in England and Scotland only in noisy demonstrations, and the European situation was discouraging. The Hanoverian Succession was explicitly recognized by France and Spain in the Utrecht pacification, and there was for the moment no inclination to disturb it. The Pope offered a subsidy but refused to approach the European Courts in James' behalf. The Emperor rebuffed his matrimonial plans. Above all, Louis XIV's death in September 1715 handed France to the Regent Orleans, who was more concerned to exclude the Spanish Bourbons from the French succession than to put the Chevalier de St George on that of Great Britain. But he was determined to follow his father's footsteps and by armed force, if need be, extirpate heresy from his recovered kingdoms. Louis XIV, so long as he lived, was anxious to observe his promise to the prince's father, and surreptitiously provided military equipment. But, as invariably, Jacobite organization was

childishly inept. No coordination existed between agencies whose cooperation only could ensure success: and the Pretender himself was too eager to be in action to explore a situation across the Channel which circumstances prevented him from understanding. Bolingbroke did not bring his experience to bear as Secretary of State till towards the close of July, by which time, on a verbal communication from England, James already had appointed July 31, 1715, for a rising, and promised the encouragement of his presence. Mar and Ormonde sent warning that unless an army accompanied him, a general insurrection was impracticable. Bolingbroke confirmed their caution. But Mar played James' game. Convinced of the blackness of his prospects at the Hanoverian Court, he boarded a collier in the Thames on August 2, 1715, and sailed to test the situation in Scotland. Ormonde reached Paris at the same time.

Arrived at his Aberdeenshire castle of Kildrummy, Mar, on August 26, convened a meeting of Jacobite sympathizers as if to a hunting party. The government having already placed the Dukes of Atholl and Gordon, the Marquess of Huntly, and others, under surveillance, he addressed a meeting aware that its purpose could not be long concealed. He bewailed his share in bringing about the Union, declared his 'eyes were opened,' and that he would do his best to make Scotland 'a free people,' enjoying 'their ancient liberties which were by that cursed Union delivered up into the hands of the English.' The Chevalier, he assured them, would redress their wrongs. He reported England's decided intention to rise, and promised 'powerful assistance' from France. On September 6, 1715, he raised the standard of James III and VIII at Braemar. Its gilt ball fell as it was erected, an omen of disaster which failed sufficiently to impress the superstitious gathering.

The rebellion made a start which belied adverse omens. The event long dreaded—the parting of Scotland from her ancient dynasty—summoned every interest not

irrevocably pledged to Hanover to protest a German's succession. At Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Gordon Castle, Brechin, Montrose, Dundee, Inverness, the Pretender was proclaimed. An attempt to seize Edinburgh Castle was only defeated by a woman's wit. Before the end of September Mar was in Perth, and soon controlled the entire coast from the Moray Firth to the Forth. Farquharsons and Gordons from his own county; Atholl Highlanders, Robertsons of Struan, and Breadalbane's Campbells from Perthshire; Mackintoshes, Drummonds, and Lowland contingents swelled his force to 6000 foot and 600 horse in the course of November. In the west, the Macdonalds, Macleans, Macgregors, and Grants of Glenmoriston, eager to avenge Glencoe, were in arms to harass Argyll's country and, said their enemies, champion 'Rome against the Reformation.' The government, embarrassed for want of troops, took vigorous steps at law to confound the Pretender's partisans, suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, put a heavy price on James' head, extended the definition of treason by the 'Clan Act,' which made superior and vassal beneficiaries of the other's disloyalty, and enlarged the powers of the justiciary. Argyll, whose military apprenticeship under Marlborough combined with his family traditions to recommend him, was sent down to Scotland to command the forces. By the end of September he was settled at Stirling, holding the Lowlands, in command of less than 2000 men, while the Earl of Sutherland at Dunrobin rallied the loyal northern clans. Reinforcements were ordered from Ireland, and the United Provinces were summoned, under their Treaty (1713) obligations, to provide eight regiments of foot and one of horse. The militia already had been called out and half-pay officers were summoned to the colours.

Had Mar at once challenged Argyll's inferior force at Stirling, Edinburgh and the south lay open to him. But at Perth, said a disgruntled partisan, he 'did nothing but write; and, as if all had depended on his writing, nobody moved in any one thing.' His commission reached him on

October 6; but he preferred to await James' arrival, partly in hope of French reinforcement, counting also on the Chevalier's presence to excite the loyalty of his followers, and desiring leisure to test the disposition of England. He devised, however, an enveloping movement whose effect, if successful, would render Argyll's position at Stirling precarious. The clans were instructed to seize Inveraray and advance on Stirling from that quarter, while a strong force passed the Forth under Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum, in whom the same spleeny critic of Mar's incompetence found nothing to recommend his employment but 'an affected Inverness English accent.' Mar's design failed on both wings. The clans withdrew from before Inveraray after threatening attack. Mackintosh, after passing the Forth, should have marched at once to the Border to reinforce the Lords Kenmure, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Winton, who were making little impression upon the inveterate Whiggism of that country, and had been frustrated in an effort to proclaim the Chevalier at Dumfries. Instead of combining with their force against Argyll's rear, and so enclosing the Duke 'in a hose net,' Mackintosh made a dash upon Edinburgh whose capture promised mightily to encourage the cause (October 14): Argyll in person intervened to prevent so considerable a catastrophe. Resuming his interrupted commission, Mackintosh joined Kenmure's force of English and Scottish Jacobites at Kelso a week later (October 22).

The Kelso force included a body of Northumberland Jacobites under Thomas Forster, Member for the county, the Earl of Derwentwater, and Lord Widdrington. The Scots recommended junction with the western clans for an assault upon Argyll. The English insisted upon acting against General Carpenter, lately arrived at Wooler, whose raw cavalry and inferior strength offered prospects of victory. Unable to agree, the leaders concluded on a compromise and headed for disaster. A considerable fraction of Mackintosh's force deserted: the remainder, less than 2000 strong, set out upon the track on which in

1648 and 1651 the cause of the Stewarts moved to disaster. Scattering a small force of militia, the insurgents entered Kendal (November 5), where Forster visiting his godmother, she 'gave him two or three boxes on the ear, and called him a rebel and a Popish tool, which he took patiently.' His military powers were negligible; in moments of crisis he went to bed to await infrequent inspiration! Few partisans joined, though one pertinaciously visited churches on the march, erasing King George's name in the Prayer-books. In Lancashire the Roman Catholics were more responsive. Encouraged by assurances of a friendly welcome in Manchester, the insurgents marched to Preston where, as in 1648, the adventure collapsed. On November 12 an English force, advancing from Wigan, found the bridge across the Ribble unguarded, and delivered an assault upon the Jacobites, reinforced by some 200 Lancashire Catholics and their retainers. The attack was beaten off after a hard tussle. Next morning Carpenter arrived by forced marches from the north with three regiments of horse. The insurgents were trapped; to break cover with nine regiments of horse in pursuit would be futile. Forster sensibly proposed surrender, and on November 14 his force, in number about 1500, laid down their arms.

Almost simultaneously the Stewart cause received its death blow in Scotland. By the first week in November Huntly and Seaforth had brought in their contingents, and Mar's strength at Perth was about 8000. Argyll could not muster half that number. But the Dutch contingents were on their way, and Mar judged it important to strike before their arrival. A general advance was agreed upon on November 9. Next day, says Mar's critic, they marched out of Perth '*a la bonne aventure*, the blind leading the blind, not knowing whither we were going or what we were to do.' Instead of waiting to be attacked, Argyll evacuated Stirling and, marching northward, posted himself on Sheriffmuir, an undulating upland of the Ochils near Dunblane, where his superiority in cavalry would

tell. On November 13 action was joined: the left of each army was driven from the field, and both commanders claimed a 'drawn stake.' But for Mar's prospects the engagement was decisive: the Dutch troops arrived in the Thames the day after the battle, and his single opportunity to pass the Forth vanished. Simultaneously, Simon Fraser, intent to secure the Lovat title, wrested the North from Seaforth's control. Ormonde's flying assaults upon the southern English coasts (October—December) called out no response. Everywhere the critical year ended gloomily for the Jacobite cause.

Such a moment James, with characteristic fortune, chose for his arrival. Ormonde's incapacity and prospect of a cool reception diverting him from an English landing, the Chevalier arrived at Peterhead on December 22, 1715, lodged a night incognito in the 'habit of sea-officers,' rode southward with a small escort of horse, and at Fetteresso succumbed to an attack of 'aguish distemper.' Mar met him there, proclaimed him by his titles at the gates of the house, and issued his proclamation. It announced intention to relieve his subjects from 'the hardships they groan under on account of the late unhappy Union,' promised to summon Parliament to its accustomed home, and offered security to the Churches of England and Scotland. Enthusiasm marked his progress towards Perth, where he entered on January 9, 1716. Already he was apprised of the depressing state of his cause. Mar's position had steadily deteriorated since Sheriffmuir: the Highlanders had deserted in considerable numbers, chafing at inaction: and a secret resolution already had been formed to retreat to the north. The Chevalier's demeanour expressed these circumstances. 'His countenance is pale,' remarked an observer; 'yet he seems to be sanguine in his constitution, and has something of a vivacity in his eye that perhaps would have been more visible if he had not been under dejected circumstances and surrounded with discouragement, which it must be acknowledged were sufficient to alter the

complexion even of his soul as well as of his body. We found ourselves not at all animated by his presence, and if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him. I am sure the figure he made dejected us, and had he sent us but 5000 men of good troops and never come among us, we had done other things than we have now done.' Old Mr Melancholy invariably lacked his son's engaging manners.

Meanwhile, Argyll, at Stirling, reinforced by the Dutch troops, was at the head of 9000 horse and foot and a powerful train. His failure to push the campaign to a conclusion excited comment, and James' arrival coincided with stringent orders to him to advance. On January 24, 1716, he reconnoitred towards Auchterarder in a season more severe than a generation could recall. At Perth confusion reigned. The Highlanders were impatient for action: the cautious proposed to fall back on more advantageous ground: Mar and the leaders were bent upon abandoning an enterprise known to be hopeless. A futile effort to impede Argyll's advance by burning the villages between Perth and Stirling was made, and on January 31 the retreat began. Argyll hotly pressed the pursuit. A rumour of his advance from Arbroath hurried the Chevalier on board ship in Montrose harbour. 'I shall ever pursue with the utmost vigour my just designs,' he wrote in *A Letter of Adieu to the Scotch*, and represented his departure as necessary to promote 'a more happy conjuncture for our mutual delivery.' He never saw Scotland again, and left behind him no happy or inspiring memory. Mar accompanied him, leaving General Gordon to conduct the despondent troops to Aberdeen and thence to Badenoch, where they petitioned for mercy, and, receiving no reply, dispersed. The royal army indefatigably hunted down the fugitives, the Dutch troops leaving 'nothing earthly' undestroyed along their route. By May tranquillity was restored.

That the Union survived an effort to overthrow it, whose chances of success at the outset were probably as con-

siderable as its prospects of failure, was due entirely to the conviction that independence under a Catholic prince was less preferable than partnership with England. The government recognized that excessive severity would overstrain the allegiance of a population most of whom admired, if they did not express, Mar's protest against the 'cursed Union.' Less than one hundred of the prisoners taken in Scotland were sent for trial to Carlisle. None of them was executed. Of those captured in England over 700 were transported and fifty-seven, including Kenmure and Derwentwater, were put to death. Nithsdale was saved from that fate by his heroic wife, in whose clothing he broke prison. A number of leaders were attainted, and a Commission was set up (June 26, 1716) to ascertain the extent and value of their forfeited estates, sell them for public uses, and provide capital for the erection of schools in the Highlands. Thirty-four of thirty-nine Scottish properties were disposed of, chiefly to the York Buildings Company, but without any benefit to the public uses proposed.

The rebellion revealed another menace to the government. In the north of Scotland Episcopacy had avowed itself Jacobite frankly; over two hundred loyal clergy had been ousted from their pulpits while Mar's army held the field. It paid the penalty for its political bias. In 1719 Episcopal ministers were forbidden to officiate to more than eight persons beyond the members of their own household, unless they had taken the Abjuration Oath and prayed for King George. At the same time the oath was made more palatable to Presbyterian ministers, for whose loyal demeanour during the rebellion the government had reason to be grateful, by the elimination of the clause binding the subscriber to maintain the conditions of the English Act of Settlement (1701). Prolongation of its existence by the Septennial Act (April 1716) completed Parliament's major measures for the protection of the Protestant Succession necessitated by the most considerable danger to which it so far had been exposed.

For a generation the Union was not seriously assailed.

After a secret visit to his mother in France, the Pretender returned to Bar-le-duc. Driven thence, in April 1716, he settled at Papal Avignon, till, again disturbed by the Triple Alliance (Great Britain, France, Holland), he crossed the Alps a year later (February 1717) to his long exile in Rome, accepting hospitality which prejudiced his cause. Opportunity to declare its vitality offered twice, however. Charles XII of Sweden, eager to recover the duchies of Bremen and Verden from Hanover, set on foot (1717) a conspiracy for a Stewart restoration in England. The English Jacobites subscribed money, but the government winded the plot. Its principal agent, Count Gyllenborg, representing Sweden at the Court of St James, was arrested: his correspondent, Baron Görtz, was seized in Holland at Great Britain's request. The sole effect of the plot was to postpone till July 1717 an Act of Pardon and Grace covering the rebellion of 1715, from which the Macgregors were excluded.

Charles XII's death in November 1718 having apparently removed the Pretender's last influential friend, Spain opportunely afforded him his last active employment. Under Alberoni's vigorous rule she aimed at recovering the Italian provinces wrested from her in 1713. The Triple Alliance being expressly formed to maintain that settlement, and Byng's destruction of the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro in August 1718 demonstrating Great Britain's determination to permit no infraction of it, Alberoni, who owed his Cardinal's hat to James, turned to the Jacobites for revenge. Ormonde was summoned from Paris to lead an Armada against England. The Earl Marischal, exiled in France since the '15, was proposed to conduct a smaller expedition to Scotland. In February 1719 James hastened to Spain, encountering greater vicissitudes than befell his son when he, too, twenty-five years later, set out from Italy to grasp an elusive crown. At Villafranca he was bled for a fever. At the Iles d'Hyères, suffering from the effects of a stormy passage, he trod an unwilling, boisterous measure with the landlady of an

unsavoury inn to maintain his incognito. By March he was in Madrid, in time to receive early tidings of the destruction of his argosies. *Afflavit Deus*! A Protestant wind shattered Ormonde's Armada fifty leagues west of Cape Finisterre. After vainly begging another effort in his behalf, James returned to Italy and uneasy marriage (September 1719) with Maria Clementina Sobieska, granddaughter of Poland's warrior-king.

Once more Scotland was invited unaided to uphold the Stewart cause. In March 1719 the Earl Marischal sailed from Pasajes with a couple of frigates and a handful of Spanish infantry. A few days later Seaforth, Tullibardine, the future Marshal Keith, and Colin Campbell of Glendaruel, Jacobite exiles in France, followed from Havre. The two parties united at Stornoway and quarrelled over their course of action, till Tullibardine, producing a commission from James, decided to await the news of Ormonde's fortune. Early in April the three vessels sailed to Gareloch and anchored off Eilean Donan, a rocky islet crowned by Mackenzie of Kintail's castle. Here a camp was formed while Glendaruel set forth to rouse the clans. Clanranald, Lochiel, and other chiefs wisely counselled caution; for in May Ormonde's collapse was known and British men-of-war entered Loch Alsh. Gathering reinforcement from Mackenzies, Camerons, Macgregors and Mackinnons, the insurgent force, 1100 strong, headed northward for safer country. Meanwhile, Major-General Wightman was advancing from Inverness. On June 10 he found his quarry in the Pass of Glenshiel and, after stubborn resistance, dispersed them. The Spaniards, declaring 'they could neither live without bread nor make any hard marches through the country,' surrendered next day.

For a quarter of a century Jacobitism found no friends abroad. Sweden and Spain were enticed from their attachment, while the Pretender, isolated and remote in Italy, scandalized his adherents by his domestic squabbles and the incompetence of those who managed his affairs. Without opposition a second Hanoverian sovereign reached

the throne in 1727, though James hurried from Italy to Nancy to be ready at an emergency. Lockhart of Carnwath, laying down his pen in 1728, bemoaned a hopeless situation: 'no projects formed, nothing done to keep up the spirits of the people, the old race drops off by degrees and a new one sprouts up, who, having no particular byass to the King [James], as knowing litle more of him than what the public newspapers bear, enter on the stage with a perfect indifference, at least coolness, towards him and his cause, which consequently must daylie languish and in process of time be tottally forgot.' None could discern in the youthful Prince Charles Edward (born December 31, 1720) the most vigorous champion of a waning interest.

The international situation left the Union unchallenged, and the Whigs, its natural protectors, maintained their ascendancy. The general election of 1722 confirmed their majority, and Walpole, already in office, remained in power till 1742. His policy aimed at consolidating the Hanoverian monarchy by pursuing a policy which denied the Jacobites opportunity to oppose it behind enemy Powers. Argyll, whom Court squabbles involved in disgrace and dismissal in 1716, was restored to favour in 1719, and, after the extinction of the Scottish Secretaryship in 1725, acted, with his brother Lord Islay, as Walpole's chief agent in Scotland. On three occasions the government's policy excited renewed national protests against the Union. The first, the Peerage Bill, preceded Walpole's call to power and was defeated by his eloquence. Introduced in 1719 to protect the Whigs against the heir apparent's exercise of his prerogative to injure their monopoly, the Bill proposed to limit the House of Lords to its existing number after the addition of six peerages, conceding that for every title extinguished a new one might be created. Scotland was affected by the substitution of twenty-five hereditary for the sixteen elected peers constituted by the Act of Union. To the existing peers the proposal was agreeable and gained their votes unanimously. It was urged, that by making their position

hereditary they could dare to show more independence than was convenient so long as their seats depended on ministerial favour. On the other hand, it was objected that the innovation clearly infringed the Treaty of Union, deprived non-hereditary peers of any direct influence upon the government, and should not be conceded by the sixteen until their constituents had been consulted. More important were the sinister consequences implicit in a scheme which, if carried, must have reduced the constitution to a close oligarchy whose reduction nothing less drastic than revolution might have secured. In the Commons Walpole's logic was irresistible: the Bill was thrown out by a large majority.

Wider opposition was excited by a revival of the malt controversy. The duty had never been imposed in Scotland, to the indignation of the English, on whose shoulders rested a burden of £750,000 a year from which Scotland was exempt. Walpole shrank from reviving opposition, but, impressed by English complaints, proposed, in 1724, to levy an additional sixpence a barrel on Scottish beer and ale, and to withhold the bounty on the export of grain. The tax, unreasonably enough, was declared to violate the Union's compact of fiscal equality. Walpole, yielding, imposed instead a threepenny duty on Scottish malt. A chorus of opposition rose against a proposal which threatened to raise the price of Scottish 'Twopenny,' a beverage of general consumption. The 'trade' was irrational but determined, and the Jacobites made the most of an opportunity to inflame public opinion. The Edinburgh brewers refused to brew, till the Court of Session threatened penalties for conspiracy. Glasgow, to this point loyal and docile, offered violent resistance to the Excise officers when, in June 1725, on the Act coming into force, they attempted to value the maltsters' stocks. The mob, inefficiently controlled by timid authorities, forbade them to do their duty, gutted the house of the local Member of Parliament, whose advice was suspected to be behind the tax, and behaved in so disorderly a

manner that two companies of foot were drafted into the town from Edinburgh. Their presence goaded the demonstrators to such fury, that the military, inadequate to cope with numbers, withdrew to Dumbarton, skirmishing with their assailants, a few of whom were shot. General Wade arrived a fortnight later with an adequate force: five rioters were sentenced to transportation or the pillory: a fine of over £6000 levied on the town made good its Member's losses. The malt tax persisted, not without effect upon the relative consumption of ale and whisky.

Eleven years later Edinburgh was the scene of a riot whose circumstances, commonplace in their origin, demonstrate the bias of public opinion against the government and its officers fulfilling their lawful functions. An effect of the Union was to increase the practice of smuggling; the duties on wine and brandy being far higher than before 1707, and the habit of spirit drinking having spread to classes which had not till then indulged. The smuggler, at once a public convenience and a patriot, cheated the Customs and its apparatus of cruisers and patrols. The merchants protested against illicit competition: the General Assembly castigated an immoral occupation. But the smuggler had clients in every class, distributing brandy and tea all round the coast, except at Glasgow and Aberdeen. In 1736 the fraternity produced a martyr immortalized by Sir Walter Scott in *The Heart of Midlothian*. Andrew Wilson, a notorious Fifeshire smuggler, was hanged at Edinburgh on April 14 in circumstances which excited particular sympathy. His offence was an attempt to recoup his losses, through frequent seizure of contraband, by robbing a Customs officer at Pittenweem. Along with an accomplice, named Robertson, he was captured, tried, and sentenced to death. During their incarceration in the Tolbooth an attempt to escape was frustrated by Wilson's burly body filling too exactly the aperture their cutting tools had made. He made good the disappointment to his companion magnanimously. As the two men were seated in

the Tolbooth Church on the Sunday before their execution, Wilson sprang on the guards while Robertson escaped, an act which increased popular interest in the criminal. Precautions were taken to prevent his rescue on the scaffold, which was guarded by a detachment under Captain John Porteous. Wilson in fact was hanged without interruption: but thereafter the mob stoned the guards and cut down his body. Whether at the orders of Porteous or not, his men opened fire: six persons were killed and about twenty were wounded. Admittedly the soldiers were assailed by stones of 'considerable bigness': but Porteous was found guilty of murder and sentenced to be executed on September 8. Wade's influence was exerted in his behalf, and on the queen's authority respite was granted till October 20. Assuming the postponement to be the prelude to pardon, a mob tore Porteous from prison on September 7 and hanged him on the Grassmarket from a dyer's pole. The queen was incensed at the insult to her authority: the government condemned an outrage methodically planned. In spite of Scottish opposition, a vindictive measure passed the Lords, proposing to imprison and incapacitate the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, demolish the Nether Bow Port, seized by the rioters to protect them against interruption by the military, and disband the City Guard. The measure could be represented as infringing the liberties of the Royal Burghs guaranteed by the Act of Union. It was resisted in the Commons on that ground, and, as it received the royal assent, merely imposed a fine of £2000 on Edinburgh, on behalf of Porteous' widow, and disabled the Lord Provost from magisterial office. Even in its mitigated form it roused resentment, not altogether justified, which was inflamed by a measure, passed on the same day, as futile as it was inept: it ordered the clergy from their pulpits on every succeeding first Sunday of the month for one year to summon the contrivers of Porteous' murder to surrender themselves. The order, as Lord Islay told Walpole, merely caused the high-flyers of the Presby-

terian clergy to make refusal 'a point of conscience,' denouncing the injunction as Erastian interference, and the intimation as unsuited to ministers of a gospel of peace. Many refused to comply: some seceded in protest: penalties were not enforced.

While the Lowlands were exercised by the events at Glasgow and Edinburgh, a serious and first attempt was made to subject the Highlands to law and order. An Act of Parliament, passed in 1716, forbade their populations to carry arms after November 1 of the year, directed them to be surrendered, and promised compensation. Since the Act was indifferently obeyed, General Wade was instructed to make an inspection in the summer of 1724 and report. Finding the Act regarded only by the clans whose chiefs supported the government, he advised a more stringent measure. It was passed in May 1725, and Wade himself collected something less than 3000 arms. His experience suggested more efficient pacificatory methods. Six independent companies were raised to police the Highlands, known as the Black Watch from their dark tartan, and, fifteen years later, embodied in the Line as the 42nd Foot. Forts and barracks were built at the extremities of Loch Ness—Inverness (Fort George) and Cillachiumein (Fort Augustus)—upon which also an armed barque was launched. Within a period of eleven years (1726–37) 260 miles of military roads were constructed connecting Inverness with the west coast at Fort William (built by General Mackay in 1690) through Fort Augustus; and Inverness with Dunkeld along the route of the present Highland Railway, with a supplementary road linking Dalnacardoch (on the Highland road) with Crieff through Glenalmond, and another branching off at Dalwhinnie through the Corriyarrick Pass to Fort Augustus. The achievement was considerable and of military and social value: popular approval expressed itself on an obelisk erected upon one of the new routes:

> Had you seen these roads before they were made,
> You would lift up your hands and bless General Wade.

The House of Hanover was fortified by a full generation's prescriptive right when its last rival faced it and succumbed in 1745. Peace, which had persisted in Western Europe almost continuously since its accession, was broken by Walpole's declaration of war upon Spain in October 1739; while the Emperor Charles VI's death exactly a year later threatened a wider warfare. Jacobite activity, long dormant in England and Scotland, revived as the prospect of peace grew darker. At the beginning of 1738, John Gordon of Glenbucket, colonel of the Gordons in the '15, visited the Chevalier at Rome. By marriage related to Glengarry, the powerful chief of the Macdonells, and to his kinsman Lochgarry, Glenbucket probably also spoke for General Gordon, the 'Nestor of Scottish Jacobites,' who conducted the retreat from Perth in 1716. With eager credulity, James accepted his assurance of Highland devotion and sent him back to Scotland with a major-general's commission, at the same time communicating to England his awakened hopes. The message put in motion Francis Sempill, the son of an officer of Scottish birth in French service, who, constituting himself 'Minister for the King's friends in England,' hurried to Rome with egregious reports of the rival dynasty's precarious position. In the autumn of 1738 he returned to England instructed to concert action with the Scottish loyalists, who, apprised of James' wishes by William Hay, a member of his household, formed an Association or 'Concert,' which, among others, included Lord James Drummond (titular Duke of Perth), Simon Fraser (now Lord Lovat), angling for a dukedom, and Donald Cameron of Lochiel. Their immediate endeavour was to regain touch with France, whither their agent, William Macgregor (Drummond), son of the Perthshire laird of Balhaldies, and Sempill betook themselves after the outbreak of the Anglo-Spanish (Jenkins' Ear) War. In March 1741 they communicated an undertaking to raise 20,000 men, whom they declared to be competent 'easily to defeat or to destroy the troops that the government

employs at present in our country,' provided France supplied arms and munitions. France already had grievances against Great Britain: George II, as Elector of Hanover, was Austria's ally against Bavaria, France's candidate for the vacant Imperial crown: a British pragmatic army landed in the Netherlands in the summer of 1742 to protect them against French attack: and the destruction of the Spanish galleys in the Bay of St Tropez at the same time violated French sovereignty. But Cardinal Fleury, Louis' minister, was not yet prepared to break with Great Britain. The Concert vainly sought aid from Paris, nor found it until Fleury's death (January 1743), a year after Walpole's fall (February 1742), increased the already widening rift and recalled the two kingdoms to their earlier hostility.

The fiction of peace was dissipated by the battle of Dettingen (June 27, 1743). Misled regarding the difficulties of the undertaking by William of Orange's easy fortune in 1688, Louis XV resolved to launch an invasion of England. Balhaldies speeded to Rome with the agreeable news, and early in 1744 Prince Charles was on his way to France. He was entering his twenty-fifth year, filled, said one of his friends, with 'vivacité brutale,' eager for action so far denied him, with the exception of brief service in the campaign of 1734, which settled the Bourbons in Naples. 'The young man,' wrote an Italian correspondent of the Duke of Newcastle, 'is above the middle height and very thin. He wears a light bag-wig: his face is rather long, the complexion clear, but borders on paleness: the forehead very broad, the eyes fairly large, blue, but without sparkle: the mouth large, with the lips slightly curled, and the chin more sharp than rounded.' 'I go, Sire,' Charles is said to have addressed his father, 'in search of three crowns.' They eluded him; two lines of an opera heard at Paris after the adventure was over pithily supply the reason:

> Pour fonder un empire il faut bien des vertus;
> Mais pour le renverser il en faut encore plus.

As Sir Walter Scott noted in his *Journal* in 1826, 'Charles Edward had not a head or heart for great things, notwithstanding his daring adventure.' He was in Paris early in February, in time, like his father in 1719, to witness the bursting of a promising bubble. Marshal Maurice de Saxe and a force 10,000 strong were at Dunkirk ready to descend upon England at a fitting opportunity. An escorting convoy reached the port on March 3 with instructions to lead the transports to the Thames. Three days later a violent tempest drove eleven of them on shore and damaged others. Further loss was inflicted by a second storm a few days later. The enterprise was abandoned. Jacobitism vainly invoked France until singular fortune and audacity proved it a vital force.

Meanwhile Charles remained in France. Louis rejected Great Britain's demand for his expulsion: but he received neither official courtesies nor the hospitality of Versailles. 'I am obliged very often not to stur out of my room, for fier of some bodys noing my face,' he told his father in unconventional orthography: 'I very often think that you would laugh very hartily if you saw me goin about with a single servant buying fish and other things, and squabling for a peney more or less.' Ignorant of the conditions of a country he had never seen, misled by the buoyant optimism of Sempill and Balhaldies, cautious advice had no weight to veto his resolution to embark on high adventure. The Earl Marischal thought him harebrained and snubbed his suggestion to go to Scotland 'single.' John Murray of Broughton, James' correspondent in Scotland since 1740, visiting him in Paris in the autumn of 1744, found Charles full of exaggerated hopes. He was burning for activity, convinced that, failing an effort on his part, its adherents would forsake a Cause persistently unfortunate. He would go to Scotland, he told Murray, if he brought 'only a single footman' with him. Murray hastened home to rally the party and founded the famous 'Buck Club' for the purpose. Its members almost unanimously concurred in holding Charles'

resolution rash unless France was actively behind him. Only the Highland chiefs, Lochiel, Glengarry, and others expressed eagerness. Early in 1745 a message of caution was dispatched. It never reached Charles, and the Battle of Fontenoy (May 11, 1745) conveyed absurdly erroneous impressions of his Hanoverian rival's instability. A hasty message announcing his coming was sent: he followed in July.

Charles embarked with seven companions—the Seven Men of Moidart—on July 2, 1745, in the frigate *Du Teillay*, named after the Commissary of Marine at Nantes, lent him by an Irish shipowner of that port. Convoyed by the war frigate *Elizabeth*, 60 guns, he set his course round Land's End, and after an engagement with H.M.S. *Lion* which sent back the *Elizabeth* damaged to port, made Eriskay in the Outer Hebrides on July 23. Two days later he crossed to the mainland and anchored in Loch-nan-Uamh, in Clanranald's Arisaig, among the Macdonalds. His arrival, so slenderly attended and equipped, spread consternation. But the boyish daring of the adventure made its appeal. Lochiel and Clanranald, Stewart of Ardshiel, Glengarry, and the Macdonalds of Keppoch and Glencoe agreed to bring out their clans. On August 19 Charles raised the standard in Glenfinnan at the head of Loch Shiel and in 'a short and very pathetic speech' declared his confidence to 'bring the affair to a happy issue.' Before the end of the month 2000 Highlanders were out, the half of them Macdonalds.

Charles was the only man, Frederick the Great remarked, of whom it could be said that he set out to win a kingdom without an army at his back. His personality, driving power, and the ability of Lord George Murray claim their share in the achievement. But circumstances and the folly of his opponents were his best friends. Thirty years before, his father faced a united government resolved to maintain the threatened Union. In 1745 the Union was no longer a rallying cry; from within, at least, it was not seriously challenged. Walpole's sure hand

was withdrawn, and Tweeddale, who filled the revived Scottish Secretaryship in London, was too contemptuous of the Jacobite danger, too concerned in petty rivalry with Islay, now Duke of Argyll, to take proper precautions to meet it. Similar dissension showed itself at Edinburgh among the law officers of the Crown, some of whom were not on speaking terms. A reward of £30,000 for Charles' apprehension was offered on August 1, but otherwise the measures taken were due to the wise counsel of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, President of the Court of Session. Nor was the military situation at first such as to cause Charles anxiety. The bulk of the British army was on the Continent. In Scotland the establishment consisted of three and a half battalions of infantry and two regiments of horse, in all about 3000 troops, all of them, except one foot regiment, raw and inexperienced. Sir John Cope, commanding in chief, 'one of those ordinary men who are fitter for anything than the chief command in war,' a contemporary declared, showed little ability and no adaptability to strange and unexpected conditions.

The news of Charles' landing reached Edinburgh ten days before the ceremony at Glenfinnan. Cope decided to deal with the situation before it got out of hand and, with the infantry under his command, set out from Stirling on August 20 for Fort Augustus. Arrived at Dalwhinnie, he found his passage blocked by the clans in Corriyarrick Pass, a wild defile through which Wade's road threads the Devil's Staircase to Fort Augustus. Cope's prudent course was to fall back on Stirling: he chose to push on to Inverness, assuming that the North would be the scene of Charles' first activities. Lovat, in fact, invited Charles thither. But Tullibardine and Murray of Broughton urged a bolder plan: a march on Perth would bring in recruits from the Atholl country, and Cope's cavalry at Stirling (Gardiner's) and Leith (Hamilton's) were inadequate to defend the Forth and Edinburgh. On September 4 Charles entered Perth, proclaimed his father, exacted contributions from towns left defenceless by

Cope's disappearance, and ordered his forces, swollen by reinforcement of Robertsons, Macgregors and others. His most valuable recruit was Lord George Murray, Tullibardine's brother, who had been 'out' in '15 and '19, a man of marked military ability to whom, with the titular Duke of Perth, Charles entrusted the army's direction. After a week's stay in Perth the prince resumed the advance (September 11). On September 13 Gardiner's dragoons gave him the passage of the Forth at the Fords of Frew and fell back to join Hamilton's at Falkirk. Their combined 'canter o' Colt-Brig' cleared his path towards Edinburgh (September 16), whose walls were in no condition to offer resistance, and its volunteers neither confident nor competent. But Cope's arrival by sea from Aberdeen was imminent and the authorities hoped to manoeuvre for delay. The Camerons defeated the intention. In the small hours of September 17 they rushed the Nether Bow Port and seized the guardhouse and the gates. At noon Charles entered the city. James VIII was proclaimed forthwith, and Holyrood, after more than sixty years, housed a prince of the ancient lineage. Four days later (September 21), advancing on Edinburgh from Dunbar, where he disembarked, Cope at length saw his enemy near Prestonpans. Within fifteen minutes his force was scattered to the winds. 'Ye Army,' Charles wrote to his father, 'had a fine plunder.'

With staggering swiftness the cloud lately risen in the Western Highlands covered the northern sky. But striking as his success was, the weakness of Charles' position could not be concealed. The Lowlands, which furnished his father with squadrons in 1715, now provided a single troop less than fifty strong. In Edinburgh few recruits were enrolled. On the other side, vigour replaced apathy. Immediately after Cope's defeat 6000 Dutch troops reached the Thames from Holland, and before the end of October reinforcements from Flanders were available, with the Duke of Cumberland, who arrived on October 19. These succours were inadequately balanced

by France's reviving interest in Charles' adventure. Towards the middle of October the Marquis d'Eguilles arrived at Edinburgh as Louis' secret ambassador to the Holyrood Court. Money, arms, and artillery (six four-pounders) followed, and on October 24 the Treaty of Fontainebleau bound Louis to render Charles assistance. Encouraged by these marks of interest, the prince was urgent to rouse his English adherents. He had been brought up, writes Lord Elcho, who accompanied him, to regard 'the Hanover Family as cruel tyrants hated by every body, and only kept possession of the Crown because they had enslaved the people; and that if he or any of his Family were ever to appear in Britain, that they would flock to him and look upon him as their deliverer and help him to chase away the usurper's family.' Incredulous of the effect Charles anticipated from his appearance in England, Lord George and others objected that, if his adherents there were in earnest, they did not need the encouragement of his presence; while, if a French landing in England was imminent, it was sounder strategy to draw English troops to Scotland than to advance to meet them in a probably hostile country. Charles was immovable: 'I find, gentlemen, you are for staying in Scotland and defending your country, and I am resolved to go to England.' With apprehensions of disaster Lord George concurred. As in 1715 the western track was chosen: it offered ground more suited to Highland tactics, and Lancashire's welcome was remembered.

Charles bade farewell to Edinburgh on November 1. His army, according to Lord Elcho's exact figures, numbered 5000 foot—since Prestonpans he had received reinforcement of Macphersons, Gordons, Grants, and others—500 horse and 13 guns. A fortnight later (November 15) Carlisle capitulated; Wade, gathering forces at Newcastle, was impeded by impassable roads from saving the city. Another army was concentrating about Lichfield, of which Cumberland later (November 27) took command.

For the moment Charles moved unchallenged. Preston gave enthusiastic welcome; but Lord George marched his Highlanders across the Ribble to break the river's spell as the terminus of Scottish armies. Manchester (November 29) surpassed Preston in its acclamation: about 200 'common fellows' were formed into the Manchester Regiment, under Francis Towneley, the only material reinforcement the march yielded. Charles was elated: says Elcho, 'his conversation that night at table was, in what manner he should enter London, on horseback, or afoot, and in what dress'—copying his model, Charles XII of Sweden, he marched from Scotland on foot, and in Highland garb. His Council did not share his confidence: retreat was already discussed among them: only '200 vagabonds' had joined them in England, the French had not landed, and no 'person of distinction' had encouraged them: 'they did not pretend to put a king upon the throne of England without their consent.' They agreed to proceed as far as Derby, in order that the English might not say they had not been encouraged to rise or the French to land. Already the army was in touch with Cumberland's outposts: Wade, who set out from Newcastle again on November 24, like Carpenter in 1715, was marching down through Yorkshire: a third army was forming on Finchley Common. On December 4 Charles entered Derby. Next morning his officers waited on him with a positive refusal to proceed on an errand clearly futile. Charles 'pressed with all the force of argument to go forward,' 'fell into a passion, and gave most of the gentlemen that had spoke very abusive language.' He yielded with a bad grace, vowed he would not again consult his Council, and kept his word till the eve of Culloden. The retreat began forthwith, Cumberland's cavalry following in close pursuit. After fighting a rearguard action at Clifton, near Penrith, on December 18, Charles crossed the Esk and before the end of the month was in Glasgow. The Manchester Regiment, either senselessly sacrificed or left behind to garrison Carlisle

against Charles' confident return, surrendered to Cumberland: the winter campaign ended.

During Charles' absence in England the situation in Scotland moved to his advantage. Duncan Forbes' activity had deterred the northern clans, as well as the Macdonalds of Sleat and the Macleods, from rising. But Lord Lewis Gordon brought out 800 of his name, and since the end of September Aberdeen was a Jacobite city. Lovat too, courting reward in both camps, let his son lead out his clan. Late in November Lord John Drummond, Perth's brother, arrived from France with field-guns and 700 of the Royal Scots and Irish brigade in French service. Charles had at his disposal a total force of 8000 men and nineteen guns.

Cumberland still lingered in England to confront a threatened French landing when, on January 3, 1746, Charles opened his last campaign. Stirling was in his hands four days later and the assault of the castle was prepared. General Hawley, superseding Cope, approached to bring relief. As he lay at Falkirk on January 17 the clans fell suddenly and decisively upon his camp. The disaster called for Cumberland, who took over Hawley's demoralized command at Edinburgh. But dissension already weakened his enemy. Charles' reliance on his Irish companions from France, who had no stake in the country their counsels glibly jeopardized, was obnoxious to Lord George and the chiefs. Nor did abrupt transition from the dull stagnation of Italy to responsibility and adventure encourage in him the qualities of tact and judgment in which he was deficient. The chiefs pointed to the army's alarming depletion from desertion, and Stirling Castle's improbable fall before Cumberland's approach compelled another action. They advised retreat to the Highlands and renewed activity in the spring. The counsel was sound but dashed Charles' prospects. 'Good God! have I lived to see this?' he exclaimed, and 'struck his head against the wall till he staggered.' In disorder that resembled flight the Forth was crossed on

February 1. The goal was Inverness, convenient headquarters, accessible from the sea, in which to await the spring campaign. It fell on February 20; Fort Augustus to the French contingent a fortnight later. Only Fort William stood for the government; otherwise Charles' grip on the Highlands was close and firm. But Cumberland, heavily reinforced, slowly followed his retreat, and in the Highland army the situation was precarious. The Prince's treasury was empty; his men were receiving pay in meal and roamed the country for subsistence. Dissension between the Scots and the Prince's favoured Irish increased as the prospect darkened, while Cumberland utilized a halt at Aberdeen in March to introduce a new drill to give the bayonet equality of efficiency against the target and broadsword. The swollen Spey delayed his advance on Inverness till April 8, when he left Aberdeen with the last division of his army. On April 16 at Culloden Jacobitism fought its last fight. The clans charged heroically but without avail. No rendezvous had been named in case of defeat, and Prince and clansman thought only of escape. After five months of romantic adventure up and down the Highlands Charles was borne by a French frigate on September 20, 1746, from Loch-nan-Uamh to France, whence the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) expelled him. As an active Cause Stewartism did not survive his disreputable later career and his brother's acceptance (1747) of a Cardinal's hat. The Cardinal received a pension from George III in 1800, and, so remote was the old quarrel, George IV contributed to the cost of Canova's monument in St Peter's at Rome to the three pretenders to his title.

A fourth and last attempt since the Revolution to restore the House of Stewart had been defeated. Drastic action was called for, in punishment for a rebellion which imperilled the Hanoverian succession, and to assure its non-recurrence. Experience proved the measures taken since Mar's rising ineffectual to unite the Highlands with the rest of the community: nor could that result be antici-

pated so long as their backward polity was suffered to exist. They needed to be diverted to peaceful courses; hereditary privileges which permitted Highland and Lowland lairds to lead their vassals against established authority required to be withdrawn. The Episcopal clergy, though they had not actively aided rebellion, had not concealed their sympathy with it, and compelled the government, abandoning its earlier sympathy, to regard their communion as a menace to public order.

With a reinforced army at his disposal, Cumberland followed up his victory. By the end of May he was established at Fort Augustus, and Fort William was relieved. With the Highland communications completely in his hands, the work of vengeance was rigorously prosecuted. From Fort Augustus parties went through the glens. Wherever they passed they left nothing but ruin behind them, burned the houses, and carried off the cattle. When Cumberland vacated the command in July 1746 he left the Highlands sullen and Scotland divided into four military districts, centred at Fort Augustus, Aberdeen, Perth, and Stirling, with an establishment that was not materially reduced until all hope of capturing Prince Charles had been abandoned. Of those indicted for rebellion at Carlisle, York, and Southwark—as in 1715 trials were withdrawn from Scotland—73 paid the death penalty. Three peers—Kilmarnock, Balmerino and the contemptible Lovat—were executed: more than 40 peers and others were attainted. In 1747 their estates were forfeited with a view to applying the revenues to 'civilising' the Highlands. Creditors, however, advanced claims upon the properties exceeding £270,000: it was not until a subsequent Act of 1752 that the objects the government had in view were realized.

The Episcopal clergy, their numbers now dwindled to less than 150, had refrained from the vigorous partizanship of 1715. But, in English eyes, they were deemed anti-Hanoverian. James' patronage of their hierarchy prejudiced them further, and Cumberland had not scrupled

to destroy their meeting-houses. After Culloden Episcopal chapels were closed in Edinburgh, and in August 1746 the royal assent was given to an Act which empowered local authorities to shut Episcopal meeting-houses attended by five or more persons, whose ministers had not taken the oaths by September 1, 1746. It also disfranchized and disqualified for a seat in Parliament peers and commoners convicted of more than one attendance at unlicensed meeting-houses within the year preceding the election, and condemned unlicensed ministers to imprisonment for the first and transportation for a subsequent offence. The Scottish episcopate being suspect, only ordinations by an English or Irish bishop were recognized, a restriction which practically proscribed the Scottish Episcopal Church as a distinct communion. A later Act (1748) even disqualified the few ministers ordained by a Scottish bishop who had qualified before September 1, 1746. The deaths of James in 1766 and of Charles in 1788 purged Episcopacy of suspicion of Jacobitism: but the penal laws, adding another to the dark pages of Scotland's ecclesiastical history, were not even partially removed until 1792.

A Scotsman described the Highlands in 1747 as the 'barbarous part of the island, hitherto a noxious load upon the whole.' The Union represented a compact between two systems whose institutions were fairly uniform; but the Highlands perpetuated a polity which made one part of Scotland foreign to the other. The Disarming Act of 1725, having expired, was replaced (August 1746) by one of severer character. Not only was the possession of arms made punishable by heavy fines and transportation, but the wearing of Highland dress, whose prohibition had been considered in 1725, was forbidden. From August 1, 1747, the King's forces excepted, no man or boy in Scotland might wear the plaid, kilt, trews, or use tartan for clothes of Lowland vogue. Even the bagpipe was anathema to a court of law, which interpreted its function as an 'instrument of war'! The hardship of depriving a large population of the only

clothes it possessed was recognized by an extension of grace till August 1, 1749, for all but landowners and their sons: the veto on the kilt was not removed till 1782.

But the polity, not the habiliments, of the Highlands was the foundation of the rebellion. Tenure 'in ward' permitted the chiefs to demand their vassals' military service, and persisted in spite of the licence granted by the first Disarming Act (1716) to commute the claim for money. In the Lowlands, heritable jurisdictions were the source of emolument to their owners and enabled them to exert pressure on their tenants. These privileges, like the other, were incompatible with the State's interests, and it was seemly to withdraw them. Two measures achieved (1747) the purpose. The first abolished all heritable offices of justiciary and vested them in the Crown, compensating to the amount of £152,037. 12*s*. 2*d*. 161 persons whose heritable rights were withdrawn. The second abolished tenure 'in ward' from March 25, 1748 and substituted tenure 'in feu,' the amount of the feu-duty or money rent being adjusted to a rule laid down by the Court of Session.

The two Acts concluded a series of enactments 'for rendering the Union of the two Kingdoms more complete' and were accompanied by an Act of Pardon (1747) from which the Macgregors, those concerned in the late rebellion and (on the date of the Act) in the service of the Pretender, France, or Spain, were excepted. Opportunity remained for further vengeance. But the law claimed only one more victim, Archibald Cameron, executed in 1753 for implication in the hare-brained Elibank Plot, serious only because of Frederick the Great's suspected connivance. As an active force Jacobitism expired. It had failed as a national protest against the Union. It had failed as a weapon in the hands of foreign Powers ready to use it for their own ends. Freed from the incubus of civil commotion Scotland realized the material prosperity for which she had bartered independence, whose tardy coming had provided its enemies with the most plausible argument against the Union.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE NATIONAL REVIVAL

BETWEEN the suppression of the last Jacobite rebellion and William Pitt's accession to power in 1783 a generation intervened in certain aspects the most remarkable in Scotland's experience. Writing in 1814, Sir Walter Scott expressed deliberate judgment on its character: 'There is no European nation, which, within the course of half a century, or little more, has undergone so complete a change as this kingdom of Scotland. The effects of the insurrection of 1745—the destruction of the patriarchal power of the Highland Chiefs—the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions of the Lowland nobility and barons—the total eradication of the Jacobite party, which, averse to intermingle with the English, or adopt their customs, long continued to pride themselves upon maintaining ancient Scottish manners and customs—commenced this innovation. The gradual influx of wealth, and extension of commerce, have since united to render the present people of Scotland a class of beings as different from their grandfathers, as the existing English are from those of Queen Elizabeth's time.' Even in the Highlands, Doctor Johnson noted in his *Journal* in 1773, 'There was perhaps never any change of national manners so quick, so great, and so general, as that which has operated by this last conquest, and the subsequent laws.'

Scotland's poverty hitherto prevented the growth of such rich civilizations as England and France had long enjoyed. The sudden surge of material prosperity carried on its wave a Renaissance of letters the more vigorous because so long delayed. Within two generations of Culloden Scotland counted among her sons men of international renown in many fields of intellectual activity—

David Hume (1711–76), Thomas Reid (1710–96), James Beattie (1735–1803) in philosophy; Adam Smith (1723–90) in political economy; in history, David Hume and William Robertson (1721–93); in poetry, James Macpherson (1736–96), Robert Burns (1759–96), and Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832). In science, James Hutton (1726–97), Joseph Black (1728–99), Sir John Leslie (1776–1832), all made momentous discoveries. In medical science William Cullen (1710–90) and John Hunter (1728–93) established new stages of progress in their subjects.

At the same time, the barriers dividing North and South Britain were withdrawn. Englishmen complained of 'a plague of locusts,' and humourists pictured John Bull 'choked by inadvertently swallowing a thistle,' as they remarked Scotsmen prominent in their professions as lawyers, churchmen, painters, architects, doctors. A Scotsman (Lord Mansfield) was Lord Chief Justice in 1756. Robert Hay Drummond was made Archbishop of York in 1761: his fellow countryman John Douglas became Canon of Windsor in 1762 and passed thence to the sees of Carlisle and Salisbury. Sir Robert Strange, who fought the House of Hanover at Culloden, was high in George III's favour, a line-engraver of European rank, and President of the Royal Academy: Allan Ramsay, the poet's son, received appointment as portrait painter to George III in 1767: Robert Adam, architect to the same sovereign in 1762, was honoured with burial in Westminster Abbey. Sir William Fordyce began to practise as a doctor in London in 1750, where his brother George was physician to St Thomas' Hospital twenty years later: John Hunter was house physician at St George's Hospital in the same period (1756): his brother William was Physician Extraordinary to Queen Charlotte in 1764. In the world of letters, James Thomson, Tobias George Smollett, James Boswell, and Thomas Campbell must be accounted Londoners. Even in music, William Thomson (fl. 1725–53) upheld the reputation of his

countrymen in other fields. In the public services the employment of Scottish ability in behalf of a State so lately joined is not less remarkable. Scotland gave Sir Andrew Mitchell as Ambassador to Frederick the Great in 1756; her first Prime Minister to the Empire in the Earl of Bute in 1762; a Governor-General to India in Sir John Macpherson in 1785. In the army, the Earl of Loudoun was commander-in-chief in America in 1756: General James Murray succeeded Wolfe in command at Quebec in 1759, and subsequently was Governor of Canada: Sir Hector Munro routed the confederate princes of India at Buxar in 1764. Sir James Douglas, later admiral, co-operated in the reduction of Dominica in 1761: Adam Duncan, later Viscount Duncan of Camperdown, was already prominent in the same service.

Before the French Revolution burst upon Europe, therefore, Scotland, as Doctor Johnson remarked of Aberdeen in 1773, exhibited 'all the show of increasing opulence' and had awakened to brilliant intellectual activity. But her political backwardness persisted. The administrative capital had been shifted by the Union over 300 miles to the south. Between Edinburgh and London a coach ran once a month, accomplishing the journey in about a fortnight. As late as 1782, after protests had speeded these leisurely conveyances, it was held a remarkable feat which permitted a person to leave Edinburgh on Sunday 'after divine service,' spend twelve hours in London, and return to Edinburgh by the Saturday morning thereafter. Until 1788 there was no direct transit from Glasgow to London, and the distance between Glasgow and Edinburgh added twelve hours to the tedious journey. The posts were dilatory: letters passed between Edinburgh and London in 1790 in four days. Scotland was as inaccessible from the metropolis as the western provinces of Canada are from London to-day. No adequate service of news brought her into touch with the political interests of the capital. In Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen newspapers were published, but

the weekly circulation of the *Caledonian Mercury* in 1739 was only 1400 copies.

Geographical remoteness, imperfect communications, and inadequate information do not completely explain Scotland's political apathy in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Until the French Revolution kindled sudden interest, her political sense was too little developed to create or exert effectual pressure at Westminster. At no period had a constitutional sense been prominent. The population was too small, the middle class too impotent, racial rivalries too persistent, to mould Parliament to the likeness of its English counterpart. To the end of its existence it was a feudal, not a national body. Its three Estates sat in a single Chamber on a platform of equality as the king's vassals. It lacked the democratic constitution of the General Assembly and yielded to the latter in the popular interest its proceedings provoked. While the General Assembly had its constituents in every parish in the country, Parliament, as late as 1790, claimed the suffrages of less than 3000 county voters, of whom nearly one-half were 'nominal.' On the eve of the Reform Bill, in the whole of Scotland, counties and burghs, there were few more than 4000 out of a population of nearly 2,500,000 whose possession of a vote invited active interest in political questions; while the latter, being generally English rather than British, attracted the Lilliputian electorate less on that account. Nor did the apparatus of local government encourage a political sense. Until 1469 the officials of the burghs, including their Commissioners to Parliament, were elected by the 'whole community.' The Act of 1469, on the plea of the 'great trouble and contention yearly for the chosing of the same through multitude and clamour of common simple persons,' ordered the retiring Councils to choose their successors annually, a method which set up in each burgh a narrow oligarchy of 'honest and substantial burgesses' in whose hands the choice of representatives at Westminster was confined till the Reform Bill.

It resulted from this situation that before the French Revolution excited a demand for reform, Scotland, active in other fields, played a minor and undistinguished part in the United Kingdom's politics. Contrasting the political keenness of the Irish, a Scottish authoress in 1782 remarked: 'The people here pretend to no such knowledge; but whatever changes happen, either in the ministry or constitution, they seem to adopt the maxim of Mr Pope, that *whatever is is right*.' Official pressure was easily exerted upon so small and apathetic a constituency. Scotland's representatives at Westminster, peers and commoners, formed a compact body of ministerial voters: and the country at large was only stirred from its lethargy by infrequent national measures claiming its attention.

The death of Duncan Forbes of Culloden (1747) removed the most able statesman the crisis of '45 produced, whose wisdom, clemency, and moderation singularly fitted him to guide the effort to render the Union 'more complete' which produced the measures disclosed in the preceding chapter. The testimony of a political enemy is eloquent of the repute and ability of the last Scottish statesman of the old dispensation: 'He may truly be styled the Oracle of his Country; for many resorted to him for advice; and had he been as great a friend as he was an implacable enemy, James would in all probability have swayed the British sceptre.' His death established the Duke of Argyll's influence in Scotland. The Scottish Secretaryship having again fallen during the Rebellion, his position was so secure that it was said, a man was sure of preferment, 'whether he were the King's friend or foe, if he would go to hell for the Duke of Argyll.' The government was too occupied to direct Scottish affairs, too ignorant to control them. Till his death Argyll was its manager, and passing from the scene in 1761, gave Great Britain a Scottish Prime Minister in the person of his nephew, the Earl of Bute.

Two measures in the period of Argyll's influence stirred Scotland's sluggish interest. Amid protests at her

exclusive treatment, Glasgow was awarded £10,000 to compensate her losses under the Jacobite occupation. Louder outcry over the allocation of public money to Scottish uses was raised in 1752, when a number of the Jacobite estates forfeited in 1747 were attached to the Crown. The Act summarily annexed the Lovat, Drummond, Cromarty, and Barisdale estates, took power to purchase the superiorities of nine others, and to pay the debts on a tenth, proposing with the revenues of the disencumbered estates to erect schools, build prisons, and grant land for feuing in the Highlands and Islands. The fund was administered in an enlightened manner by the Trustees appointed under the Act. New roads were made, the Clyde-Forth Canal was subsidized, schools were established, and afforestation was encouraged: Doctor Johnson remarked on Scotland's bareness in 1773 and doubted 'whether before the Union any man between Edinburgh and England had ever set a tree.' Besides its ameliorative intention, the Act aimed at stimulating the loyalty of the clans to the House of Hanover by bringing the sovereign among them in the character of a paternal landlord. The forfeited owners were restored to their property in 1784.

The Rebellion also prompted the second of the two measures which excited Scotland's attention. The ease with which a body of insurgents traversed the kingdom to within striking distance of London revealed the inadequacy of the government's military resources. Apprehensions of the consequences to civil liberty forbade increase of the standing army. But in 1757 a citizen militia was established by an Act from whose operation Scotland was expressly excluded. Her inadequate contribution to the land-tax, on which the new force was assessed, was given as a reason for not applying the Act to that part of the kingdom which, seemingly, most needed it. In fact Scotland's loyalty to the Hanoverian throne was still suspect in some quarters: the unwisdom of organizing a militia which might be placed at the Pretender's service

was remarked. To Scotland the Militia Act seemed another instance of Parliament's partiality; while the descent of Captain François Thurot and a small French squadron upon Carrickfergus (1760), aiming, it was supposed, at the Clyde, emphasized her claim for equal consideration. Argyll was lukewarm: the Scottish members of both Houses supported a Bill to give effect to it. It was urged by one of them, however, that at a moment when Scotland had other uses for man-power and public capital, her industries would suffer if the measure became law. A more serious consideration prejudiced the Whigs against it. Observing that the Jacobites used the Bill to demonstrate their support of the Hanoverian throne, they defeated it by a handsome majority. Scottish political circles showed considerable feeling, and a new Club, the 'Poker Club,' founded at Edinburgh in 1762, strove with little effect 'to stir up the fire and spirit of the country.' It flourished till 1784 and counted Adam Smith and Henry Dundas among its members.

The sudden death of George II in October 1760 brought to the throne his grandson, George III, a young man of twenty-two, born in England, unlike his grandfather and great-grandfather, and unfamiliar with Hanover, which he never visited; whereas his predecessors flew to it with frequent and eager affection. 'Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Britain,' he added on his own impulse to his first Speech to Parliament. Imbued from youth with Bolingbroke's principles of absolute monarchy, he was determined to release the Crown from the Whig domination which for nearly half a century oppressed it, and drew the Tories to a sovereign whose characteristics permitted them to transfer to him the regard the Jacobite Pretenders had forfeited. Accident introduced to his parents, when he was nine years old, a young Scottish peer, John Stewart, Earl of Bute, twenty-five years his senior, the owner of 'a good person, fine legs, and a theatrical air of the greatest importance,' who became Lord of the Bedchamber to Frederick Prince

of Wales. After Frederick's death in 1751, Bute obtained complete ascendancy over the widowed princess and her son George, now heir apparent. 'George, be King!' was her equation for the plebeian injunction, 'George, be good!' and Bute instilled the despotic principles which his family name suggested. Scandal and Whig malice coarsely associated the princess with him in amorous intrigue. In fact his morals were sounder than his abilities which, though versatile, lacked solidity. He exhibited literary and artistic tastes, was a student of botany and architecture, and as a patron of literature pensioned Doctor Johnson, whose dislike of his nation was notorious. Over the young sovereign his influence was great, though George's father summed his abilities in a caustic judgment that declared him 'a fine showy man, who would make an excellent ambassador to a Court where there was no business.' He was successful in conveying 'an extraordinary appearance of wisdom, both in his look and manner of speaking,' and was equally pompous, slow, and sententious whatever the matter of his discourse. George II called him a 'puppy,' and Dr Mathieson dubs him a 'Court Chamberlain turned statesman.'

Bute's ability for intrigue was matched neither by administrative talent nor Parliamentary experience. But, supported by a sovereign panting for release from Whig bondage, he rapidly cleared a path for his ambition. Pitt was driven to resign by the king's refusal to declare war on Spain (October 1761). The Duke of Newcastle, First Lord of the Treasury, followed him soon after. In May 1762 Bute received his post, prepared, with his party of 'King's Friends,' to maintain the prerogative. His undistinguished Premiership was of brief duration. Its principal achievement was the signature of the Treaty of Paris (February 1763), which brought the Seven Years' War to an end and planted Greater Britain securely in India and Canada. The country, weary of the war, would not otherwise have endorsed a pacification so much more generous than it was in a position to exact. But Bute's

more vulnerable offences were the venality of his administration, ruthless proscription of political opponents, and excessive partiality for his own countrymen. Pungently assailed by John Wilkes, his nepotism, at a critical moment in the relationship of the two peoples, gravely prejudiced their comity. England accepted Sir Pertinax Macsycophant of Macklin's comedy (1781) as the normal 'true-born' Scotsman. When John Home's *Fatal Discovery* was produced by Garrick at Drury Lane in 1769 it was necessary to conceal the author's nationality to afford it a prospect of success. In April 1763 Bute retired, without sacrificing his master's confidence.

The whole Scottish nation was involved in the prejudice which assailed Bute. Smollett, travelling to Scotland in 1766, found the windows of all the inns scrawled with doggerel rhymes in abuse of his nation: while a nobleman, whose London house had been broken into, facetiously concluded it to be the work of 'the only two Scotsmen, I am persuaded, who are out of office and employment. I wish,' he added, 'the Administration had provided for them before'! Consequently the two peoples separated in spirit more widely than since the Union. Drawing in upon herself, Scotland, out of elements hitherto antagonistic or at best unsympathetic, set herself to mould her national character in the new conditions of her experience, inspired by pride in her past, and resolute to accomplish her material and industrial advance. Such a disposition tended to fashion a Tory outlook: within the decade that followed Bute's fall the foundation of Scottish Toryism was laid in a soil tolerant of old antagonisms. Thus occupied, Scotland offered a placid front to the current of Imperial history. The American War (1775–83) everywhere except in Glasgow roused mild emotion. To the English Whigs the American colonists were allies fighting their quarrel against the Crown. Scotland had no strong tradition of civil liberty to range her against Lord North's provocative and tactless policy: her representatives in Lords and Commons stoutly supported a policy of coercion.

The outbreak of the American War coincided with the commencement of a political career unusual in its duration, remarkable in its character. In 1774 Henry Dundas, son of a President of the Court of Session, a position his half-brother also held, was returned to Parliament as Member for Midlothian, and in 1775 entered Lord North's Tory Ministry as Lord Advocate. He brought to his office the prestige of a family distinguished in Scotland's forensic records, and added to it gifts of his own. A man of genial temper, convivial habit, he was a forcible and fluent speaker whose oratorical experience had been won, before he entered Parliament, in the General Assembly of the Church: in the words of a squib of 1805:

> 'Twas in Kirk-Courts he learn'd his airs,
> And thunder'd his oration;
> He caught North's ear at the back stairs—
> State-ladder of the nation.

Unlike most of his Scottish contemporaries prominent in political life, contact with Englishmen did not abate a rich Doric accent:

> Full weil his ain dear Scotch he'd speak—
> In Latin he was jogging.

a fact which aided his remarkable influence in Scotland for a generation. He lacked consistency of principle and was audacious in his adaptability. Lord Chancellor Campbell quotes a maxim attributed to him: 'Never resign; for when you are once out, the Lord Almighty only knows when you may get in again.'

> With *Wha wants me?* he cross'd the Tweed,
> Bade home a long farewell, Sir.

His shameless lack of consistency was slashed by the 'Incantation' in the *Rolliad*:

> Round about the Cauldron go,
> In the fell ingredients throw:
> Clippings of Corinthian brass
> From the visage of Dundas.

Lord Advocate under the Tories in 1775, and passing genially to the same post under their Whig successors, in the course of his career he acquired many others and, with them, the unique influence of a political pluralist. His wide patronage was exercised to benefit his native country by a shower of places and public money, and though guided by party interests, was not infrequently inspired by disinterested kindness of heart. As an electioneering manager he was unsurpassed, more democratic than Argyll, as befitted the times, and of a judgment so unerring that he gained the sobriquet 'the Pharos of Scotland.' As a student at Edinburgh he professed attachment to Whig principles, and even in 1775, when the question of Parliamentary reform was brought forward in his constituency, expressed his hope to see the day when the nobleman of £10,000 a year would not disdain to take off his hat to the gentleman of £500. But his zeal for reform was nipped by cold blasts from France, and the Toryism of his later creed bespeaks him a characteristic figure of a time in which Scotland was producing a new national type 'pieced together out of her past inheritance.'

Dundas' association with Tory colleagues led him at first into courses which Scotland was disinclined to follow. In the spring of 1778 Parliament relieved English Roman Catholics of the penalties of William III's statute, provided they abjured the Pretender and renounced the Pope's temporal jurisdiction. Simultaneously the Lord Advocate announced a Bill to repeal a similar law operative in Scotland. Abundant reason existed for such a measure. Roman Catholics were barred by their religion from the public service and were forbidden to exercise it openly, though in practice the restriction had been relaxed. They were, moreover, under other disabilities, relics of a period of crude intolerance which it would be absurd to enforce. But the government's Scottish advisers were either ignorant or contemptuous of national prejudices. Since the fifteenth century Scotland,

to a greater extent than England, was obsessed by fear of Rome. Dundas' proposal, therefore, revived the bitter animosity of an earlier day. Both the established Church and Episcopal body opposed it, and a Protestant society founded at Edinburgh set itself to invite petitions and resolutions throughout the kingdom. Aberdeen alone breathed a tolerant spirit. Early in 1779, fanatical frenzy drove the mob in Edinburgh and Glasgow to violence. At Edinburgh the Catholic Bishop Hay's library and two chapels were wrecked: in Glasgow the premises of a Catholic citizen were gutted. The eminent Historiographer, Principal Robertson of Edinburgh University, who had advised a measure of emancipation, was obliged to seek military protection, and bowed to the storm his tolerance had stirred. In May 1779 he admitted the unwisdom of provoking disorder to relieve 'a handful of Roman Catholics.' The General Assembly pronounced emancipation highly inexpedient: and Dundas announced the government's intention not to proceed with 'the Popish Bill,' whose English counterpart produced the riots organized by Lord George Gordon in 1780.

Two other ameliorative measures corrected the harshnesses of an earlier generation and showed Dundas in accord with public opinion. The Act of 1746 forbidding the Highland dress was among the most galling punishments inflicted after the '45. Doctor Johnson, from personal observation in 1773, found the law 'universally obeyed,' excepting some who contravened it 'occasionally and wantonly.' In 1782 the prohibition was removed, a measure of obvious propriety at a time, when, in the spirit of Chatham, who declared it immaterial whether a soldier was 'rocked in a cradle on this or on the other side of the Tweed,' Gordons, Campbells, Macdonalds, and other clans were being invited to fight the battles of the British Crown.

The Jacobite estates annexed to the Crown in 1752 materially contributed to promote commerce, industry, and education. But now that the heirs of the forfeited

proprietors were, in many cases, holding commissions in the military service of the Crown, and since it was possible to declare in the preamble of the relieving Act that no part of the kingdom excelled the Highlands in loyalty, it was manifestly just to consider the claims of the forfeited owners to recover their confiscated properties. In 1784 twelve of the fourteen estates annexed to the Crown in 1752 were offered to their legal heirs on repayment of the sums expended in purchasing their superiority or clearing them of incumbrance—the Fraser property had been already restored in 1774, on similar terms, to the son of Lovat of the '45, in consideration of his military services in America and Portugal. The new transaction placed at the government's disposal a sum of over £90,000, of which a considerable portion was allotted to build the General Register House at Edinburgh and complete the Forth-Clyde Canal. Grants to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, Highland Society, Crinan Canal, and various minor harbours in process of construction, extended the national utility of a fund which loyalty to the House of Stewart had placed at the country's service.

Generally indifferent to current politics, Scotland's interest in the third quarter of the eighteenth century was fixed absorbingly upon the development of her economic resources. Her population at the time of the Union was about 1,000,000. It grew to 1,265,000 by 1775 and to 1,608,000 in 1801. Imports increased from £465,000 in 1755 to £1,267,000 in 1775 and £1,493,000 in 1797: exports from £284,000 in 1755 to £348,000 in 1775 and £1,037,000 in 1797. The shipping of the Clyde, the principal port, was reckoned at 5600 tons in 1735: it had increased about twelve-fold by 1771. At the beginning of the century Glasgow was a small town of about 12,000 inhabitants, rural in its amenities: in 1801 it numbered over 70,000. In 1772 half the tobacco imported to Great Britain was consigned to its merchants. Similar, though not equal, progress attended other towns. Paisley at the

time of the Union was a village of thatched houses sheltering a population of less than 3000, selling coarse linen goods to English pedlars. The Union opened a market in the colonies: the white sewing-thread industry was introduced in 1725, and by the end of the century the town's population was approaching 25,000. Dundee developed from a similar beginning to a population of over 23,000 in the same period: 4000 persons were accommodated in 1792 upon a building site which twenty years earlier contained only five or six houses. Aberdeen, a city of mean dwellings surrounded by a bleak and stony moor, increased to a population of 24,000 by the end of the century and made the Dee navigable for vessels of large draft. Its principal industry was stocking knitting, in which Doctor Johnson in 1773 observed its women 'visibly employed.' Inverness, when Prince Charles and Cumberland visited it in 1746, was a village of hovels: it possessed few houses of stone and lime, and only one—that of Lady Mackintosh, wife of the laird—which contained a room not occupied by a bed. Edinburgh, as the result of the Union, for many years remained impoverished and listless: Allan Ramsay wrote in 1717:

> O Cannongate! poor elritch hole,
> What loss, what crosses dost thou thole!
> London and death gar thee look droll,
> And hing thy head.
> Wow, but thou hast e'en a cauld coal
> To blaw indeed.

The city was 'a penniless lass wi' a lang pedigree,' wrote a Scotsman of a later generation. But the growing prosperity of the distinctively industrial centres reacted upon its fortunes, enlarged it as the legal and banking centre, and restored to it its former dignity. By the end of the eighteenth century its population was about 66,000, with valuable industries of its own, particularly printing works and paper-mills.

By 1730 the country was stirring with new activity. Linen manufacture, the staple industry, increased by

prodigious leaps: 3,000,000 yards in 1728 grew to 14,000,000 in 1771, over 36,000,000 in 1822. In the early part of the century woollens were the chief produce. English competition after the Union tended to swamp the native industry, and an expanding linen market in America depressed it further. The War of Independence, diminishing the call for linen, revived it, and Hawick and other Border towns were established in their staple trade. Prosperity created a demand for carpets, which were manufactured at Hawick and Kilmarnock. Cotton-mills were set up at Lanark in the eighties, and a wide expansion of cotton-thread manufacture ousted linen from Paisley and rapidly employed the activities of the west country. Meanwhile, the country's iron and coal resources were adequately explored for the first time. Dr John Roebuck, a Birmingham experimental chemist, founded the Carron Iron Works in 1760, the largest of their kind in Europe, the Elswick and Essen of their day, where not only every variety of ironwork was produced, but ordnance of the largest calibre, as well as light guns known as carronades, were cast.

Agriculture was revolutionized. At the beginning of the century its conditions were primitive: the almost universal type was the township or collective farm, whose infield, or home land, was cultivated on the 'run-rig' principle, according to which each tenant developed his own rig or strip, varying from twenty to forty feet wide, the grazing outfields being common pasture to all. Community of culture wasted the soil, through constant repetition of crops, discouraged enterprise, and forbade improvement. But after 1760 agriculture showed marked progress. The huge antique plough was replaced by the modern implement: thrashing mills and scythes superseded flail and sickle: afforestation was carried out in the teeth of ignorant opposition: potato and turnip cultivation became general—the turnip was served as a delicacy at dessert when Doctor Johnson was in Edinburgh in 1773: stock was improved: and the Montgomery Act of 1770,

permitting the landlord to grant long leases and burden his estate with the cost of permanent improvements, was not least among the causes which promoted the remarkable development of Scottish agriculture in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Accompanying these evidences of industrial enlightenment were works of public utility which the country's advancing prosperity permitted and required. Pre-eminent among them was the Forth-Clyde Canal. Its utility had been observed by Charles II, but the undertaking was beyond the means of his generation. In 1722 a survey was made, and statutory powers were taken forty years later for the construction of a canal from Grangemouth to Bowling on the Clyde below Glasgow. Assisted by a grant from the Trustees of the Forfeited Estates, the Canal was opened through its entire length in 1790. The Crinan Canal was completed in 1801, when the Caledonian Canal was begun (1803–23): the Union Canal was finished in 1822. Simultaneously Glasgow, cut off from the sea and with its harbour twenty miles distant at the beginning of the century, triumphantly achieved a stupendous work which deepened the Clyde and permitted the town's recognition as an independent port in 1780. Thomas Telford (1757–1834), at work upon the roads, constructed nearly 1000 miles of them and 120 new bridges, including those over the Tay at Dunkeld, at Beauly, Ballater, Alford, Craigellachie, and elsewhere, advancing the country by a century, and exposing wide tracts hitherto remote.

To the world at large Scotland's significance in the eighteenth century, especially in the second half of it, was the revelation of herself in a literary field not lately tilled, and her weighty contribution to the processes of human thought. The Union closed a bleak period of poetical and literary sterility, broken since distant Sir David Lyndsay (1490–1555) by infrequent poets, among whom William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585–1649) is remarkable. The frenzy of religious concentration, the turmoil of civil

strife, produced an atmosphere little agreeable to literary culture. The Union composed these dissonances, afforded material conditions essential to the craft of letters, and encouraged a patriotic utterance, proud yet regretful, in vigorous outpouring of vernacular song, heralded by the Sempills of Beltrees with *Habbie Simson*, the *Blythesome Bridal* (?) and *Maggie Lauder* (?), patently initiated by Allan Ramsay (1686–1758), culminating in Robert Burns (1759–96), and eloquent in the mood of John Skinner's (1721–1807) *Tullochgorum*:

What needs there be sae great a {fraise / *fuss*}
Wi' dringing dull Italian lays;
I wadna gie our ain strathspeys
For half a hunder score o' them:
They're {dowf / *dull*} and {dowie / *heavy*} at the best,
Dowf and dowie, dowf and dowie,
Dowf and dowie at the best,
Wi' a' their variorum;
They're dowf and dowie at the best,
Their allegros and a' the rest;
They cauna please a Scottish taste
Compared wi' Tullochgorum.

A patriotic impulse so compelling even prompted ingenious literary forgeries, of which James Macpherson's Celtic epic (1762–63) of a fictitious Ossian, emerging plausibly from Highland mists as yet dimly penetrated, is the most remarkable. A later generation chided

good Macpherson, whose prolific Muse
Begets false tongues, false heroes, and false news.

He did not stand alone. The heroic ring of Lady Wardlaw's *Hardyknute* (1719)

Stately stept he east the wa',
And stately stept he west,
Full seventy years he now had seen,
Wi' scarce seven years of rest.

He liv'd when Britons' breach of faith
Wrought Scotland mickle wae:
And ay his sword tauld to their cost,
He was their deadlye fae.

deceived Duncan Forbes of Culloden and other sound judges. Chatterton with his ingenious forgeries, Thomas Percy's (1768–1808) *Reliques* with his polishing of old material, and Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, in their several ways witness to this fondness for imitation, whose prevalence discovers the literary taste of their period.

Of this expression of national thought and feeling Allan Ramsay (1686–1758) is the earliest and most characteristic example. Of gentle descent, apprenticed in Edinburgh to a wig-maker, and incorrigibly addicted to verse making, his *Tea-Table Miscellany* (1724–32) and *The Evergreen* (1724–27) offered collections of old Scots songs and ballads, and stimulated a taste which his own *Gentle Shepherd* (1725) gratified. Eagerly purchased, it captivated Pope and Gay, released its author from his wig-blocks, and settled him in the Luckenbooths to open the first circulating library in the kingdom. Happy among his books and in the society of the wits, the little kindly man lived for a generation, making Old Edinburgh vivid in his pieces, but giving the world nothing so freshly captivating as his *The Waukin' o' the Fauld*:

My Peggy is a young thing
Juts enter'd in her teens,
Fair as the day, and sweet as May,
Fair as the day, and always gay.
My Peggy is a young thing,
And I'm nae very auld,
Yet weel I like to meet her at
The waukin' o' the fauld.

Allan Ramsay survived three writers whose songs graced his *Miscellany*. Lady Grizel Baillie (1665–1746), wife of the laird of Jerviswood, whose *Were na my Heart licht* gives her a niche in the temple of Scottish poesy,

may be remarked as exampling the interest in vernacular song displayed by ladies of rank. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1684–1755), antiquary, Commissioner for the Union, and judge, Ramsay's genial patron, is reputed author of the jolly

Merry may the maid be
That marries the miller:
For foul day and fair day
He's ay bringing till her;
He's ay a penny in his purse
For dinner and for supper;
And gin she please, a good fat cheese,
And lumps of yellow butter.

William Hamilton of Bangour (1704–54), whose meeting with Prince Charles in Rome won him for the Stewart cause in '45, whose pen celebrated Prestonpans (Gladsmuir), is remembered by his melodious *Braes of Yarrow*, contributed to Ramsay's *Miscellany* in 1725.

Four song writers graced the second and third decades of the century. Alison Rutherford (1712–94), wife of Patrick Cockburn of Ormiston, and a relative of Sir Walter Scott, watching the '45 from a Whig recess, parodied Prince Charles' proclamation:

Have you any laws to mend,
Or have you any grievance?
I'm a hero to my trade,
And truly a most leal prince.
Would you have war, would you have peace?
Would you be free from taxes?
Come chapping to my father's door,
You need not doubt of access.

Her version of *The Flowers of the Forest*, published in 1764, gives her immortality:

I've seen the smiling
Of Fortune beguiling,
I've felt all its favours, and found its decay;
Sweet was its blessing,
Kind its caressing,
But now it is fled—fled far away.

Adam Skirving (1719–1803), a Haddingtonshire farmer, delighted a generation of Jacobites with his *Hey, Johnie Cope, are ye waukin' yet?* a spirited song of Prestonpans. John Skinner (1721–1807), son of a Presbyterian schoolmaster in Aberdeenshire, begat a Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church and also *Tullochgorum*, a Scots song, Burns declared heartily, 'the best Scotland ever saw.' To his more delicate *The Ewie with the crookit Horn* Burns also was indebted. Jean Elliot (1727–1805), daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, challenged by her brother to write a ballad of Flodden Field, conceived a more vernacular version of *The Flowers of the Forest* than Mrs Cockburn's, by which she is remembered:

> I've heard the lilting at our yowe-milking,
> Lasses a-lilting before the dawn o' day;
> But now they are moaning on ilka green loaning :
> 'The Flowers o' the Forest are a' wede awa'.

Among lesser bards, four writers in the fourth and fifth decades of the century carried the torch to Burns, their immediate successor. The song *The Boatie rows* is attributed to John Ewen (1741–1821), a hardware retailer in Aberdeen. Burns denied to William Julius Mickle (1735–88) authorship of *There's nae Luck aboot the Hoose*, to which James Beattie (1735–1803), author of *The Minstrel*, added two verses. John Logan (1748–88), minister of South Leith, survives in *The Braes of Yarrow* rather than the exotic sermons his generation applauded. Lady Anne Lindsay (1750–1825), wife of Andrew Barnard, secretary to the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, vivacious and humorous, equally at home in London, Edinburgh and Paris, was the famed authoress of *Auld Robin Gray* (1771). Robert Fergusson (1750–74) closes the succession of Burns' predecessors. The son of an Edinburgh haberdasher's clerk, carried to St Andrews on a bursary, and dead in a madhouse before he was twenty-five, his vernacular poems are vivid pictures of Auld Reekie, bohemian Edinburgh, its taverns, scenes and people, and powerfully influenced his greater successor.

Robert Burns (1759–96) appeared opportunely at a moment, somewhat remote from the emotion which first gave it vigour, when vernacular literature no longer boasted its early vogue—James Beattie dared to call it in 1771 the dialect of the vulgar and added English verses to *There's nae Luck aboot the Hoose*. Burns' settled aim, he announced in the Preface to his Kilmarnock volume (1786), was to sing the sentiments of himself and rustic compeers 'in his and their native language,' taking Ramsay and Fergusson as his examples, though the classics of English literature were known to him and Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* was prized among his 'bosom favourites.' Urged later in life to express himself in English, he had the judgment and the will not to forsake an idiom most congruous to the thoughts in him seeking utterance. Wordsworth, at his graveside in 1803, mourned one

> Whose light I hailed when first it shone,
> And showed my youth
> How Verse may build a princely throne
> On humble truth.

He remains irrevocably Scotland's national poet.

Burns was born at Alloway, near Ayr, on January 25, 1759, eldest of seven children of his father, factotum of the laird and precarious tenant of a few acres of bare soil. An avid reader of the books the home contained or neighbours lent, Burns followed his father's sinking fortunes from farm to farm at a ploughman's wage, with a brief intermission at Irvine (1781) to learn flax-dressing, till the older man died in 1784. In the same year he read Fergusson's poems and awoke his own faculty. Settled at Mossgiel, a farm of 118 acres rented at £90 a year in Mauchline parish, Ayrshire, Burns and his brother worked in the fields, and Robert's Muse found utterance. Wordsworth's sonnet is familiar:

> 'There!' said a Stripling, pointing with meet pride
> Towards a low roof with green trees half concealed,
> 'Is Mossgiel Farm; and that's the very field
> Where Burns ploughed up the Daisy.'

The familiar *To a Mouse* is dated November 1785, *To a Mountain Daisy*, April 1786. *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, *The Vision*, and other masterpieces were the work of this season of hot inspiration. Jean Armour, a Mauchline mason's daughter, fired his inflammable heart and laid the cares of paternity upon an exchequer already light enough. Burns packed his chest, set his face to the Indies, and, to furnish funds for the voyage, issued at Kilmarnock his *Poems chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (1786). Success was instant. Before the year's end he was in Edinburgh eagerly welcomed by the literati. Two editions of the Kilmarnock volume were called for in 1787 and its author was acclaimed as the 'Caledonian Bard.' Marriage to Jean Armour (1788) and a failing effort to resume the old farm life at Ellisland in Dunscore parish near Dumfries followed. Here he wrote *Tam o' Shanter*, and tilled the ground till the end of 1791 when, already appointed an Excise gauger at £50 a year, he removed to Dumfries, leaving at Ellisland, writes Allan Cunningham, 'nothing but a putting-stone, with which he loved to exercise his strength, a memory of his musings which can never die, and £300 of his money sunk beyond redemption.' At Dumfries he wrote some of his most popular songs, *Auld Lang-syne*, *Scots wha hae*, *A man's a man for a' that*, *Ye Banks and Braes o' bonnie Doon*, and others, and there died on July 21, 1796.

Four writers, contemporaries of Burns, bridge the space between himself and the younger wizard, Scott. Carolina Oliphant (1766–1845), Lady Nairne, was daughter of that uncompromising Jacobite to whom George III, in a mood well becoming him, presented the compliments of 'the Elector of Hanover and wishes to tell him how much the Elector respects the laird for the steadiness of his principles.' Her baptismal name linked her with the last hope of the Stewarts, and though Jacobitism already was a romantic memory, its beaten cause inspired her Muse. *Wha'll be King but Charlie? Will ye no come back again? The White Cockade*, *Charlie is my darling*, written at a

time when Charles in Italy was obliterating the picture of his heroic youth, breathe ardent fervour. *The Laird o' Cockpen, Caller Herrin, The hundred Pipers, The Campbells are coming,* match them in their irresistible spirit. James Hogg (1770–1835), the Ettrick Shepherd, after Burns most considerable of the poets of humble birth, had the fortune to assist Sir Walter Scott in collecting materials for his *Border Minstrelsy*. Like Lady Nairne, his muse responded to Jacobite themes—*Bonnie Prince Charlie, Come o'er the Stream, Charlie, Lament of Flora Macdonald*. Unlike Burns, he was fluent in English: *The Skylark* is notable. Robert Tannahill (1774–1810), a Paisley weaver, an ardent student of Burns, published a volume of *Poems and Songs* in 1807, among them

> Gloomy Winter's noo awa',
> Saft the westlan' breezes blaw;
> 'Mang the birks o' Stanley shaw
> The mavis sings fu' cheerie, O.

Allan Cunningham (1784–1842), formerly a Dumfriesshire stonemason, later secretary to the sculptor Chantrey, collected and published the *Songs of Scotland ancient and modern* (4 vols. 1825) and lives as the author of the classic *A wet Sheet and a flowing Sea*, and of the belatedly Jacobite

> Wha the deil hae we got for a King,
> But a wee, wee German lairdie!
> An' when we gaed to bring him hame,
> He was delving in his kail-yardie.
> {Sheughing / *Planting*} kail an' laying leeks,
> But the hose and but the breeks,
> Up his beggar duds he {cleeks / *hooks*},
> The wee, wee German lairdie.

As in other professions, so in that of letters, the Union enticed to England a succession of needy Scotsmen who, prospering there, benefited the literatures they deserted and invaded. Their success in London stimulated the

literary activity of the capital they abandoned; while into English poetry they introduced their own distinctive note of Romance and instinct for Nature. James Thomson (1700–48), first in this procession of talents, author of *The Seasons* and the Spenserian *Castle of Indolence*, through his feeling for Nature inaugurated a new era. In *Rule Britannia* (1740) it was his fortune to give the United Kingdom a second National Anthem. David Mallet, or Malloch (?1705–65), of whom Johnson said caustically that his talents sufficed to keep his literary reputation alive 'so long as he lived,' had written his *William and Margaret* before he, sometime janitor in Edinburgh High School, mingled with Pope and Bolingbroke and received a legacy for a *Life of Marlborough* of which he never wrote a line. Tobias George Smollett (1721–71) did for the English novel what Thomson accomplished in another field. His *Roderick Random*, *Peregrine Pickle*, and *Humphrey Clinker* flouted convention and were frankly naturalistic in plot and incident. John Home (1722–1808) won a Scottish triumph in another field: his tragedy *Douglas* obtained phenomenal success at Covent Garden after Garrick had once refused it:

> When Garrick had a' *Douglas* read,
> He glowr'd wi' baith his een;
> And stamping wi' his foot, he cry'd,
> Sic d—d stuff ne'er was seen.

William Falconer (1732–69), an Edinburgh barber's son, wrote *The Shipwreck* from his personal adventures. William Julius Mickle, or Meikle (1735–88), won fame for his translation of Camoens' *Lusiad*. James Boswell (1740–95), Doctor Johnson's constant admirer, published the *Life* of his hero in 1791, and lifted the art of biography to a new plane. Thomas Campbell (1777–1844), whose lyrics, *Hohenlinden*, *Ye Mariners of England*, and *The Battle of the Baltic*, are unsurpassed, concluded with his *Pleasures of Hope* (1799) a century of Scottish literary activity in London altogether epochal.

Sir Walter Scott's (1771–1832) many-sided genius epitomizes the national revival which is the topic of this chapter. Whether in his lyrics, romantic poems, or novels, a spirit of passionate patriotism inspired them all:

> Land of my sires! what mortal hand
> Can e'er untie the filial band
> That knits me to thy rugged strand?
> Still, as I view each well-known scene,
> Think what is now and what hath been,
> Seems as, to me, of all bereft,
> Sole friends thy woods and streams were left;
> And thus I love them better still,
> Even in extremity of ill.

No other country boasts a writer whose pen with equal prodigality unfolded its history. The impulse was his own. None of his predecessors felt the call of Scotland's past. None could furnish his equipment of intimate learning to its reconstruction. His romantic disposition, Jacobite partiality, the locality of his upbringing, which from early youth made familiar to him the drama of Border history, the accident of physical frailty which drew him to books for recreation, the inspiration he inhaled from Edinburgh, all moved him to recreate the past. Hours of his law apprenticeship were spent in the Parliament House poring over musty parchments. 'Raids' into remote Border glens were his recreation, rewarded on occasion by such notable finds as the Border war-horn, with chain, hoop, mouthpiece of steel all complete, a spoil of Liddesdale now hanging at Abbotsford. So intimately did he wrap the histories of every wynd and gable in Auld Reekie round him, that, after his death, his son-in-law could never revisit them 'without feeling as if I were treading on his gravestone.'

His earliest considerable work, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802), laid the spell of the past upon him. Its publication he confessed to be 'one of the most fortunate circumstances of my life.' Its success encouraged him to employ his pen on 'a long poem, a kind of romance of

Border chivalry, in a light-horseman sort of stanza,' he described it, a relief from the formal hexameters of Pope's school, agreeable to the romantic story he had to unfold. *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) made him the most popular author of the day, and opened to readers sated with the artificialities of conventional romance a new world of living interest. *Marmion* followed in 1808, a series of vivid scenes culminating in Flodden Field, strongly appealing to national sentiment and deftly spurring a wider patriotism against Napoleon's menace. In 1810 the *Lady of the Lake* appeared and drew visitors from all over the island to visit Loch Katrine, whose beauties it revealed. In *Rokeby* (1813), with less success, Scott explored the scenery of an English county in the days of Cromwell and Prince Rupert. Bannockburn and Bruce inspired the *Lord of the Isles* (1815). It was Scott's last romantic poem. Either he felt his vein exhausted, or withdrew from a field in which, though Byron addressed him as 'Monarch of Parnassus,' his rival was beating him, he said himself, 'by his more passionate fervour and knowledge of the human heart.' Byron, he admitted, 'hit the mark where he [Scott] did not even pretend to fledge his arrow.' In his forty-third year he abandoned poetry for prose and entered a domain in which he reigned unchallenged.

Waverley, first of the novels, was published in July 1814. It was an attempt, Scott explained, 'to embody some traits of those characters and manners peculiar to Scotland, the last remnants of which vanished during my youth.' The whole series, with infrequent excursions into foreign climates, attempted for Scotland something of what Maria Edgeworth achieved for Ireland. As Clerk of Session Scott doubted whether it was decorous to write novels, and to one in his confidence declared that if he owned his authorship 'it would prevent me the pleasure of writing again.' Until his publisher's bankruptcy, though the secret had long been penetrated, his novels continued to appear as 'By the Author of Waverley' with almost monotonous

periodicity. In 1819 he broke new ground with *Ivanhoe*, fearing that by confining himself to Scottish subjects he might exhaust the interest of his readers, and professing an inclination to contrast the Saxons and their Norman conquerors, a task achieved with no close approximation to historical accuracy: off his familiar Scottish ground, and on occasion upon it, Scott's otherwise flawless armour is pervious. In 1822, having been created a baronet two years before, he played a prominent part in welcoming George IV to Holyrood. Four years later (1826) the crash of financial misfortune bent but failed to break his spirit. From that moment till the end every ounce of his energy was expended in clearing the load of debt. His novels did so, but not in his lifetime. In September 1832 he died. His extraordinary fertility, gallery of character, graphic power of delineation, range of antiquarian knowledge, and the general accuracy of his historical exegesis, are qualities of the novels which may yield to those emphasized here—their stimulation of patriotism through the medium of history, their interpretation of Scotland to a partner hitherto ignorant and indifferent. The King's visit in 1822 was a gesture of apology for neglect tardily admitted: to Scott in large measure Scotland owed it.

Scotland's intellectual activity in the eighteenth century attracted her neighbour's attention and regard chiefly in the domain of metaphysics. Her distinctive philosophy, to which the century gave birth, exhibits as characteristics its indigenous derivation, systematic reliance on the inductive method of psychological investigation, and dissatisfaction with purely abstract thinking which does not demand a constant reference to the concrete of conscious experience. From first to last the Scottish Philosophy, so called, had its citadel in the Universities, whose ability to employ it to fashion the national character depended on circumstances both internal and external to themselves. The Union produced the conditions of calm and prosperity needed to stimulate

the processes of the higher thought. Internally, the gradual decay of the Regent or tutorial system and substitution of a professoriate introduced experts into the University class-rooms charged specially to expound their subjects in formal courses. From the third decade of the century theological controversy, hitherto absorbing, yielded to metaphysical speculation. By the middle of the century Scotland boasted a highly expert and active academic society competent to expand the national culture. Smollett in 1771 found Edinburgh a 'hot bed of genius,' and Doctor Johnson, visiting the Universities two years later, was welcomed by professors whose talents and appreciation afforded him equal pleasure.

First of the more notable philosophers to hold a University Chair was Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746), a Scotsman whose grandfather emigrated to the north of Ireland, where the philosopher was born in 1694. Educated at Glasgow University, Hutcheson returned thither as Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1729. It was usual to employ Latin as the medium of instruction. Hutcheson discarded the antique tradition, delivered his lectures in English and without notes, walking backwards and forwards informally in the area of his class-room. He set himself in his teaching to develop Shaftesbury's doctrine of the Moral Sense, elaborating a theory of virtue which, anticipating Jeremy Bentham and the Utilitarians, postulated the standard of goodness to be one which tended to the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and found in the moral sense the inciting cause to virtuous action. Adam Smith was his pupil and cherished the memory of his 'never to be forgotten' master, from whom he derived not a little inspiration to pursue his distinguished career. Hutcheson died in 1746, having done much to diffuse a taste for analytical discussion and a spirit of liberal enquiry.

Seven years before Hutcheson's death a Berwickshire laird's son gave to an apathetic public a work destined most powerfully to direct European thought. David

Hume (1711–76), born at Edinburgh in 1711, published anonymously there in 1739 *A Treatise of Human Knowledge* which, in his own words, fell 'dead born from the press without reaching such a distinction as even to excite a murmur amongst the zealots,' whose position it assailed. Disappointed, but not disheartened, Hume rallied to his task, completed it in a third volume *Of Morals* in 1740, and in the next twelve years produced a series of works which attracted lively interest and controversy. His sceptical opinions defeated his candidature for the Glasgow Chair of Logic in 1752: but in the teeth of opposition he obtained in that year the Keepership of the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh; his success, significantly, being acclaimed by his partisans as the 'defeat of the Christians.' The post afforded the service of a great library and a modest income which served him for five years, in the course of which he gave his philosophy its final form and began his classic *History of England* from the Conquest to the Revolution. His fame by now was international, and as secretary to the British Ambassador in Paris from 1763 to 1765 he was received with remarkable enthusiasm. At Versailles the little princes delivered set speeches on his philosophy when he presented himself at court: everywhere, as he said, he breathed incense and walked on flowers. Returning to England in 1766 he brought with him Jean Jacques Rousseau to complete his *Confessions*, a friendship soon severed by the Frenchman's suspicious nature. In 1767 Hume was appointed Under Secretary for the Home Department, settled in Edinburgh in 1769, and died there seven years later, a character, Adam Smith recalled, 'approaching as nearly to the idea of a perfectly wise and virtuous man as perhaps the nature of human frailty will allow.'

Hume is the parent of modern philosophy, of Thomas Reid, of Immanuel Kant in Germany, of Victor Cousin in France. His standpoint was agnostic. The mind's perceptive power, he taught, resolves itself into *impressions*

and *ideas*, the difference between the two residing in the degrees of force and liveliness with which they announce themselves. The external world and its objects, space and time, free will, existence, knowledge, all of these experiences are merely ideas copied from mental impressions and are not demonstrably of material or actual reality. Religion, Providence, final causes, are riddles, 'an inexplicable mystery.' 'I see myself and the whole frame of nature,' said one who challenged Hume's conclusions, 'shrunk into fleeting ideas, which, like Epicurus' atoms, dance about in emptiness.' Constructive though his purpose was, Hume's logic led to complete scepticism and exposed him to the indignant arrows of orthodoxy. His destructive analysis of systems hitherto accepted challenged philosophy to re-erect a logical edifice on a surer basis.

The only competent reply to Hume in Great Britain came from Aberdeen. Thomas Reid (1710–96), born at Strachan, Kincardineshire, and educated at Marischal College, was from 1752 to 1763 Professor of Moral Philosophy at King's College there. In 1764 he proceeded to Glasgow to fill the Chair in that subject vacated by Adam Smith, and published his *Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*. Admitting the validity of Hume's reasoning from Hume's own premisses, Reid asked for evidence to support his contention that objects of knowledge were merely mental images. On the contrary, Reid postulated that there are certain primary and universal truths which *Common Sense*, *i.e.* common understanding involving general consent, compel the human intelligence to affirm, *e.g.* the existence of an external world, free will, causation, matters consequently withdrawn from the suspicion of non-existence in which Hume's logic involved them. The analysis, lacking Hume's subtlety, was intelligible to the lay understanding, sought to reconcile 'sensationalism and spiritualism,' as Goethe remarked approvingly, and created 'a more satisfactory foundation for human thought and action.' Reid

answered Hume's pessimism with a message of consolation, and till the middle of the nineteenth century continued to influence the philosophic thought of Europe.

Contemporaries of Reid in Aberdeen were George Campbell (1719–96) and James Beattie (1735–1803). Campbell was Principal of Marischal College and Professor of Divinity there. His *Dissertation on Miracles* (1762) countered Hume's attack and was hailed with relief by theologians whom it 'laid flat upon their backs,' in the words of a later Aberdeen Principal, 'till Campbell came and set them up again.' James Beattie, author of *The Minstrel*, derided by Hume as a 'milk and water poet,' entered the arena, with greater noise and circumstance than his more erudite colleagues, 'to avenge insulted Christianity' against Hume's assault. The public, finding Reid's and Campbell's confutation of scepticism somewhat cold and academic, preferred Beattie's superficial but trenchant polemics. His *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth* came from his Chair of Moral Philosophy at Marischal College in 1770 and, like Reid, but without his analytic judgment, asserted Common Sense to be the criterion of truth. The work was greeted with universal applause, more deafening out of Scotland than within it. Translations were called for in French, German, Dutch, and Italian. Royal favour shone on the author, Reynolds painted his portrait, Oxford conferred her doctorate, and the House of Commons was invited to see in its recipient the comforting proof that all Scotsmen were not freethinkers.

While the Universities were reconstructing a system of philosophy, a Glasgow Professor of Moral Philosophy was propounding the principles of a new science. Adam Smith (1723–90) was born at Kirkcaldy in 1723, studied under Hutcheson at Glasgow, whence he proceeded to Balliol, as Snell Exhibitioner, and after six years' continuous residence, supplemented by private study, was called to the Chair of Logic at Glasgow in 1751. In the following year he exchanged it for that of Moral Philosophy, a subject whose treatment, by tradition at Glasgow,

included some exposition of social theory. As early as 1753 Smith was instructing his class in those principles of free trade and economy which he enforced and illustrated in his classic treatise. Both the season and the locality were appropriate to the enquiry. The country's interests centred actively upon its economic development; while in so important a mercantile society as Glasgow Smith had under direct observation the phenomena it was his desire to explore. A tempting financial offer drew him from an ill-paid Chair in 1764 to accompany the young Duke of Buccleuch upon a tour abroad. He visited France with his pupil, and at Toulouse, 'in order to pass away the time,' began to write the book which made him famous. In Paris his labours were stimulated by contact with the French economists, the Physiocrats, his exact indebtedness to whom is a point of controversy. Upon the conclusion of his tutorship he returned to Kirkcaldy, where, with intervals spent in London and bickering with Doctor Johnson, he completed his classic work, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776). Two years later he proceeded to Edinburgh on his appointment as Commissioner of Customs, and died there in 1790. He is frequently styled the founder of political economy, though he was anticipated in some respects by Sir James Steuart's *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy* (1767). He was, however, the first to isolate economic facts and give them scientific treatment, while he expounded the doctrine of free trade and other principles of the modern science.

The eighteenth century philosophers close with Dugald Stewart (1753–1828), who, unlike any of his predecessors, was brought up from infancy in the atmosphere of a University. Born in 1753, the son of the Professor of Mathematics in Edinburgh, Stewart proceeded from his own University to that of Glasgow, where he fell under the spell of Reid, whose influence thereafter dominated his speculations. Before he was twenty he was fulfilling his father's duties at Edinburgh, and soon added to them those of the Chair of Moral Philosophy during Adam

Ferguson's (1723–1816) absence in America. On Ferguson's resignation in 1785 Stewart succeeded him and for a quarter of a century discharged his duties. Without claims to be held an original thinker, his powers of exposition were remarkable, and his lectures provided a powerful stimulus to a widening circle of students. To his reputation, in large measure, Edinburgh owed the resort to her halls of men from all countries. Sydney Smith, Brougham, Palmerston, Lord John Russell were among them and, with Scott and Sir James Mackintosh, attended Stewart's lectures. 'Perhaps few men ever lived,' Mackintosh recalled, 'who poured into the breasts of youth a more fervid and yet reasonable love of liberty, of truth, and of virtue.' His lectures, said Lord Cockburn, 'were like the opening of the heavens. I felt that I had a soul.' While he expounded Reid, he avoided the term 'Common Sense,' which conveyed an impression that questions of philosophy were soluble by popular judgment: he preferred to speak of 'the fundamental laws of human belief,' or 'the primary elements of human reason,' and it was his avowed purpose 'to stem the inundation of sceptical, or rather atheistical, publications which were imported from the Continent' under the inspiration of the Revolution. At the same time, he did much to disseminate those enlarged and liberal opinions in politics which his pupils, Palmerston and Lord John Russell, represented in a later generation.

With Stewart's disappearance, the Scottish school of philosophy, invaded by political and ecclesiastical strife, ceased to dominate the national thought and receded to the narrower arena of academic controversy. It had already, however, fostered a habit of reasoning in all classes, imposed a standard upon the minister in the pulpit, and communicated to the nation at large an intelligent and independent habit which promoted its remarkable progress in a century of astonishing achievement.

CHAPTER XXVII

DISRUPTION AND REFORM

In his *Annals of the Parish* John Galt (1779–1839) sketches the experiences of an Ayrshire village during the last forty years of the eighteenth century and the opening decade of its successor. The burn that threaded the parish being rapid, with a capability for damming and turning mills, there came from Glasgow a proposal to build a cotton-mill, a spacious fabric such as the village had never seen. For the people brought to work in it a new town sprang up in the neighbourhood, where weavers of muslin and cotton-spinners were soon established and women came from distant Manchester 'to teach the lassie bairns in our old clachan tambouring.' The old families looked askance on the innovation and 'incoming of what they called o'er-sea speculation': it hurt their pride to compare the handsome dwellings built for the weavers with their own archaic structures. Moreover, the cotton-spinners and muslin-weavers with their 'commercing and manufacturing' disturbed the simplicity of the older village's country ways. Ambitious, unsatisfied spirits clubbed together for a London newspaper at the Cross Keys Inn, where they met nightly in debate about the affairs of France, then gathering to a head; lads with unsettled and unsettling notions of politics and religion. The year 1788 was one of great activity among them. There was visible increase of worldly prosperity: men's minds were excited to new enterprises: 'a new genius, as it were, had descended upon the earth, and there was an erect and outlooking spirit abroad that was not to be satisfied with the taciturn regularity of ancient affairs, a hopefulness in the minds of men, and a planning of new undertakings.'

Upon an aggregate of such communities, pulsing with new vitality, with swelling populations already grouped in thriving centres of industry, and impatient of the 'taciturn regularity' of the old order, first the War of American Independence and then the French Revolution burst with startling announcement. The former roused interest altogether unprecedented in political affairs; though, until France kindled a blaze, agitation was directed chiefly upon municipal reform by the better-to-do of the middle class. The spirit of liberty, it was remarked, took 'a northern turn,' and, encouraged by Pitt's motion in 1782, brought Parliamentary reform prominently before a public hitherto indifferent. 'This was the first time,' writes Lord Cockburn (1779–1854) in his *Memorials*, 'that Scotland had ever been agitated by discussions upon general principles of liberty. Neither the Union, nor the two Rebellions, nor even the Revolution, had any of this matter in them.'

The need for Parliamentary reform, in Scotland as in England, was clamant. Though the Scottish Estates were merged into the British Parliament in 1707, their antiquated method of electing county and burgh Members survived until 1832. So little was it representative of the nation, that the franchise was restricted to sixty-six Royal Burghs and about 2600 persons who constituted the county electorate. It would be difficult to decide whether the urban or the county franchise was the more corrupt. The former was regulated by the Act of 1469, which conferred the government and election of officials, including the Members of Parliament, upon self-elected and practically permanent Councils, whose outgoing members in any year were almost invariably recalled by those who had gone out, and been rechosen, the year before. In Edinburgh the Council, 'omnipotent, corrupt, impenetrable,' an oligarchy of thirty-three individuals constituted the three-thousandth part of the population, and sent the city's representative to Parliament. 'No variety of opinion disturbed its unanimity,' remarks Lord

Cockburn; 'for the pleasure of Dundas was the sole rule for every one of them.' A similar situation existed elsewhere. The law restricting eligibility for municipal office to 'indwellers' was disregarded: the local magnate had no difficulty in introducing and maintaining councillors of his choice. The factor to the Earl of Bute had been provost of Rothesay for nearly half a century: in Lanark the office was held in rotation by three generations of the same family. Corruption was naked and unashamed. Wigtown's patron paid £16 of feu duty on municipal land which brought him in £400 a year. Many of the burghs were insolvent. But the paucity of municipal voters is the most remarkable fact: in 1832 they numbered about 1400. The county voters were few more than 3000, and of that number in 1790 1245 were 'nominal' and fictitious, their creation being facilitated by the fact that the franchise was in the superiority of the land, not in the land itself. Wealthy landowners, to increase their importance or serve the government, made fictitious conveyance of land of the legal extent to subject-superiors durable for the period of an election. An Act of 1734 was powerless to extinguish the scandal. Though the proportion of 'Parchment Barons' to genuine voters varied in the several counties, all over they numbered about half—in Banffshire only 19 out of 123 were real—and almost equalled the whole municipal vote. Subtracting them, the Parliamentary voters for the whole of Scotland on the eve of the Reform Bill were about 3000 out of a population approaching 2,500,000.

English example infected Scotland. The feeling for reform being stronger in the burghs than the counties, committees were established in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and elsewhere in 1782. Two years later (March 1784) delegates from thirty-three Royal Burghs assembled at Edinburgh, and in 1785 discussed the draft of two Bills, one redressing the internal economy of the municipalities, the other, the Parliamentary franchise. For the moment an intention to urge the latter was abandoned; partly

owing to Pitt's failure to carry his annual motions for reform, partly in view of the confidence his personality inspired. It was resolved instead to concentrate on municipal reform, particularly to correct the self-election of the Councils, their illegal contraction of public debts, and misapplication of burgh revenues. Forty-nine burghs supported the programme. Petitions were addressed to Parliament, and Sheridan, aspiring to popularity, made his first motion in favour of Scottish burgh reform in 1787. Brought up in successive sessions, the project was consistently thwarted by Dundas and a government whom events in France made increasingly suspicious of political innovations. The General Assembly, addressing the King in 1788, boldly declared the established constitution 'the wonder and envy of the world,' and though the number of burghs patently associated with reform increased to fifty-three in 1788, there was a general lack of popular enthusiasm, even of popular interest. In 1793 the movement inaugurated in 1782 was abandoned by its promoters, forced to realize that the French Revolution vetoed the prospect of carrying reform in Parliament.

The assembling of the French States-General in May 1789 stirred Scotland, as other countries, with interest, cordial or apprehensive. Some of her best minds welcomed it as the dawn of a new era for humanity. Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, William Robertson the historian, and Burns declared their sympathy. Sir James Mackintosh answered Burke's *Reflexions* with his *Vindiciae Gallicae*. 'Everything,' Lord Cockburn recalled, 'rung, and was connected, with the Revolution in France; which, for above twenty years, was, or was made, the all in all. Everything, not this or that thing, but literally everything, was soaked in this one event.' Trees of Liberty were planted, Dundas was burnt in effigy, bells were rung, windows illuminated, and a riotous spirit displayed itself in the chief centres of population, stimulated in some measure by economic discontent due to bad harvests and the operation of the Corn Laws. Never

before in Scottish history had popular demonstrations been invoked to further a programme of constitutional reform. The Dundee Whig Club addressed the States-General at Versailles in eulogy of the 'triumph of liberty and reason over despotism,' while the social and economic conditions attending the new industries excited the proletariat to discover in France an augury for its own well-being.

Acting in close accord with English admirers of France, associations of 'Friends of the People' were widely established in 1792. In the words of a squib of that time:

> Old toothless schoolmasters, and furious tanners,
> Tailors, hair-dressers, deep-read butchers too,
> All list with zeal under fair Reform's banners,
> And that they will be great men vow.

In December 1792 a Convention of delegates of the Associated Friends of the People assembled at Edinburgh, representing eighty societies from thirty-five towns and villages lying, for the most part, within the industrial area. Insignificant in numbers—about 140—it voiced the new aspirations of democracy. Thomas Muir, an advocate whose advanced political opinions had caused his rustication from Glasgow University, headed a minority demanding manhood suffrage and annual Parliaments, and a moment of excitement was reached when the members, rising in their places, swore 'to live free or die.' There was a short period, says Lord Cockburn, chiefly in 1793 and 1794, when the Scottish Jacobins displayed 'a ridiculous aping of French forms and phraseology.' But their spasmodic folly was patronized by no person of public character or influence, and was cured by the failure of the French experiment which was its model. Yet, Scottish Toryism was very apprehensive. It engrossed almost all the wealth, rank, and public offices and at least three-fourths of the population. It could have been tolerant, but preferred to exhibit 'ferocious bitterness,' the more so because democratic demonstrations appeared to be

an ill-timed interruption of the country's new prosperity. In its eyes Jacobinism denoted everything alarming and disagreeable and labelled every political agitator. A movement which aimed at Parliamentary reform was denounced as assailing the country's established institutions, and since the middle class fully shared its superiors' alarm, the government did not scruple to act with vigour.

In January 1793 a series of political trials commenced which exhibited authority in highly nervous mood. The most prominent was that of Thomas Muir, which began in August after a second general Convention of the Friends of the People in Edinburgh (April 1793) had shown the vitality of the movement which caused the government's alarm. Muir was indicted for seditious speeches, circulating seditious publications—especially Paine's *Rights of Man*—and for reading and defending the United Irishmen's Address in the first general Convention (December 1792). Lord Braxfield, who tried him, 'strong built and dark, with rough eyebrows, powerful eyes, threatening lips, and a low growling voice, like a formidable blacksmith,' conducted the political trials of 1793–94 with an 'indelible iniquity' that makes him the Jeffreys of Scotland. 'Come awa, come awa,' he addressed a dilatory juryman at Muir's trial, 'and help us to hang ane o' thae daamned scoondrels.' Muir was sentenced to transportation to Botany Bay for fourteen years, whence he escaped in 1796. Another, Thomas Fyshe Palmer, a Unitarian minister, was transported for seven years for writing an address against the war with France issued by the Dundee Friends of Liberty.

So far from intimidating the reformers, Braxfield's sentences spurred them to new vigour, and embarked them on dangerous courses. As yet the Scottish Friends of the People were not affiliated to any English organization. But in the summer of 1793 the Scottish association, with a view to organizing more effectual means than hitherto had been taken, invited the London Society and

similar bodies to an international Convention at Edinburgh, suggesting that its democratic constitution fitted it to take the lead. In October less than two hundred Scottish delegates appeared, voted annual Parliaments and manhood suffrage, resolved to petition Parliament for redress of grievances, and adjourned. Shortly after, four English delegates appeared. The Convention was recalled, and under English leadership displayed a less temperate spirit than so far it had exhibited. It styled itself the British Convention of the Delegates of the Friends of the People associated to obtain Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments, and passed a resolution that, if its 'illegal dispersion' was attempted by the authorities, it should repair to a place to be fixed by a secret Committee. The government, which, in spite of its fears of a coalition of reformers of the three kingdoms, had so far been tolerant, intervened on this defiance; the Convention was broken up, and two English delegates—Maurice Margarot and Joseph Gerrald—were brought before Braxfield. 'In order to find a match for the judicial spirit of this Court,' says Lord Cockburn, 'we must go back to the days of Lauderdale and Dalzell.' Sentences of fourteen years' transportation were passed on both prisoners (1794).

The dispersion of the Edinburgh 'international' and Braxfield's ferocious sentences incited the London Society to summon 'a general Convention of the people' to support the Edinburgh martyrs suffering from 'the wicked hand of power': the formation of 'armed associations' was also proposed. Genuinely alarmed, Parliament suspended the Habeas Corpus Act (May 1794), and the details of a plot were made public which seemed to justify so extreme a measure. A search in Edinburgh for embezzled goods disclosed a number of pike-heads in the houses of two men, Robert Watt and another, which had been made to the orders of the late Convention. Watt and Thomas Downie, treasurer of the Friends, were indicted for high treason. The former, author of a plot to seize the Castle and the Banks and apprehend the Judges, was

executed as a traitor. Downie was respited. But the trial supported the Tories' contention that the reformers were disguised revolutionaries, and a savage vendetta was directed against persons of liberal tendencies. In 1795 the law of treason was extended to the mere writing or speaking against the king's authority, and by the Sedition Act political meetings were prohibited unless they were advertised beforehand. Henry Erskine, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, who associated himself with the opposition to the two measures, was deposed by his fellow advocates (1796). In all classes persons suspect of Jacobinical principles were subjected to similar intolerance. The Judges would not listen to Whig advocates, and Dugald Stewart and other Liberal teachers were hampered in their class rooms. George Mealmaker, a Dundee weaver, leader of the United Scotsmen, an organization moulded on its Irish counterpart, was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation in 1798. Repression was triumphant.

The century closed under increasing menace from France. 'Instead of Jacobinism,' Cockburn writes, 'Invasion became the word.' The outbreak of war in 1793 once more drew attention to Scotland's defective military organization. Twice in the century she had been denied a Militia. It was therefore necessary to raise Volunteers (1794), not without apprehension on the part of timorous persons inclined to regard armed citizens as potentially more dangerous than the French. The response was heartiest at first from the better-to-do, but by 1796 the force was in being, 'a promiscuous armed democracy' representing forty-one districts. Burns was one of many who purged their Whiggery by donning the Windsor blue uniform. Sir Walter Scott exulted over the 'good spirit' of the Edinburgh citizens and was prominent in forming a corps of light horse. Membership of the Volunteers became a test of loyalty and sound principles; those who held aloof were suspect as Black Nebs (*anglice* blacklegs). Nor did the Treaty of Amiens (1802) damp this martial

ardour, and the resumption of war in 1803 added fuel to it. Napoleon's ambition and evident progress towards military despotism opened eyes unwilling hitherto to discern aught but liberty in the Revolution. The threat of invasion from Boulogne rallied Whigs and Tories alike to the nation's defence, and established confidence in a government which trusted them with arms. Till the peace of 1814 Scotland was one large camp. 'We were all soldiers, one way or other,' Cockburn recalled: 'Professors wheeled in the College area; the side arms and the uniform peeped from behind the gown at the bar, and even on the bench; and the parade and the review formed the staple of men's talk and thoughts.'

Meanwhile, in June 1797, a Militia Act at length gave Scotland equality with England. It encountered sturdy opposition and caused serious riots. No doubt, agitators were at work in the industrial centres: but the chief causes of disquiet were fear of an indefinite period of foreign service, and the fact that the Volunteers, mainly drawn from the middle class, were exempt from the ballot by which the local quota of each parish was determined, a concession which, along with the permission to purchase substitutes, appeared to reflect on the poverty or former indifference of the poorer members of the community. At Tranent, in East Lothian, a serious disturbance occurred and cost many lives. Only after severe military measures were the people reconciled to the Act.

The revelation of Napoleon's ambition and bitter hatred of Great Britain helped to draw the Whigs from under the shadow of Jacobinism which rested upon them. The Volunteers, a patriotic and no longer a political association, in which Whig vied with Tory to discharge a national service, also contributed to relieve them of the ostracism which oppressed them. For the moment Tory domination persisted, and in the general election of 1802 Dundas was able to marshal at Westminster an almost solid phalanx of his Scottish supporters. But in the autumn of that year the first number of the *Edinburgh*

Review provided the younger Scottish Whigs—Sydney Smith, Lord Brougham, Francis Jeffrey, and Francis Horner—with an organ for their opinions. The public, wrote Horner, had been misled to anticipate 'blood, atheism, and democracy,' as congenial topics of Whig pens. The *Review* therefore astonished by its moderation, and, remarks Scott's biographer, 'being far from committing itself to violent politics at the outset,' actually engaged Sir Walter's conservative talent in a review of Southey. Appearing in the very citadel of Dundas' influence, the *Review* was 'electrical' in its effect, placed the Whigs in a new relation to the public interests of the day, and, incidentally, Cockburn boasts, 'elevated the public and the literary position of Edinburgh to an extent which no one not living intelligently then can be made to comprehend.' Still greater commotion was caused by Dundas' withdrawal from the government in 1805 upon a vote of censure followed by impeachment for peculation of Admiralty funds. Though he was acquitted, the fall of a minister who for thirty years had been so undisputed master of Scotland that men called him Harry the Ninth staggered Scottish Toryism and broke its spell. Pitt's death within a twelvemonth (January 1806) dissolved his government, and the essentially Whig ministry of 'All the Talents' took its place. Lauderdale, one of the earliest champions of burgh reform, succeeded Dundas as dispenser of patronage in Scotland, and Henry Erskine, whom the Faculty expelled from the Deanship in 1796, returned to the government as Lord Advocate, after an interval of twenty years which measures the obscuration of his party.

The resumption of war in 1803 interrupted the French Revolution's direct influence upon Scotland. The conclusion of peace in 1815 may be said to have restored it. The event, Cockburn reflected, 'separated the lives and the recollections of that generation into two great and marked parts.' The absorption of every feeling in the duty of warlike union had 'sunk the whole morality of patriotism

in the single object of acknowledging no defect or grievance in our own system, in order that we might be all-powerful abroad.' The removal of foreign pressure consequently produced a rebound. A new generation came into action, whose mind, stimulated by the Revolution, was too young to be rendered cautious by its atrocities, and therefore found Tory caution irksome. Upon the middle and lower classes the tremendous experience had an abiding influence, while the first effects of peace cruelly disappointed the proletariat. Foreign trade contracted, wages fluctuated violently, rents expanded, wheat rose steadily in value. Societies similar to those of 1794 sprang up in the towns, whose proceedings were declared treasonable by a government unable to distinguish revolutionary agitation from the compulsion of hunger: in Dundee one-sixth of the population was dependent upon charity. A democratic society known as the Hampden Club, whose objects the House of Commons declared to be 'nothing short of a revolution,' was active in Scotland, where Major Cartwright, an associate of Orator Hunt and other demagogues, founded branches. Through Alexander Richmond, spy and weaver, the government got wind of secret preparations among the Glasgow operatives, pledged 'either by moral or physical strength' to obtain manhood suffrage and annual Parliaments. The ringleaders were arrested and tried for sedition (1817).

The year 1818 witnessed temporary improvement in the economic condition of the country. But in 1819 the sufferings of the poor impelled them once more to agitate for Parliamentary reform. At Manchester, the centre of activity in England, a series of reform meetings culminated in the so-called Peterloo Massacre (August 16). A similar 'sedition of the stomach'—Cockburn's Baconian phrase—spread disorder in the west of Scotland. A Glasgow meeting denounced Peterloo as having 'no parallel except the massacre at Glencoe.' Riots were general, and a proclamation placarded in Glasgow and

Paisley in name of a Committee for forming a Provisional Government seemed to confirm the government's worst forebodings:—'Roused from that torpid state in which we have been sunk for so many years, we are at length compelled from the extremity of our sufferings, and the contempt heaped upon our petitions for redress, to assert our rights at the hazard of our lives. Let us show to the world that we are not that lawless, sanguinary rabble which our oppressors would persuade the higher circles we are, but a brave and generous people determined to be free. Liberty or Death is our motto, and we have sworn to return home in *triumph*—or return *no more*.' It called a general strike on April 1, 1820, to secure rights which 'distinguish the freeman from the slave.' A series of encounters known as the 'Radical War' embroiled the troops and the strikers. Nearly fifty persons were apprehended, of whom three out of twenty-four convicted of treason suffered death.

The Radical War, while fatal to the hopes of the extremists, made it evident that, if reform was to be carried by less drastic implements than revolution, the Whigs must first enfranchise the middle class. To this point they had been moderately successful in keeping reform under Parliament's observation. Burgh reform, whose consideration the French Revolution had effectually retarded, was reintroduced to the Commons' notice in connexion with a situation lately arisen at Montrose. Prior to the Act of 1469 the burgh burgesses generally elected the Town Councils, and subsequently claimed the right, on a warrant from the Crown, to exercise their former privilege provided the Council failed to fill up the places of its members retired by rotation at the Michaelmas term, or made an invalid election. In 1815 and 1816 Montrose reverted to a ballot election, and in 1817 received a new charter which sanctioned its action. Inverness and Aberdeen clamoured for a similar concession, and before the end of the year nearly half the Royal Burghs voted approval of 'a more rational and

liberal system.' Alarmed at the clamour, the government refused further concessions: Aberdeen and Inverness were denied new charters. In these circumstances Lord Archibald Hamilton, most prominent of Scottish Liberals, obtained (1819) a Committee of the Commons to consider the petitions for burgh reform accumulated since the case of Montrose excited interest. Reappointed in 1820 and 1821, its deliberations coincided with the Radical War and produced a Report in which organic reform was repudiated as an infraction of the Union. A gift of partial financial control was suggested as adequate to satisfy the reformers. In 1822 Hamilton's proposal to remodel the system of municipal government was resisted by the Lord Advocate frankly on the ground that Parliamentary reform was involved. His utmost concession was a Bill authorizing burgesses to indict corrupt magistrates before the Court of Exchequer, a damaging admission of scandals which party prejudice forbade the government adequately to deal with. Its action, in Cockburn's rebuking words, 'first excited the hopes, and then the indignation of the people. It began by disclosing the trustlessness of town councils, and ended by hardening them in their protected abuse of power.' The 'folly' opened many eyes and incited a new generation of active and intelligent citizens to pursue the struggle to its already approaching conclusion. County reform, which Hamilton introduced to the House of Commons in 1823, had no better fortune. He instanced, in his own experience at the last election, purchase of fictitious qualifications for distribution among persons prepared to swear them genuine. But the stereotyped answer defeated him—the county, like the burgh, franchise was a condition of the Union; if Scotland was treated in a niggardly manner, Ireland's over-generous representation must be held to balance it in a representative system to be looked at as a whole and not in isolated parts.

For four years the cause of reform drifted hopelessly. But in 1827 Liverpool's long-lived Tory ministry was

replaced by Canning and a Cabinet largely Whig in composition. Those who had laboured so long for the 'liberation' of Scotland were cheered by the event, and as profoundly dismayed by Canning's death four months later (August 1827). Wellington and the Tories returned to power in January 1828, and a year later, influenced by the state of Ireland disclosed in the Clare election, and the danger of leaving the question unsettled, passed (April 1829) a measure for the relief of Roman Catholics. Nothing so convincingly establishes the growth of Liberal opinion in Scotland as the support accorded to the measure there. Edinburgh already had celebrated 'the first great modern triumph' of a tolerant spirit—the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (1828)—by a successful public meeting. In March 1829 the Assembly Room was thronged to assist Peel and Wellington by a petition in favour of their measure. Seventeen hundred persons paid for admission, at least as many more were excluded by the inadequate size of the building. Tories and Whigs spoke from the same platform, a conjunction memorable to those who remembered that only forty years ago the law was powerless to protect the houses and chapels of Catholic subjects from popular indignation. At the same time, a strong anti-Catholic bias was exhibited in petitions against the measure addressed to the Lords and Commons, signed by 18,000 and 13,000 respectively, whereas a petition in its favour was supported by only 8000 names. But the 8000 were 'a higher and more varied class' than ever before concurred in any political measure in Edinburgh, and the fact that such a number signed it, set by the side of the events of 1778–79, is eloquent of the change of opinion on a topic hitherto provocative of unreasoning bigotry.

The year 1830 gave the death blow to Tory rule in Great Britain. George IV passed away at a ripe age in June and a month later Paris blazed a second time in revolution. The sympathy which the first Revolution excited in these islands was revived by France's rally to constitutionalism,

and the General Election that followed the event amply demonstrated its effect on British opinion. Charles X, the dethroned King of France, was invited by the British government to make his home at Holyrood, where, Sir Walter Scott was mortified to think, the fallen sovereign's reception was likely to be rough and insulting. Charles stood for a discredited cause, and Wellington's categoric insistence that the unreformed constitution possessed the entire confidence of the country, and that none better could be devised by the wit of man, declared his aloofness from the new spirit abroad. In November he fell and Grey's Whig Administration took his place, with Cockburn, whose *Memorials* so vividly illuminate the preceding generation, in office as Solicitor General. 'Toryism seems dead in this place,' he wrote from Edinburgh on his appointment: 'The Tories seem struck by a thunderbolt. They can ascribe what is going on to no political trick, Court intrigue, or temporary accident; but reflect with alarm, that this is the third time within these two years that Whiggism has been recognized in the Cabinet; and that its triumph now is the natural result of deep-seated causes.' The Whigs were in power avowedly on the principle and for the conclusion of Parliamentary reform. 'In the abuses of our representative and municipal systems,' Cockburn added as a sort of colophon to his reminiscences, 'our predecessors have left us fields in which patriotism may exhaust itself.'

After many vicissitudes the English Reform Bill, introduced on March 14, 1831, passed into law on June 7, 1832. Its progress was followed with close interest in Scotland, whence, before its introduction, some two hundred petitions were sent up in its favour. At the General Election in 1831 the Scottish constituencies returned a majority of votes for reform. There was a good deal of 'brick-bat and bludgeon work at the hustings,' Lockhart remarked, and Sir Walter Scott, a stout Tory, 'was saluted with groans and blasphemies' by a rabble, chiefly weavers from Hawick, whom he encountered at

Jedburgh. 'I left the borough in the midst of abuse,' Scott wrote in his *Journal*, 'and the gentle hint of *Burke Sir Walter*. Much obliged to the brave lads of Jeddart.' The indignity rankled deeply. Everywhere Tory candidates experienced the hostility of the mob, and the news of the Lords' final surrender was followed by a giant demonstration at Glasgow in which 120,000 persons are said to have taken part.

Outlined by Lord John Russell on March 14, 1831, when introducing the English Bill, its Scottish counterpart was brought in by the Lord Advocate, Francis Jeffrey, on March 15, 1831. Twice re-introduced with the English measure, it became law on July 17, 1832, in a form which differed somewhat from the original proposals. Since the representative system in Scotland was more remote from modern conditions even than that of England, the Scottish Bill was a more revolutionary measure: it left, said Jeffrey, 'not a shred of the former system.' The electorate of self-elected Councils in the burghs was replaced by the enfranchisement of householders paying a uniform £10 rate, a qualification so high as even to reduce the electorate in seventeen burghs. In the counties the Parchment Barons were abolished: the franchise was conferred on freeholders of real (landed) property valued at £10 a year, and also on tenants paying a rent of £50 and over on a nineteen years' lease. Eight new burghs were distributed among the existing groups returning Members, and the total of burgh Members was advanced from fifteen to twenty-three by giving Edinburgh and Glasgow—the latter hitherto submerged in a group—two each, and by allotting one each to Aberdeen, Dundee, Greenock, Paisley, Perth. The national representation was therefore increased from forty-five to fifty-three. A claim to representation on behalf of the Universities was defeated. Scottish representation in the House of Lords was not altered, but the disability of eldest sons of peers to sit for Scottish constituencies was removed.

By unexpected transposition Parliamentary preceded

burgh reform. The latter had been brought forward prominently in 1784 and a faint-hearted effort of reform was made in 1822. In a Parliament returned by the new electorate the complementary measure could not be delayed, and before the end of 1832 the Lord Advocate was in a position to announce the government's decision to carry the lesser reform. In March 1833 he introduced two Bills, one affecting the newly enfranchised burghs, the other applicable to the sixty-six Royal Burghs. In the former councils were instituted, elected by holders of the £10 Parliamentary franchise. In the majority of the Royal Burghs the councils were made similarly elective, though a few, in which the £10 householders were less numerous than the old councillors, retained their constitutions. The Bills became law in August 1833.

Almost at the moment when the victory of reform was won, Scotland's interests were diverted to a controversy which engaged them continuously for ten years and disrupted her national Church. The event was rooted in her experiences over a century whose secular activities have been explored. A review of its ecclesiastical aspect must be attempted in order to clarify the momentous event of 1843.

The Revolution gave Presbyterianism the State's countenance, but could not protect it against the assaults of an age which no longer looked on religion with the eyes of the Puritan century. 'The history of the Church of Scotland from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century,' remarks Dr Mathieson, 'may be described as that of the decline of fanaticism under a succession of powerful forces operating from without.' The Church met the attack with divided front. The strictly Calvinistic and Puritan party, inheritor of the Covenants, refused to compromise with the modern spirit, to permit its intrusion into the mysteries of Christian orthodoxy, or to make concessions to secular interests which threatened to distract from spiritual issues. These, the Evangelicals, Highfliers, or Wild Party,

were opposed by the Moderates or Legalists, who concluded that the interests of religion would be better served by intelligent adjustment of religious formulas to the advance of human thought than by obstinate attachment to traditional dogma. Throughout the eighteenth century these two parties were in constant friction and, in the result, became irreconcilably divorced.

The acerbities of clerical discord disturbed the generation following the Union. John Simson, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, denounced to the General Assembly in 1714 on a charge of heresy, ranged the two parties in patent opposition. Accused of tampering with the Westminster Confession, of Arminianism, and Arianism, the offending Professor was found guilty of erroneous doctrine and suspended in 1729. Meanwhile a more divisive topic invited controversy. In 1718 Thomas Boston, minister of Ettrick, resuscitated *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, a work published in England in 1646 by an English Independent. Boston, finding it 'a bundle of sweet and pleasant Gospel truths,' free, open, and unrestrained, republished the first and larger part of the book for the edification of his fellow Churchmen. Its alleged Antinomianism, or loose insistence on the obligations of the moral law, offended the Moderates and more cautious Evangelicals, who, labelling its upholders 'Marrowmen,' condemned them almost unanimously in the General Assembly of 1720 and administered a formal and decisive censure in 1722.

These controversies paled before their successor, whose consequence was the First Secession, the first decisive step along the path to Disruption one hundred years later. The argument was round the Patronage Act of 1712. Passed with a political and sinister purpose, the Act undoubtedly contradicted the theory of ecclesiastical independence which the Acts of Settlement and Union explicitly secured, though the 'call' never ceased to be regarded as an indispensable pre-requisite for the settlement of a minister. It provoked no general opposition

from a generation intent upon other interests, and for some time was administered cautiously. But in the second generation of the century Moderatism began to clamour for stricter regard for patronal rights, neglect of which threatened to fill the manses with ministers of illiberal instruction. The Evangelicals, on the other hand, emphasized the congregation's right both to call, as heretofore, and also to select its minister at a vacancy. Open collision between these opposing views occurred in the Assembly of 1730, which had before it twelve cases of ministers intruded upon congregations to whom they were disagreeable. Hence, the Assembly of 1731 transmitted an overture to the Presbyteries for their consideration, proposing as a definite rule for the future that the call and selection of ministers should be vested in the Elders and Protestant heritors of the parish, the decision being left to the Presbytery only in the event of the congregation disapproving their choice. With some opposition, the Assembly of 1732 established the rule.

To the South-West, as its past history gave warning, the Assembly's insistence on the legal rights of patrons was particularly obnoxious. Galt details a typical scene in his *Annals of the Parish* in the 'placing' of the minister of the parish of Dalmailing (Dreghorn) in 1760: 'I was put in by the patron, and the people knew nothing whatsoever of me, and their hearts were stirred into strife on the occasion, and they did all that lay within the compass of their power to keep me out, insomuch that there was obliged to be a guard of soldiers to protect the presbytery: and it was a thing that made my heart grieve when I heard the drum beating and the fife playing as we were going to the Kirk. The people were really mad and vicious, and flung dirt upon us as we passed, and reviled us all, and held out the finger of scorn at me. When we got to the Kirk door, it was found to be nailed up, so as by no possibility to be opened; we were, therefore, obligated to go in by a window, and the crowd followed us, in the most

unreverent manner, making the Lord's house like an inn on a fair day, with their grievous yellyhooing.'

Of these passions Ebenezer Erskine, the ultra-Evangelical minister of Stirling, made himself the mouthpiece. One of the zealots against Simson, and later a Marrowman, he stoutly opposed the majority in the Assembly in 1732, accusing them of subservience to the well-to-do, of preferring 'a smack of learning' to inward godliness as the qualification for the ministry, and likening them to the Scribes and Pharisees, sticklers for the moral law but heedless of grace. A sermon in this vein before the Synod of Perth and Stirling drew its censure upon him. Erskine appealed vainly, and, remaining contumacious, was 'loosed' from his parish and declared to be no longer a minister of the Church (1733). Not awaiting a formal sentence of deposition, he and three other ministers seceded and formed themselves into what they termed an Associate Presbytery, at Gairney Bridge near Kinross in December 1733. Alarmed lest their defection should draw imitators, the Assembly hastily recalled its offending measure (1734), declared (1736) it contrary to Church principles to impose ministers on unwilling congregations, and empowered the Synod of Perth and Stirling to restore the four ministers. The Stirling Presbytery actually elected Erskine as its Moderator. But the seceders advanced extravagant demands conditioning their return, and in 1740 sentence of deposition was confirmed against Erskine and his associates, now eight in number. Their historical continuity from the Cameronians is revealed in their Judicial Testimony, which traced the declension of the Kirk to the fall of Ultra-Presbyterianism on the repeal of the Act of Classes in 1651.

Within a decade of its foundation the First Secession Church itself was vexed by schism. In 1741, George Whitefield, one of the founders of English Methodism, made a preaching tour of Scotland, attracted by the circumstance that there, as in England, opposition had ripened to dissent from the national Church. His visit,

repeated in 1742, provoked a hysterical revival, especially at Cambuslang, whose extravagances moved the Erskines to denounce Whitefield as a limb of anti-Christ, a ravening beast from England's anti-Christian field, a 'strolling impostor' sent to mislead Scotland's erring folk, an emissary of a creed that abjured the Covenants. Meanwhile the Associate Presbytery grew to an Associate Synod with local bodies at Dunfermline, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, and a membership of more than twenty pastors, displaying a narrowness of outlook Scotland was a stranger to since the reign of Charles II. The Synod's first meeting (1745) divided its membership upon the question whether the burgess oath exacted at Edinburgh, Glasgow and Perth was consistent with Secession principles and with the Covenant on which they were established. The oath, anti-Papal in intention, declared the subscriber's attachment to 'the true religion presently professed' within the realm. The extremer Seceders protesting inability to take an oath which approved the Establishment they had left, in 1746 the Synod declared it contrary to the Covenants and improper for the acceptance of its members. Erskine and his brother Ralph dissented. The community separated into two camps, Burghers and Anti-Burghers, General Associate and Associate, and so remained until 1820 congenially recriminatory. A quarrel (1782) among the Anti-Burghers as to whether the Elements at Holy Communion should be 'lifted' before the prayer of consecration added another strain of discord in the mutual anathemas of Lifters and Anti-Lifters. The Old Lights and New Lights also separated in controversy over the province of the civil magistrate in matters of religion.

Meanwhile the Establishment, reaching a landmark in its history, initiated a policy whose fruit was a second Secession. Since the Erskines' defiance, the Moderates forebore to press the rule which caused it, though cases were not infrequent in which ministers were 'intruded' forcibly upon unwilling congregations: *e.g.* Thomas Reid,

the philosopher, whose parishioners ducked him in a horsepond upon his appearance at New Machar. Insubordination of this kind clearly needed repression in the interests of order and discipline, a necessity which impressed itself especially upon the younger ministers, whose conspicuous leaders were Alexander Carlyle, minister of Inveresk, William Robertson, the historian, John Home, the author of *Douglas*. Their first attempt to save the Church from anarchy had a discouraging reception. A case having arisen at Torphichen, whose local Presbytery refused to ordain the presentee to the charge, the New Moderates vainly demanded that ministers who refused to obey the Assembly's ruling should be suspended. But upon a similar case arising at Inverkeithing they carried their contention. The presentee, a Mr Richardson, had been appointed by the patron on the call of several well-to-do heritors. On the plea that he was unacceptable to the parishioners at large, six members of the Dunfermline Presbytery refused to take part in his induction, which consequently was delayed. The Commission of Assembly threatened censure unless the presentee was admitted before March 1752, and as the order merely hardened rebellion, the case came before the Assembly later in that year. It was resolved to depose one of the six mutineers, and the lot fell upon Thomas Gillespie, minister of Carnock, who, in 1761, seceded and founded the Relief Church, so called because it sought relief for Christians oppressed in their Church privileges, a body which joined with the First Secession in 1847 to form the United Presbyterian Church.

When Dr William Robertson took his place in the Assembly in 1762 as Principal of Edinburgh University and the Church's leader, Moderatism had won and maintained its ascendancy for a generation. Patronage was conclusively the law of the Church; the Assembly's authority was planted securely; the traditional theology handed on from the seventeenth century was in process of complete extrusion from a Church whose leaders

accurately measured its incompatibility with the prevalent intellectual mood. To adjust its standards to the outlook of a society else estranged was the particular and successful task of the Moderates. Trivial in itself, Carlyle's ostentatious attendance at an Edinburgh theatre to witness the performance (1756) of *Douglas*, the work of one of his cloth, and the Assembly's refusal to sustain his Presbytery's consequent 'libel' of him, are symptomatic of the spirit animating the main body of the Establishment. The event raised a clear issue between the Moderates, whom Dr Mathieson describes as 'humanists rather than divines, citizens rather than Churchmen,' and the older school, for whom the ministerial office was too solemn a responsibility to permit idle moments of secular amusement. The question of Catholic Relief in 1779 raised another issue; the successful opposition of the Evangelicals was a warning that Moderatism had passed its prime. When Robertson resigned the leadership of his party two years later (1781) there were ominous signs already within and without the Church that his school of thought was in decline. The eight dissenters of 1740 had grown to more than 100,000 in number, representing over 100 congregations, and the philosophy of the French Revolution was in the air.

In a mood of pessimism Alexander Carlyle sketches the situation of the Moderates in the years that followed Robertson's withdrawal. Their hold on the educated laity was loosening, they were sluggish in many fields of potentially beneficial activity, and were attracting to the ministry intellects that promised to perpetuate the stagnation which prevailed. The Church no longer displayed the literary talent of the past generation. Patronage was exercised under the influences which controlled the Parliamentary patrons of votes, and its nominees afforded little satisfaction to those who desired a ministry active, intelligent, and eloquent. 'A certain modish affectation of worldliness became the fashion amongst many of the younger clergy,' Sir Henry Craik remarks:

'Their obtrusive latitudinarianism, and their aping of philosophical rationalism, were redeemed by none of the intellectual vigour which belonged to the party which they pretended to represent, and whose traditions they meant to carry on.' At a moment when lay preaching was an arresting novelty, the pulpits of the establishment were frequently filled by men who had neither the wit nor will to show their flocks the road to salvation.

The French Revolution stimulated developments which Evangelicalism welcomed and the Moderates suspiciously decried. In 1797 Robert Haldane and his brother James, both of whom had held commissions in the Navy, began their mission as lay preachers, impelled by the excitement of the French Revolution. 'The whole of this missionary business,' a correspondent of the Lord Advocate noted in alarm, 'grows from a democratical root,' and was discountenanced by authority. The Haldanes' efforts to establish Sunday Schools were deplored under similar apprehension. Moderatism deprecated religious enthusiasm. The proposal to establish foreign missions excited suspicion and elicited a vote of disapproval in the Assembly of 1796. The Moderates insinuated that such agencies lent themselves to political propagandism, and their custom of affiliation was remarked as being 'in the very language of many of our seditious societies.' From another angle the dominant party disapprovingly regarded demands for Church expansion to meet a growing population; chapels of ease were less amenable to the rule of patronage, while it was the greater vitality of Evangelical ministers usually that called for them. Moderatism was over-cautious and inert, and a significant case proved that the reaction caused by the French Revolution had extracted from it also the liberality of thought which once justified its hegemony. Of two candidates for the Edinburgh Chair of Mathematics in 1805, the Moderates gave their eager support to an Edinburgh minister against John Leslie, a scientist of wide reputation but declared to be a free-thinker. The Evangelicals preferred Leslie's

candidature, whose victory significantly announced the decline of the party that opposed him.

When the passing of the Reform Act directed Scotland's interests after a long interval to ecclesiastical concerns, the apathy and latitudinarianism of the eighteenth century were at length, as in England, in rapid decline. The Evangelicals, under the leadership of Dr Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847), had become the most powerful party within the Scottish Church. Under their inspiration, pluralism and non-residence were corrected by an Act of Assembly in 1817. Church extension was encouraged. In 1824, going back upon its decision in 1796, the Church concluded to establish a mission in India. Dr M'Crie's *Lives* of Knox and Andrew Melville, published in 1812 and 1819, recalled the vivid ecclesiastical conscience of an earlier time and had lessons for the present. At a moment when the movements of the last century were losing their freshness, when the vogue of Scottish nationalism popularized by Scott was restricted and not general, when the educated class no longer focussed thought upon philosophical speculation and literature, there was a field for ecclesiastical discussion, and the accomplishment of the Reform Act logically revived the old problem of Patronage. A people who, after long struggle, had won the privilege to choose their Parliamentary representatives were likely to assert similar liberty in the selection of their spiritual pastors. In principle and tradition their right to do so had never ceased to be asserted by the Evangelicals now in power, while the disturbing dimensions of Dissent, whose chief cause was the imposition of ministers on unwilling congregations, pointed the need to reconsider a practice established one hundred years earlier.

The Non-Intrusion controversy, or Ten Years' Conflict, had immediate origin in the Assembly of 1833. Agitation for Disestablishment already was active, and Parliament was receiving petitions denouncing patronage. Chalmers approved neither extreme: his mind was conservative,

a bent already displayed towards Parliamentary reform, of which he disapproved. He preferred to maintain the law, while taking precautions to prevent its abuse. To seek the aid of the reformed legislature would introduce an unfamiliar topic to an Erastian body ignorant and little interested. Chalmers proposed to obtain through the Church's Parliament such amendments in the practice of a civil statute as were necessary to reconcile the Patronage Act with his convictions. In 1833 he brought before it a measure henceforth known as the Veto Act. Upon a review of the early traditions of the Church it claimed for every congregation an absolute veto on the intrusion of a pastor imposed upon it contrary to the wishes of a majority of its membership, leaving to the patron the right of presentation. A Tory in politics, Chalmers professed such confidence in the instinct of the unlettered constituencies before whose bar ministerial candidates needed to pass, that he even deprived the Presbyteries of the adjudicatory function they had exercised during the periods when patronage was in abeyance. His proposal was lost by twelve votes: it was easy to alarm doubtful waverers by emphasizing the fallibility of an unintelligent electorate and a levelling down of ministerial standards. But outside the Assembly feeling was strong. Legal advice had been invoked and was declared to be favourable, and the Whig government's sanction and co-operation was alleged. The motion was approved in most of the Presbyteries and was carried in the Assembly of 1834 by a considerable majority.

In opposing the measure, the Moderates pressed the argument that it was irreconcilable with the Patronage Act. From the other side it was answered, that the patron's right of presentation was not infringed, though the congregation's power of rejection was regularized. The Patronage Act did not confer absolute rights on the patron, who could merely require the Presbytery to take his presentee 'on his trials.' The Veto Act left him in the same position, but intended to make the old custom of a

'call' from the congregation a condition of every appointment. But, in the event of a challenge, collision between civil and ecclesiastical authority standing respectively behind the Patronage and Veto Acts was inevitable, and within three months of the latter's passing Auchterarder stated a case for argument. In August 1834 a vacancy occurred in that Perthshire parish, of which Lord Kinnoull was patron. He presented Robert Young, a young licentiate, and the Presbytery invited the parishioners to 'sign the call.' Of 330 heads of families nearly five-sixths (287) intimated their dissent, without assigning any specific reason. After pausing for the Assembly's guidance, the Auchterarder Presbytery, in July 1835, rejected Young's presentation. Patron and presentee thereupon appealed to the Court of Session against the Presbytery's refusal to admit. In November 1837 the case was argued before the full bench of Judges. For the plaintiffs (pursuers) the Act of 1592 was brought forward which held a Presbytery 'bund and astrictit' to admit a qualified presentee. On the other side it was contended that acceptability to his future flock was an implied qualification, that the 'call' was a purely ecclesiastical act, over which civil authority could not claim or exercise jurisdiction, and that in reviving the 'call' the Veto Act merely restored a practice which had been suffered to fall into neglect. These views did not prevail with the Court. Eight of thirteen judges gave judgment (1838) that, in rejecting Young without first making trial of his qualifications, the Auchterarder Presbytery had acted 'illegally and in violation of their duty.' The decision was a staggering blow to the Evangelicals' recent ascendancy and the principles on which it rested. The ensuing General Assembly, summoned by general clamour to assert the Church's spiritual independence, appealed to the House of Lords against the Court of Session and evoked in May 1839 a judgment even more unequivocal and disconcerting. Not merely was the judgment of the Court below upheld, but the inability of a Presbytery to reject a

presentee on any ground but incompetence was expressly stated.

The Auchterarder case did not stand alone. In 1837 the incumbency of Lethendy and Kinloch, in the Crown's patronage, became vacant. Already the Crown had presented a minister as colleague and successor to the deceased incumbent. But as the major part of the communicants dissented, the Crown presented a second candidate whom the Presbytery ordained, in defiance of the Court of Session's interdict at the instance of the first presentee, who had raised a civil action on the grounds sustained in the Auchterarder case. The Presbytery was severely censured and rebuked, while the menace of imprisonment was held over any other that should repeat the offence (1839). Meanwhile a similar case developed at Marnoch in the Synod of Moray, where the patron had nominated a successor to the incumbent, who died in 1837. As only one member of the congregation sustained the 'call,' the Presbytery of Strathbogie rejected the presentee and a new nomination was made by the patron. Before the Presbytery proceeded to act upon it an interdict was served at the instance of the Court of Session, to whom the first presentee had appealed. A majority of the Presbytery (seven to four) concluded to obey civil authority and roused a storm among the champions of the Veto Act. In 1838 the Assembly censured their conduct, while the Court of Session demanded the instant admission of the first presentee. The majority complied and (1839) were suspended by the Assembly, while the minority was instructed to admit the candidate. The Court of Session again intervened on the petition of the suspended seven, on whom, in 1841, the Assembly's thunders at length descended. They were deposed from the ministry and the original presentee was deprived of his license. The challenge to the Court of Session was flagrant and on the day following its issue an interdict from that authority was served on the Assembly.

The Church and civil courts were in collision on another

matter. The Assembly which approved the Veto Act also passed the Chapel Act (1834), necessitated by the increase of chapels-of-ease to serve an expanding population. Not being parish ministers, their incumbents had no seats in the Church Courts of Presbytery, Synod, and Assembly, an inequality which the measure removed. Relying on the Act, the Presbytery of Irvine, in 1839, resolved to divide the incumbency of Stewarton, in Ayrshire. The patron and principal heritors objecting, the Court of Session pronounced the proposal illegal and the General Assembly incompetent to form new parishes. Clearly the single hope of agreement between civil authority and the Church's resolution to assert its spiritual independence resided in some legislative proposal which could reconcile them. The Whigs, who encouraged the Veto Act as a proper concession to democratic principles, were not prepared to make it a government measure. From the Tory camp a champion of compromise appeared. In May 1840 Lord Aberdeen brought in a Bill to remove doubts respecting the admission of ministers to benefices in Scotland. While he desired to secure to the Church the right to judge freely the qualifications of persons presented for the ministry, he deemed it necessary at the same time to prune the Assembly's soaring pretensions. Much ill-feeling was unloosed by the measure which, in the course of the summer, was withdrawn. An ameliorative Act introduced by the Duke of Argyll in May 1841, which proposed to preserve the Veto Act subject to safeguards against factious use, pleased the Assembly but failed to pass the House of Lords.

A crisis had been reached. 'The war of argument is now over,' said Dr Chalmers in 1841: 'the strife of words must give place to the strife of opposing creeds and opposing purposes.' To this point the Non-Intrusionists had not ventured openly to advocate the abolition of patronage. But the government's attitude was emphatic: patronage was established by Act of Parliament, and so long as it rested on that foundation must be upheld.

Events, on the other hand, had shown that while patronage survived, friction between Church and State was apparently inevitable. Therefore, though his action invited a charge of inconsistency against the party that passed the Veto Act, Dr Chalmers, early in 1842, supported a proposal to abolish patronage and by the act remove the grounds of strife persisting now for nearly ten years. By a large majority the Assembly of 1842 denounced patronage as the main cause of the difficulties in which the Church was involved, and approved a statement of its position entitled a 'Claim, Declaration, and Protest,' commonly cited as the Claim of Right. It asserted that the rights and liberties of the Church had of late been assailed to an extent that threatened their complete subversion, concluded that its government could not be carried on subject to the coercion exercised by the Court of Session, and protested that Acts passed without the Church's consent and prejudicial to its government as recognized at the Union were, other than in their civil consequences, null and void.

To a case so argued there could be only one answer. In March 1843 a private member invited the House of Commons to appoint a Committee of enquiry to examine the Claim of Right and the grievances of which it complained. Both sides of the House, Whigs and Tories, were emphatic in condemnation of its contentions. Sir Robert Peel expressed his belief that, if they were conceded, they would be unlimited in extent and spread beyond the borders of Scotland. He scouted a proposal to impose spiritual or ecclesiastical supremacy upon the civil tribunals of the country, and stated his fear that, if the principles on which the Reformation was founded were loosened, the civil and religious liberties of the country would be put in peril, and ecclesiastical domination set up, to the hurt of the religion of the country and the civil rights of man. His standpoint was unyieldingly Erastian: no government could satisfy claims which in their essence were incompatible with the supremacy of

civil order or transfer the right of patronage to 'a variable and irresponsible multitude.' By a great majority the motion for an enquiry was negatived.

Two months after Parliament's *nolumus* the last scene was enacted. Already in the preceding autumn what Dr Chalmers called 'a General Convocation of all the right-minded clergy' assembled at Edinburgh and by an overwhelming vote resolved to secede from the Church unless concessions were made to its convictions. The laity were invited upon a Provisional Committee to explore the material consequences of the conclusion, and on May 18, 1843, the momentous decision was carried into action. On that date the General Assembly met for the last time as the undivided Court of the Scottish Church. With odd coincidence, at the preceding levee at Holyrood, the portrait of William III fell with a crash and someone remarked: 'There goes the Revolution Settlement.' The event followed hard on the portent. After the opening prayer in the Assembly Hall, the retiring Moderator, instead of constituting the Assembly, read a document in name of more than two hundred ministers protesting against the invasion of the Church's rights and summoning those who supported him to proceed elsewhere to find the liberty denied them under the Establishment. Followed by more than four hundred ministers, over one-third of the parish and unendowed clergy of the whole Church, he passed from the Hall to another already prepared for their reception. By acclamation Dr Chalmers was called to the Moderatorship of the new Free Church of Scotland, whose first note of praise (Psalm xliii) bore a prayer of hope and confidence:

> Why art thou then cast down, my soul?
> What should discourage thee?
> And why with vexing thoughts art thou
> Disquieted in me?
> Still trust in God; for Him to praise
> Good cause I yet shall have:
> He of my count'nance is the health,
> My God that doth me save.

On May 23, 1843, 396 ministers and professors—a number subsequently expanded to 474—put their signatures to an Act of Separation which renounced all claim to the benefices they held under the Establishment.

* * * * * * *

The two large events detailed in this chapter are milestones in Scotland's history at which the narrator permissibly may fall out, while the procession of events presses on inexorably. The abolition of her archaic representative system in 1832 as significantly as the Union itself indicated Scotland's absorption into the United Kingdom and brought her distinctive political existence to an end. The Disruption of 1843, the last defiance of clerical Hildebrandism, behind which lurked the acrid controversies of three centuries, as patently marks a terminus.

Looking forward from these milestones, the period that severs them from the present was one of confirmation and correction. The political reform of 1832 was carried further by the Acts of 1867–68, which gave burghs the household and lodger franchise, reduced the owner and tenant qualifications to £5 and £14 respectively in the counties, and increased Scotland's representation from forty-five to sixty seats. The Acts of 1884–85 further extended the franchise and increased the sixty members to seventy-two. Under the recent (1918) Redistribution Act Scotland is represented by seventy-four in the Commons: her representative peers, as in 1707, are sixteen in number.

Of the other event the sequel is a process of correction rather than completion. Too late to preserve unity, the dismembered Establishment undid the Assembly's acts for the past nine years and petitioned for the repeal (1874) of the Patronage Act. Already in 1820 Burghers and Anti-Burghers had united in the United Secession Synod, which, in 1847, joined the Relief Synod to form the United Presbyterian Church. In 1900 that body united

with the Free Church of 1843 under the designation 'United Free Church of Scotland.' Its reunion with the Establishment from which its constituents broke off is now (1920) imminent. Irreconcilable congregations of the various secessions still exist. But elsewhere the process of harmonization is facilitated by the approximation of once divergent points of view.

INDEX

The larger divisions of the subject are indicated in the Chapter headings

A man's a man for a' that, 584
A wet Sheet and a flowing Sea, 585
Aberdeen, 47, 90, 97, 98, 211, 212, 271, 282, 296, 302, 333, 336, 339, 341, 342, 372, 373, 399, 426, 537, 541, 547, 558, 559, 560, 565, 576, 598, 607, 611
— George Gordon, 1st Earl of (d. 1720), 458
— George Hamilton, 4th Earl of (d. 1860), 624
— See of, 36, 154, 211
— Shire, 528
— University of, 96, 137, 592 f.
Abernethy, 23
Abjuration Oath (1684), the, 461, 531, 542
Aboyne, 375
Acadia, 309
Act, Alien (1705), 503, 505, 506
— Assertory (1669), 443, 481
— Black (1584), 254, 264
— Clan (1715), 537
— Classes (1648), the, 393 f., 404
— Conventicle (1663), 433; (1670), 445
— Corporation (repeal) (1828), 609
— Disarming (1716), 562; (1725), 549, 561; (1746), 561
— Episcopal Disqualifications (1748), 561
— Episcopal Meeting-houses (1746), 561
— Excise (1733), 522
— Feudal tenure (1747), 562
— Golden (1592), 265, 275
— Heritable Jurisdictions (1747), 562
— Highland Dress (1746), 561, 574
— Indemnity (1662), 429, 436; (1667), 440; (1685), 462
Act, Montgomery (1770), 577
— Pardon and Grace (1717), 543
— Pardon (1747), 562
— Patronage (1649), 427; (1662), 427; (1712), 522, 532, 613 f.
— anent Peace and War (1703), 501
— Peerage (1719), 545
— Reform (1832), 528
— Rescissory (1661), 425
— Revocation (1625), 316 f., 385
— Security (1704), 500 f., 518
— Septennial (1716), 542
— Settlement (1701), 291, 495, 498, 531, 542
— Test (1681), 446, 457, 458, 609
— Toleration (1712), 522, 531
— Treason (1709), 527
— Union (1707), 512 f.
— Yule Vacance (1712), 522, 532
Adam, Robert, 564
Adamson, Archbishop Patrick, 254
Admiralty, Commission of, 509
Æthelfrith, King of Bernicia, 11, 14
Afforestation, 568
Africa and the Indies, Company trading to, 489 f.
Agricola, G. Julius, 5 f.
Agriculture, 577 f.
Aidan, King of Dalriada, 14
Ailsa Craig, 282
Ainslie's Tavern, 226
Airds Moss, 455, 466
Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of (1748), 559
Alaric the Goth, 9
Alban, Kingdom of, 18 f., 22
Albanacht, 18
Albany, Robert Stewart, Duke of (d. 1420), 90 f.
— Murdoch, Duke of (d. 1425), 94, 99 f., 104

Albany, Alexander, Duke of (d. 1485), 130 f.
— John, Duke of (d. 1536), 153 f.
Albemarle, George Monk, 1st Duke of (d. 1670), 406 f.
Alberoni, Cardinal Giulio, 543
Alclyde, 11
Alexander I, King of Scotland, 27 f., 30
— II, King of Scotland, 47 f., 61
— III, King of Scotland, 21, 51 f.
— Prince of Scotland (d. 1284), 54
— Sir William, 309, 319, 325
Alford, 578
All the Talents Ministry, 605
Alloway, 583
Alnwick Castle, 43, 116
Alva, Fernando de Toledo, Duke of, 218, 229, 238
Alyth, 423
Amiens, Treaty of (1802), 603
Anabaptists, 388
Ancient League, 64, 102, 144, 150, 153 f., 178, 183 f., 204 f., 346
Anglo-Scottish relations, 19 f., 40 f., 56 f., 70 f., 90 f., 119 f., 125 f., 145 f., 153 f., 171 f., 197 f., 208, 230 f., 243 f., 293 f., 302 f., 347 f., 366 f., 400 f., 442 f., 472 f.
Angus MacFergus, King of the Picts, 17
— Gilbert, Earl of (d. 1381), 79
— George Douglas, 4th Earl of (d. 1463), 119, 120, 125, 127
— Archibald, 5th Earl of (d. 1513) (Bell-the-Cat), 131, 132, 140, 144, 154
— Archibald, 6th Earl of (d. 1557), 153 f., 171 f.
— Archibald, 8th Earl of (d. 1588), 218, 221, 245, 252, 256, 258, 259
— William, 10th Earl of (d. 1611), 265 f.
— Earldom of, 11
Anjou, Margaret of, Queen of England, 126 f.
Annan, 80
Annandale, Lordship of, 34, 85, 89, 115, 132
Anne, of Denmark, Queen of Scotland, 263, 276, 314
— Queen of Great Britain, 495 f., 521 f., 534
'Antediluvians,' the, 487
Anti-Burghers, 616, 627
Anti-Trinitarians, 388
Antinomians, 388
Antoninus Pius, Wall of, 7
Apocrypha, 328, 329
Apologetical Declaration and Admonitory Vindication, 460
Arbroath, 75, 77, 175, 375, 541
— Abbey, 180, 191
Archery, 109
Architecture, Scottish, 137
Ardkinglass Castle, 467
Ardnamurchan, 372
Ardoch, 8
Argyll, Colin Campbell, 1st Earl of (d. 1493), 139
— Colin, 3rd Earl of (d. 1529), 159
— Archibald, 4th Earl of (d. 1558), 164, 173, 187
— Archibald, 5th Earl of (d. 1573), 188, 193, 218, 219, 222, 224
— Archibald, 7th Earl of (d. 1638), 271 f.
— Archibald, 1st Marquess of (d. 1661), 347, 351, 356 f., 386 f., 429
— Archibald, 9th Earl of (d. 1685), 457, 465 f., 467
— John, 2nd Duke of (d. 1743), 505, 506, 515, 532, 534, 537 f., 545
— Archibald, 3rd Duke (d. 1761), 545, 548, 554, 567, 569
— John Douglas, 7th Duke of (d. 1847), 624
— See of, 54
— Sheriffdom, 50
Argyll's Rebellion, 465 f.
Armada, Spanish, 260
Arminians, 388
Armour, Jean, 584

Armstrong, John, of Gilnockie, 163
Arran, 73
— Thomas Boyd, Earl of (d. *c.* 1473), 129
— James Hamilton, 1st Earl of (d. 1529), 153 f.
— James, 2nd Earl of (d. 1575), *see* Châtellerault
— James, 3rd Earl of (d. 1609), 197, 205, 208, 210
— James Stewart, Earl of (d. 1596), 244, 250 f.
Articles, Committee of the, 84, 292, 303, 322, 427, 432, 479, 481
— of Grievances, 476, 479
Assembly, the General:
(1560), 202
(1562), 210
(1567), 227
(1572), 240
(1580), 254
(1581), 253
(1582), 246
(1590), 263
(1592), 265
(1596), 273, 275, 278
(1597), 281, 282
(1598), 283
(1601), 326
(1604), 296
(1605), 297
(1610), 300
(1616), 302, 326
(1618), 304, 327
(1638), 340
(1639), 345
(1642), 364
(1643), 368
(1653), 415
(1690), 482
(1788), 599
(1842), 625
(1843), 626
'Assurance' (1693), the, 488
Astley, Sir Jacob, 341
Atholl, Alan Durward, Earl of (d. 1268), 52 f.
— David, 10th Earl of (d. 1326), 79
Atholl, Walter Stewart, Earl of (d. 1437), 106
— John, 4th Earl of (d. 1578), 218, 222, 227
— John Murray, 1st Marquess of (d. 1703), 466, 475
— John, 1st Duke of (d. 1724), 500, 502, 515, 526, 536
— Earldom of, 11
Attacotti, 8
d'Aubigny, Sieur de, *see* Lennox, Esmé, Earl of
Auchterarder, 541, 620
Auld Robin Gray, 582
Ayr, 47, 147, 155, 459
—shire, 210, 274, 407, 437, 444, 459
Ayton Castle, 147

Babington, Anthony, 258
Bacon, Sir Nicholas, 233
Badenoch, 141, 541
— Wolf of, 92, 95
Baillie, Lady Grizel, 580
— Robert, 331, 337, 340, 344, 349, 356, 367, 378, 382, 391, 392, 394, 395, 404, 412, 422, 429
— General William, 374 f.
Balcarres, Colin Lindsay, 3rd Earl of (d. 1722), 473, 475
Balfour, Robert, 2nd Baron of Burleigh (d. 1663), 358, 372
— Robert, 225
Ballater, 578
Ballengeich, Goodman of, 163
Balliol, Bernard de, 32
— Edward, King of Scotland, 79 f.
— John, King of Scotland, 54 f.
Balmerino, John Elphinstone, 2nd Baron (d. 1649), 324
— Arthur, 6th Baron (d. 1746), 560
Banders, 357
Banffshire, 598
Barbour, Archdeacon John, 84
Barclay, Sir George, 497
— Hugh, of Ladyland, 282
Barebone's Parliament, 409
Barisdale estates, 568, 575

Barony, Courts of, 306
Barton, Andrew, 142, 149
Basel, Council of, 110
Basilikon Doron, 283, 285, 289, 290, 311
Battles and military engagements:
(1645) Alford, 376
(1093) Alnwick, 23
(1545) Ancrum Moor, 174
(1455) Arkinholm, 120
(1645) Auldearn, 375
(1314) Bannockburn, 74
(1322) Biland, 77
(1497) Blackheath, 147
(1704) Blenheim, 503
(1485) Bosworth Field, 144
(1679) Bothwell Bridge, 450
(937) Brunanburh, 19
(1567) Carberry Hill, 227
(1650) Carbisdale, 397, 402
(1018) Carham, 19
(613) Chester, 11
(1745) Clifton, 557
(1562) Corrichie, 212
(1690) Cromdale, 478
(1746) Culloden, 559
(1654) Dalnaspidal, 411
(1589) Dee, Bridge of, 263
(603) Degsastan, 14
(1743) Dettingen, 551
(1678) Drumclog, 448
(1296) Dunbar, 64
(1650) Dunbar, 400
(1689) Dunkeld, 478
(686) Dunnichen, 17
(1332) Dupplin Moor, 80
(1642) Edgehill, 365
(1298) Falkirk, 66
(1746) Falkirk, 558
(1513) Flodden, 151, 581, 582
(1745) Fontenoy, 553
Gladsmuir, *see* Prestonpans
(1594) Glenlivet, 271
(1594) Glenrinnes, 271
(1719) Glenshiel, 544
(1542) Hadden Rig, 168
(1333) Halidon Hill, 80
(1411) Harlaw, 96
(1402) Homildon Hill, 94
(1645) Inverlochy, 374
Battles and military engagements:
(1689) Killiecrankie, 478
(1645) Kilsyth, 370, 376
(1455) Langholm, 120
(1568) Langside, 228
(1263) Largs, 53
(1594) Leith, Raid of, 271
(1217) Lincoln Fair, 48
(1307) Loudon Hill, 73
(1644) Marston Moor, 369
(1306) Methven, 72
(84) Mons Graupius, 6
(1319) Mytton-on-Swale, 76
(1645) Naseby, 375
(686) Nectansmere, 17
(1402) Nesbit Muir, 94
(1346) Neville's Cross, 82
(1644) Newburn, 348
(1460) Northampton, 122
(1388) Otterburn, 90
(1718) Passaro, Cape, 543
(1645) Philiphaugh, 370, 377
(1547) Pinkie, 180
(1648) Preston, 391
(1715) Preston, 539
(1745) Prestonpans, 555, 581, 582
(1706) Ramillies, 519, 525
(1643) Roundway Down, 367
(1666) Rullion Green, 438
(1455) St Albans, 122
(1449) Sark, 116
(1488) Sauchie Burn, 135, 140
(1715) Sheriffmuir, 539
(1403) Shrewsbury, 94
(1542) Solway Moss, 169
(1138) Standard, 12, 31
(1297) Stirling, 66
(1487) Stoke, 144
(1461) Towton, 126
(1639) Turriff, 343
(1651) Worcester, 405
(1319) White Battle, 76
(655) Winwaed, 16
Barnard, Lady Anne, *see* Lindsay
Beaton, Cardinal David, 166f., 171f.
— Archbishop James, 154, 161, 166

Beattie, James, 564, 582, 583, 593
Beauchamp, Edward Seymour, Baron (d. 1612), 285
Beaumont, Henry de, 79
Belhaven, John Hamilton, 2nd Baron (d. 1708), 513, 516
Benedict XIII, Pope, 96
Bentham, Jeremy, 590
Bernicia, Kingdom of, 12 f.
Berwick, 38, 48, 49, 63, 64, 66, 74, 76, 82, 85, 96, 102, 122, 126, 132, 133, 146, 252, 258, 344, 503
— Pacification of (1639), 344
Bible, vernacular, 173, 188, 325
Binning, Thomas Hamilton, Baron (d. 1637), 307
Birgham, Council of (1290), 58 f.
Bishops' Curates, 434
— Drag-net, 433
— War, first, 341 f.
— — second, 347 f.
Bisset, Walter, 50
Black, David, 279, 280
— Joseph, 564
— Death, the, 82
— Parliament, the, 76
— Watch Regiment, 549
Blackburn, 460
Blackness, 135, 526
Blair Atholl, 372, 373, 478
Blanks, the Spanish, 266 f.
Blind Harry, 138
Blythesome Bridal, 579
Boece, Hector, 1, 114
Bolingbroke, Henry St John, 1st Viscount (d. 1751), 533 f., 569
Boniface VIII, Pope, 67
Bonnie Prince Charlie, 585
Boot, torture of the, 439
Borders, 308
Boston, Thomas, 613
Boswell, James, 564, 586
Bothwell, John Ramsay, Baron (d. 1513), 144
— Patrick Hepburn, 3rd Earl of (d. 1556), 164, 180
— James, 4th Earl of (d. 1578), 204, 218, 222, 223 f., 233
— Francis Stewart, 5th Earl of (d. 1612), 264 f., 270 f., 272
Bothwell Bridge Rising, 448 f.
Boulogne, Eustace Count of, 30
— Treaty of (1550), 182
Bourbon, Marie de, 165
Bower, Sir Robert, 168
Boyd, Robert, 1st Baron (d. 1469?), 128, 129
— Robert, 4th Baron (d. 1590), 218, 219
— Sir Alexander, 128, 129
— Thomas, yr. of Kilmarnock, 103
Braemar, 536
Brantôme, Pierre Abbé de, 206, 207
Braxfield, Robert Macqueen, Lord (d. 1799), 601 f.
Breadalbane, John Campbell, 1st Earl of (d. 1716), 486
Brechin, 375, 537
— Lordship of, 121
— See of, 36, 301
Breda, 397 f.
Bridge of Dee, 460
— of Doon, 437
Bristol, 367
Brittany, John of, 68
Brougham, Henry Peter, Baron (d. 1868), 595, 605
Broughty Castle, 180
Brown, John, 453
— — of Priesthill, 463
Brownists, 388
Bruce, Edward (d. 1318), 76
— Lady Marjorie (d. 1316), 76
— Nigel (d. 1306), 72
— Robert de (d. 1141), 32, 34
— Robert (d. ?1295), 51, 54 f.
Brude, King of the Picts, 12 f.
Buccleuch, Henry Scott, 3rd Duke of (d. 1812), 594
Buchan, Isabella Countess of, 72
— John Stewart, 1st Earl of (d. 1424), 97
— Major-General Thomas, 478
— herschip of, 73
Buchanan, George, 138, 225, 226, 249
Buck Club, 552
Buckingham, George Villiers, 2nd Duke of (d. 1687), 399, 461

Burgh, Hubert de, 46, 49
— on Sands, 73
Burghers, 616, 627
Burghley, William Cecil, Baron (d. 1598), 197 f., 208 f., 229 f.
Burgundy, Margaret, Duchess of, 144, 145
Burke, Edmund, 599
Burnet, Archbishop Alexander, 431, 440, 458
— Bishop Gilbert, 399, 419, 433, 436, 438, 440, 444, 446, 452, 458, 459, 461, 474, 477, 527
Burns, Robert, 56, 384, 564, 582, 583 f., 599
Burnt Candlemas, 82
Burntisland, 326
Bute, John Stewart, 3rd Earl of (d. 1792), 565, 567, 569 f.
Byng, Admiral Sir George, 527, 543
Byron, George Gordon, 6th Baron (d. 1824), 588

Caesar, Julius, 4
Caithness, See of, 36, 50, 284
Calder Moor, 93
Calderwood, David, 273, 280
Caledonian Mercury, 566
Calgácus, 6, 74
Callendar, James Livingstone, 1st Earl of (d. 1674?), 360
Caller Herrin, 585
Calvin, John, 191
Cambuskenneth Abbey, 36, 75, 79
Cambuslang, 616
Cameron, Archibald, 562
— Donald, of Lochiel, 550 f.
— Richard, 453 f.
Cameronians, 454 f.
Campbell, Colin, of Glendaruel, 544
— Sir Duncan, 466
— Principal George, 593
— Thomas, 564, 586
Camperdown, Adam Duncan, 1st Viscount of (d. 1804), 565
Campion, William, 245
Campvere, 142
Canal, Caledonian, 578
— Clyde-Forth, 568, 575, 578
Canal, Crinan, 575
— Union, 578
Canning, George, 609
Cannon, Colonel Alexander, 478
Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical (1636), 324, 341
Canterbury, Treaty of (1189), 45, 61
Carey, Sir Robert, *see* Monmouth, Earl of
Cargill, Donald, 453 f., 456
Carisbrooke Castle, 387
Carlisle, 23, 33, 41, 42, 45, 126, 127, 159, 370, 371, 390, 503, 556, 557, 560
Carlos, Don, 204, 214
Carlyle, Alexander, 617, 618
Carnwath, Robert Maxwell, 6th Earl of (d. 1737), 538 f.
Carpenter, George, Baron (d. 1732), 538 f.
Carron Iron Works, 577
Carsphairn, 460
Carstares, William, 480 f., 493, 514
Carthage, 4
Cartwright, Major John, 606
Casket Letters, the, 225, 227, 231 f.
Cassillis, Gilbert Kennedy, 3rd Earl of (d. 1558), 177
Cateau-Cambrésis, Treaty of (1559), 188, 195
Catechism, Archbishop Hamilton's (1551), 195
— (1616), 302
— Larger and Shorter (1648), 385
Catholic Emancipation, 573, 609, 618
Causes, Committee for, 84
Cavalier Party, 499 f.
Cecil, Sir Robert, *see* Salisbury, Earl of
— Sir William, *see* Burghley, Baron
Chalmers, Thomas, 620 f.
Chancellor, Office of, 37
Chapel Act (1834), 624
Chapman, Walter, 139
Charles I, King of Great Britain, 311 f., 353 f., 385 f., 394

Charles II, King of Great Britain, 394 f., 420 f., 452 f., 461
— V, Emperor, 158
— VI, Emperor, 550
— IX, King of France, 204, 214, 238
— X, King of France, 610
— XII, King of Sweden, 543
— Archduke, of Austria, 214
Charlie is my darling, 584
Charlotte, Queen of Great Britain, 564
Chaseabout Raid, the, 218
Châtellerault, James Hamilton, Duke of (d. 1575), 171 f., 208 f., 234 f.
Chatterton, Thomas, 580
Chester, Randulf, Earl of (d. 1153), 32
Chillingham Castle, 151
Christ's Kirk on the Green, 163
Christian I, King of Denmark, 129
Christianity, introduction of, 9, 12 f.
Cillachiumein, 549
Circuit Courts, 459
Clackmannan, 108
Claim of Right (1689), 476, 514
— (1842), 625
Clan Cameron, 373, 478, 544, 553, 555
— Campbell, 271, 373, 466, 537
— Chattan, 92
— Drummond, 537
— Farquharson, 373, 537
— Forbes, 271, 372
— Fraser, 372
— Gordon, 372, 375, 377, 537, 556
— Grant, 372, 374, 537, 556
— Kay, 92
— Macdonald, 97 f., 140, 307, 373, 376, 377, 410, 478, 486, 537, 553, 558
— Macdonell, 478, 487, 553
— Macgregor, 307, 537, 543, 544, 555, 562
— Mackenzie, 374, 544
— Mackinnon, 544
— Mackintosh, 537
— Maclean, 307, 478, 537
— Macleod, 307, 478, 558
Clan, Macpherson, 478, 556
— Murray, 537
— Robertson, 372, 537, 555
— Stewart, 372, 373, 478, 553
Clanranald, Ranald Macdonald, of, 544
Clarendon, Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of (d. 1674), 313, 348, 362, 422, 426, 439, 442
Claudius, Emperor, 5
Claverhouse, *see* Dundee, John Viscount
Cleanse the Causeway (1520), 158
Clement III, Pope, 44
Clerk, Sir John, of Penicuik, 581
Cley, 95
Clova, 403
Clydesdale, 390
Coaching, 565
Cochrane, Sir John, of Ochiltree, 465 f.
— Robert, *see* Mar, Earl of
Cockburn, Alison, *see* Rutherford
— Henry Thomas, Lord (d. 1854), 595, 597 f., 610
Cockermouth, 90
Cocklaws Tower, 94
Coinage, 110, 509
Coldingham Priory, 134
Colinton, 438
College of Justice, the, 142
Coltbridge, Canter of, 555
Colvill, Robert, 296
Come o'er the Stream, Charlie, 585
Commerce, 38, 142, 489 f., 498, 502, 523, 575 f.
Common Order, Book of, 202
Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland (1653), 410
Comyn, Alexander, Earl of Buchan (d. 1289), 57
— John (d. *c.* 1273), 67
— Sir John (d. 1303), 57 f., 70 f.
— Walter, Earl of Menteith (d. 1258), 52
Confession of Faith (1560), 199
— (1581), 335, 336
— (1616), 302
— (1647), 305, 421, 482, 488
Congregation, Lords of the, 194 f., 218

Constable of Scotland, 37
Constant Moderators, 299
Constantin II, King of Alban, 19
Conventicles, Field, 435 f., 444 f.
Conway, Edward, 2nd Viscount (d. 1655), 348
Cope, Sir John, 554 f.
Corriyarrick Pass, 549, 554
Cotton-mills, 577
Council of State (1655), 412
Council's Curates, 442
Counter-Reformation, 188, 195, 218, 229 f.
Court Party, 499 f.
Cousin, Victor, 591
Covenant (1557), the, 193
— (1638), 334 f.
— the King's (1638), 338
— Solemn League and (1643), 368 f.
Covenanters, 390 f., 421 f.
Coventry, 236
Craigellachie, 578
Craigmillar Castle, 131, 224, 225
Crail, 336, 425
— Court, 435
Crawar, Paul, 95, 110
Crawford, Alexander Lindsay, 4th Earl of (d. 1454), 118, 119
— David, 8th Earl of (d. 1542), 164
— Ludovick, 16th Earl of (d. 1652?), 360, 362
— John, 17th Earl of (d. 1678), 422
— William, 18th Earl of (d. 1698), 477
Cressingham, Hugh de, 64, 66
Crichton, Alexander, of Brunstane, 177
— Sir William, 112 f.
— Father William, 267
Crieff, 549
Cromwell, Henry, 414
— Oliver, 378, 386, 387, 390, 392, 397, 400 f., 413, 416 f.
— Richard, 413, 414
Culdees, 16, 28, 36
Cullen, William, 564
Cumberland, 19
Cumberland, William Augustus, Duke of (d. 1765), 555 f.
Cumbernauld Band, 356 f.
Cunningham, 34, 143, 390
— Allan, 584, 585
— Major, of Ecket, 516
Cupar, 278
Curia plena, 47
Customs and Excise, 254

Daily Council, 141
Dalkeith, 172, 245, 333, 407 f.
Dalnacardoch, 549
Dalriada, Kingdom of, 12 f., 17
Dalry, 437
Dalrymple, Sir James, 457
Dalwhinnie, 549, 554
Dalziel, Sir Thomas, of Binns, 436 f., 455
Darien colony, 489 f., 509
Darnley, Henry Stewart, Earl of (d. 1567), 215 f., 231
David I, King of Scotland, 22, 27, 28, 29 f.
— II, King of Scotland, 78 f., 89
— Prince (d. 1281), 54
Defence of the Right of Kings, 289
Defoe, Daniel, 463, 512, 519
Derby, 557
Derwentwater, James Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of (d. 1716), 538 f.
Directory of Public Worship, 385, 388
Discipline, First Book of, 200
— Second Book of, 253
Disinherited, the, 75, 78 f.
Dispensing power, the, 469
Dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies, 332
Doleman, *see* Parsons, Robert
Donald Bane, King of Scotland, 25 f., 62
— Dubh, 141
Douglas, William, 1st Earl of (d. 1384), 87, 89
— James, 2nd Earl of (d. 1388), 89 f.
— Archibald, 3rd Earl of (d. 1400), 92, 93, 120
— Archibald, 4th Earl of (d. 1424), 94, 96

Douglas, Archibald, 5th Earl of (d. 1439), 112, 113
— William, 6th Earl of (d. 1440), 114
— James, 7th Earl of (d. 1443), 115
— William, 8th Earl of (d. 1452), 115 f.
— James, 9th Earl of (d. 1455), 118 f., 127, 133, 134
— Lord David, 114
— Bishop Gavin, 138, 155
— Bishop George, 221
— Sir George, of Pittendreich, 156, 162, 172, 181
— Hugh, of Ormond, 116
— Sir James, 'the Good,' 72, 76, 88
— John, of Balvany, 126, 127
— Bishop John, 564
— Lady Margaret, 156, 215, 243
— William de, 88
— William 'Longleg,' Lord of, 88
— Sir William, 88
— Sir William, of Lochleven, *see* Morton, 6th or 7th Earl of
— William, of Whittinghame, 221
— Family of, 87 f.
— Wars, 239
Douglas: a Tragedy, 586, 618
Dover, Treaty of (1670), 445
Downie, Thomas, 602
Dreghorn, 614
Dreux, Joleta de, Queen of Scotland, 55
Drogheda, 398
Drumceatt Synod, 14
Drummond, John, 1st Baron (d. 1519), 156
— Sir Malcolm, 95
— Archbishop Robert Hay, 564
— William, of Hawthornden, 578
— William, 436
— estates, 568, 575
Dryburgh Abbey, 77, 175
Du Teillay, 553
Duine uasal, 37
Dumbarton Castle, 11, 104, 159, 181, 239, 243, 246, 436, 472, 526, 547
Dumfries, 71, 116, 218, 371, 437, 459, 515, 538, 584
— Synod of, 433, 434
Dunbar, 116, 197, 222, 226, 555
— William, 144, 148
Dunblane, See of, 36, 440
Duncan I, King of Scotland, 19, 21
— II, King of Scotland, 26
Dundalk, 77
Dundee, 73, 90, 175, 180, 190, 191, 194, 196, 270, 282, 283, 297, 332, 375, 471, 478, 537, 576, 600, 601, 603, 611
— John Graham, Viscount of (d. 1689), 448, 458, 460, 463 f., 471, 472 f., 478
Dundrennan Abbey, 36
Dunfermline, 21, 46, 67, 278, 616, 617
— Alexander Seton, 1st Earl of (d. 1622), 275, 278
Dunkeld, 17, 18, 374, 537, 549, 578
— See of, 28, 44, 213
Dunkirk, 526, 552
Dunnottar Castle, 406
Dunrobin Castle, 537
Duns, 89, 343
Dunscore, 584
Durham, 348, 371
— Treaties of (1136–39), 31, 32
Durie, John, 245, 246, 251
Durward, Alan, *see* Atholl, Earl of

Eadmer, Bishop of St Andrews, 29
Ecclesiastical affairs:
Early Christianity, 9
St Columba, 12 f.
St Augustine, 15
Whitby Synod, 15
St Margaret, 25 f.
Culdees, 16, 28, 36
Early bishoprics, 28, 36
David I, 36
Treaty of Falaise, 43
Papal protection, 44
Early heresy, 95, 110, 143
Henry VIII and reformation, 164 f., 171 f.
Cardinal Beaton, 166 f.

Ecclesiastical affairs:
George Wishart, 176
The Reformation, 188 f.
John Knox, 192 f.
The First Covenant, 193
Overthrow of Roman System, 200
Mary Stewart and the Church, 206 f.
Tulchan Episcopacy, 239 f., 242
Presbyterian Hildebrandism, 249 f., 278 f.
James VI and the Church, 253 f.
Black Acts, the, 254
Golden Act, the, 264
Assembly of 1596, 273 f.
James VI's victory, 280 f.
Attempted Anglo-Scottish uniformity, 290 f., 296 f.
Perth Assembly (1606), 298
Episcopacy restored, 300
Liturgy proposed, 302
Articles of Perth, 304
The Covenant, 315 f.
Laud's Liturgy, 325 f.
Glasgow Assembly (1638), 340 f.
Bishops' Wars, the, 342 f.
Solemn League and Covenant, 368 f.
Cromwell and the Church, 415 f.
Episcopacy restored, 424 f.
Sanquharians, the, 452 f.
Killing Time, the, 463 f.
James VII and the Roman Catholics, 469 f.
Revolution settlement, 480 f.
Non-Jurors, 487
Settlement in 1707, 497 f.
Greenshields' case, 530
Patronage Act (1712), 532
Episcopacy and the '15, 542
Episcopacy and the '45, 560 f.
Post-Union problems, 613 f.
The Disruption, 620 f.
Ecgfrith, King of Bernicia, 17
Edgar, King of Scotland, 23 f.
— Ætheling, 22
Edinburgh, 12, 19, 22, 38, 43, 90, 132, 133, 150, 158, 161, 174, 175, 197, 210, 218, 225, 227, 247, 262, 269, 273, 279, 280, 322, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 345, 357, 391, 392, 393, 397, 399, 404, 410, 416, 417, 438, 439, 450, 451, 455, 467, 468, 471, 472, 504, 506, 515, 518, 520, 527, 530, 533, 538, 546 f., 555, 558, 561, 565, 574, 576, 580, 582, 590, 594, 597, 598, 600, 602, 603, 609, 611, 616
— Castle, 25, 74, 81, 93, 112, 114, 121, 125, 128, 141, 239, 241, 266, 437, 468, 472 f., 526, 537
— See of, 323, 474
— Treaty of (1560), 198, 209, 238
— University of, 514, 594, 619
Edinburgh Review, 604
Edith (Matilda), Queen of England, 26, 30
Edmund, Prince of Cumbria, 26
Education, 84, 95, 122, 137, 189, 412
Edward I, King of England, 54 f.
— II King of England, 73 f.
— III, King of England, 79 f.
— IV, King of England, 125 f.
— Prince of Scotland (d. 1093), 23
Eguilles, Alexandre, Marquis d', 556
Eilean Dearg, 467
— Donan, 544
Elcho, David Wemyss, Lord (d. 1787), 556, 557
Elgin, 64, 92, 180, 374
Elizabeth, Queen of England, 197 f., 208 f., 229 f., 261 f., 286
— Mure, Queen of Scotland, 106
Ellerslie, 66
Elliot, Sir Gilbert, of Minto, 582
Ellisland, 584
Elphinstone, Bishop William, 154
Engagement (1647), 388 f.

Engagers, 389 f.
Episcopacy, 200, 283, 284, 299, 300, 301, 315, 323, 341, 427, 474, 480 f., 487 f., 530, 542, 560 f.
Equivalent (1707), 509, 511, 524, 526
Erections, Lords of, 318
Eric II, King of Norway, 54, 58, 61
Eriskay, 553
Errol, Francis Hay, 9th Earl of (d. 1631), 263 f.
Erskine, John, of Dun, 193
— Ebenezer, 615 f.
— Henry, 603, 605
— Ralph, 616
Eskdale, 132
Etal Castle, 151
Ettrick, 585, 613
— Forest, 120
Euphemia Ross, Queen of Scotland, 105
Evangelicals, 612 f.
Ewen, John, 582
Exchequer, Court of, 509, 524
Excise Bill (1733), 522
Eyemouth, 186

Fala Moor, 168
Falaise, Treaty of (1174), 43, 45, 49
Falconer, William, 586
Falkland Palace, 94, 121, 278, 283, 399
Familists, 388
Fast Castle, 96
Fergus Mor, 12
Ferguson, Adam, 595
— Robert, 465
Fergusson, Robert, 582, 583
Fetteresso, 540
Feu, Tenure in, 562
Feudalism, 33 f., 102
Fife, Duncan, Earl of (d. 1353), 72
— Robert, Duke of, *see* Albany
— Earldom of, 11, 121
—shire, 274, 300, 364, 447
— Synod of, 269
Fitz-Alan, Walter, 34
Fleming, Robert, 1st Baron (d. 1491), 128
Fleming, Malcolm, of Cumbernauld, 103
Fletcher, Andrew, of Saltoun, 501, 505, 513
Fleury, Cardinal André, 551
Florent V, Count of Holland, 62
Fold, 269
Fontainebleau, Treaty of (1745), 556
Football, 109
Forbes, Alexander, 4th Baron, of Pitsligo (d. *c.* 1491), 140
— Duncan, of Culloden, 534, 554, 558, 567, 580
— John, Master of (d. 1537), 167
— Bishop William, 323
Ford Castle, 150, 151
Fordyce, Sir William, 564
Forfeited Estates' Commission, 542, 560, 568, 574, 578
Forster, Thomas, 538 f.
Fort Augustus, 549, 554, 559, 560
— George, 549
— William, 487, 549, 559, 560
Fotheringay Castle, 132, 259
Foul Raid, 96
Foulden Church, 256
Four Bills (1647), 387
Francis I, King of France, 155, 161, 184
— II, King of France, 187, 203
Franco-Scottish relations, 64, 102, 144, 150, 153 f., 175, 179, 181, 183 f., 204 f., 229 f., 346
Fraser, Bishop William, 57 f.
Frederick, Prince of Wales (d. 1751), 569
— II, King of Prussia, 553, 562
Free Church of Scotland, 626 f.
French Revolution, 599 f.
Frew, Fords of, 555
Friends of the People, 600 f.
Fyvie, 8

Gaberlunzie Man, The, 163
Gairney Bridge, 615
Galightly, Patrick, 61
Galloway, Lady Margaret Douglas of (d. *c.* 1476), 115, 116, 119
— Lordship of, 32, 41, 43, 46, 50, 63, 68, 80, 89, 115, 116, 120

Galloway, See of, 36, 44, 301, 332
— Synod of, 433
Galt, John, 597, 614
Garrick, David, 586
Gathelus, 1 f.
Geddes, Jenny, 331
Gelasius, Pope, 291
George I, King of Great Britain, 532 f.
— II, King of Great Britain, 544, 551, 569
— III, King of Great Britain, 569 f., 584
— IV, King of Great Britain, 559, 589, 609
Gerrald, Joseph, 602
Ghent, John of, Duke of Lancaster, 89
Gibbites, 453
Gillespie, George, 332
— Thomas, 617
Glamis, Jonet, Lady (d. 1537), 167
— Sir Thomas Lyon, Master of (d. 1608), 251, 252, 256, 258
Glasgow, 225, 300, 331, 339, 376, 439, 449, 473, 506, 515, 546, 547, 557, 565, 568, 571, 574, 575, 578, 606, 611, 616
— See of, 28, 57, 72, 142, 154, 225, 300, 301, 431, 445
— University of, 96, 122, 253, 590 f., 600, 613
— and Ayr, Synod of, 433
Glenalmond, 549
Glencairn, William Cunningham, 4th Earl of (d. 1547), 180
— Alexander, 5th Earl of (d. 1574), 193, 218, 219, 221, 222
— William, 9th Earl of (d. 1664), 411, 416, 422 f., 425 f.
— Rising (1654), 411
Glencoe Massacre, 486 f.
Glenfinnan, 553
Gloucester, William, Duke of (d. 1700), 495
God and the King, 302
Godolphin, Sidney, 1st Earl of (d. 1712), 529
Goidels, 10 f.
Gordon, George, 1st Duke of (d. 1716), 468, 473, 527, 536
Gordon, Alexander, 2nd Duke of (d. 1728), 536, 539
— General Alexander, of Auchintoul, 541, 550
— Lady Catharine (d. 1537), 146
— George, Lord (d. 1645), 375, 376
— Lord George (d. 1793), 574
— Father James, 269, 270, 282
— Sir John, 211, 212
— John, of Glenbucket, 550
— Lord Lewis, 558
— Sir Patrick, of Auchindoune, 266 f.
— Castle, 537
Görtz, George Henrik, Baron, 543
Govan, William, 429
Gowrie, William Ruthven, 1st Earl of (d. 1584), 221, 224, 246, 251, 252
— John, 3rd Earl of (d. 1600), 284
Graham, David, of Fintry, 266 f.
— Sir Patrick, of Dundaff, 104
— Sir Robert, 104, 106, 107
Grahame's Dyke, 7
Gray, Patrick, 6th Baron (d. 1612), 256 f.
Great Britain, assumption of style, 295
Great St Michael, the, 142, 149
Great Seal, 509
Green, Captain Thomas, 504
Greenock, 466, 611
Greenshields, James, 530
Greenwich, Treaty of (1543), 173, 174, 175
Gregory IX, Pope, 49
— XIII, Pope, 250
Grey, Charles, 2nd Earl (d. 1845), 610
Grievances, Commission of, 316
Guildford, Frederick North, 2nd Earl of (d. 1792), 571, 572
Guise, Claude, Duke of (d. 1550), 184, 210
— Francis, Duke of (d. 1563), 184
— Louis, Cardinal of, 184
— family of, 183, 229, 245

Guthrie, James, 423, 429
Gyllenborg, Carl, Count, 543

Habbie Simson, 579
Hackston, David, of Rathillet, 455
Haco, King of Norway, 53
Haddington, 176, 181
Hadrian, Emperor, 7, 8
— Wall, 7, 8
Haldane, James, 619
— Robert, 619
Hamilton, 516
— Lord Archibald, 608
— James, 1st Baron (d. 1479), 130
— James, 1st Duke of (d. 1649), 337 f., 360 f., 387 f., 391
— William, 2nd Duke of (d. 1651), 371, 376, 387 f.
— William, 3rd Duke of (d. 1694), 446, 475, 481
— James, 4th Duke of (d. 1712), 497 f., 525 f., 528
— James, of Bothwellhaugh, 237
— Archbishop John, 173, 195, 213, 224, 237, 239
— Abbot Patrick, 162, 167, 190
— Robert, 449
— William, of Bangour, 581
— Declaration (1679), 449
— Palace, 157, 238
Hampden, John, 363
— Club, 606
Hampton Court, 234
Harbottle Castle, 156
Hardyknute, 579
Hastings, John, 61 f.
Hawick, 577, 610
Hawley, Lieut.-General Henry, 558
Hay, Bishop George, 574
— William, 550
Hebrides, 17, 53, 54; *see* Western Isles
Hemecus, 2
Henderson, Alexander, 332, 335, 349, 351, 358, 366, 381
Henrietta Maria, Queen of Great Britain, 366, 380, 381, 387
Henry, Prince of Scotland (d. 1152), 32
Henry, Prince of Scotland (d 1612), 272, 283, 289, 311
— I, King of England, 26
— II, King of England, 32 f., 41
— III, King of England, 48 f.
— VI, King of England, 126 f.
— VII, King of England, 134, 143 f.
— VIII, King of England, 149, 153 f., 171 f.
— II, King of France, 181, 184, 187, 188, 197
— III, King of France, 238
— IV, King of France, 257
Henryson, Robert, 138
Hepburn, Prior John, 155
— Patrick, 139
Hereford, 370
Heretics, 95, 110, 143, 162, 167, 190, 194
Heritable Jurisdictions, 562
Hermitage Castle, 144
Hey, Johnie Cope, 582
Hiber, 2
High Commission, Court of, 300, 324, 435
Highland Host, the (1678), 447
Highlands and Islands, 17, 35, 51, 53, 54, 92, 96, 105, 129, 140, 307, 372 f., 406, 410, 477, 549 f., 561, 568
Hogg, James, 585
Hohenlinden, 586
Holdenby, 384, 386
Holt, Father William, 245
Holy Island, 256
— League, the, 257
Holyrood Abbey, 36, 41, 129, 133, 148, 174, 186, 207, 221, 264, 270, 286, 303, 324, 361, 469, 473, 555, 589, 610, 626
Home, Alexander, 2nd Baron (d. 1506), 134, 139
— Alexander, 3rd Baron (d. 1516), 155, 156
— John, 571, 586, 617
— Sir Patrick, of Polwarth, 465 f.
Hommyle, James, 124
Hooke, Colonel Nathaniel, 525 f.
Hope, Sir Thomas, 335
Horner, Francis, 605

Hotham, Sir John, 363
Howat, Peter, 327
Hull, 363, 503
Humble Petition and Advice, 413
Hume, David, 564, 591, 593
Humphrey Clinker, 586
Hunsdon, Henry Carey, 1st Baron (d. 1596), 256
Hunt, Henry, 606
Hunter, John, 564
— William, 564
Huntingdon, David, Earl of (d. 1219), 43, 51, 61 f.
— Earldom of, 31 f., 41, 42
Huntly, Alexander Gordon, 1st Earl of (d. 1470), 119
— Alexander, 2nd Earl of (d. 1524), 159
— George, 4th Earl of (d. 1562), 173, 178, 180, 185, 187, 205, 211 f.
— George, 5th Earl of (d. 1576), 218, 222, 224, 234, 235, 239, 241
— George, 1st Marquess of (d. 1636), 247, 258, 261 f.
— George, 2nd Marquess of (d. 1649), 341 f., 374
Hutcheson, Frances, 590, 593
Hutton, James, 564

Icolmkill, Statutes of (1609), 307
Ida, King of Bernicia, 12
Inchcolm, 28, 180
Inchkeith, 180
Inchmahome, 181
Incident, the, 360 f.
Independence, War of, 56 f.
— American War of, 571
Independents, 388
Indulgence, First (1669), 441
— Second (1672), 445
— Third (1679), 450
— (1687), 470, 471
Industry, 575 f.
Inquisition, the, 229
Instrument of Government, 410
Intercommuning, Letters of, 447
Inveraray, 364, 466, 538
Inveravon, 120
Inveresk, 617
Inverkeithing, 404
Inverlochy, 411
Inverness, 47, 81, 105, 121, 212, 411, 537, 544, 549, 559, 576, 607
—shire, 534
Iona, 12 f., 17
Ireland, 2, 6, 76, 363, 369, 397, 409 f., 414, 426
Irongray, 435
Irvine, 66, 88, 624
Isles, Lord of the, John (d. 1387), 97
— Donald (d. 1423), 97
— Alexander (d. 1449), 105
— John (d. 1498), 97, 127, 130, 140

Jacobitism, 497, 499, 502, 522 f., 533 f., 550 f., 568
James I, King of Scotland, 95, 99 f.
— II, King of Scotland, 112 f.
— III, King of Scotland, 124 f.
— IV, King of Scotland, 134, 135, 136 f.
— V, King of Scotland, 153 f.
— VI and I, King of Great Britain, 223, 225, 227, 231, 235, 239, 243 f., 261 f., 287 f., 310
— VII and II, King of Great Britain, 446, 450, 454, 455, 456, 460, 461 f.
Jedburgh Abbey, 36, 90, 96, 175, 611
Jeddart Justice, 308
Jeffrey, Francis, Lord (d. 1850), 605, 611
Jesus, Society of, 229, 245
Joan Beaufort, Queen of Scotland, 99 f., 112 f., 133
— Plantagenet, Queen of Scotland, 49
Joanna, Queen of Scotland, 78
John, King of England, 45 f.
— XXII, Pope, 77
— Don, of Austria, 241
Johnson, Dr Samuel, 563, 565, 568, 574, 576, 577, 586, 590, 594
Johnston, Archibald, of Warriston, 335, 425, 429

Joyce, Cornet George, 386
Jugement del pais, 38
Justice-Ayres, 38, 306,
Justices of the Peace, 306, 412, 524
Justiciary, 37

Kant, Immanuel, 591
Keith, 376
— Marshal James Francis Edward, 544
Kelso, 52, 186, 538
— Abbey, 36, 125, 168, 175
Kendal, 539
Kenmure, John Gordon, 1st Viscount (d. 1634), 538 f.
Kennedy, Gilbert, 1st Baron (d. *c.* 1479), 128
— Bishop James, 116, 123, 125 f.
— Walter, 138
Kenneth II, King of Alban, 19
Ker, George, 266 f.
— John, of Kersland, 526
Kildrummy Castle, 72, 98, 536
Killing Time, 463 f.
Kilmarnock, 577
— William Boyd, 4th Earl of (d. 1746), 560
Kincardine, Alexander Bruce, 2nd Earl of (d. 1681), 440, 444
King's Curates, 442
Kinghorn, 55
Kingis Quair, 101
Kinloss Abbey, 36, 286
Kinnoull, Thomas Robert Hay, 11th Earl of (d. 1866), 622
Kinross, 53
— shire, 108
Kintyre, 466
Kirk o' Field, 225
Kirkcaldy, 593, 594
— Sir James, of Grange, 177
— Sir William, of Grange, 177, 212, 214, 218, 221, 237, 239, 241
Kirkcudbright, 458, 460
Kirkpatrick, 435
Kirkwall, 398, 466
Knollys, Sir Francis, 230
Knox, Andrew, 265
— John, 176, 178, 179, 182, 190, 191 f., 206 f., 227, 237, 240, 241, 620
Knox's Liturgy, 202, 302, 327
Kyle, 34, 143, 396

Lambert, General John, 392, 407
Lamberton, Bishop William, 67, 70 f.
Lanark, 438, 439, 458, 577, 598
Land tax, 509
Lanercost Priory, 73
Lauchlison, Margaret, 463
Laud, Archbishop William, 303, 321 f., 349
— Liturgy, 302, 321 f., 325 f., 341
Lauderdale, John Maitland, Duke of (d. 1682), 387, 399, 423 f., 451, 455
— James, 8th Earl of (d. 1839), 605
— Elizabeth Murray, Duchess of (d. 1697), 444
Law, William, of Lauriston, 489
Legalists, 613 f.
Leicester, Robert Dudley, Earl of (d. 1588), 215 f.
Leighton, Archbishop Robert, 440 452
Leith, 180, 190, 198, 352, 359, 554
Lennox, Duncan de Faslane, 8th Earl of (d. 1425), 104
— John Stewart, 1st Earl of (d. 1495,)140
— John, 3rd Earl of (d. 1526), 161, 162
— Matthew, 4th Earl of (d. 1571), 173 f., 215 f., 238
— Charles, 6th Earl of (d. 1576), 235, 243
— Robert, 7th Earl of (d. 1586), 243
— Esmé, 1st Duke of (d. 1583), 243 f., 247
— Ludovick, 2nd Duke of (d. 1624), 251, 256, 272, 332
— Margaret Douglas, Countess of (d. 1578), 156, 175
— Earldom of, 11, 104
Leslie, Bishop John, 185, 205, 211
— Sir John, 564, 619
— Norman, 177 f.
Lethendy, 623

Leuchars, 332
Leven, Alexander Leslie, 1st Earl of (d. 1661), 342 f., 360, 362, 369 f., 385, 391, 400
Libertines, 388
Liddesdale, 144, 236
Limerick, Treaty of (1691), 486
Lincluden College, 126
Lindisfarne, 15
Lindores Abbey, 120, 134, 175
Lindsay, Lady Anne, 582
— James, 7th Baron (d. 1601), 207, 212, 218, 221
— John, 1st Earl of (d. 1678), 375
Linen, duty on, 532
— manufacture, 576
Linlithgow, 128, 150, 332, 430
— Palace, 174, 237, 299, 334
—shire, 528
Lion, H.M.S., 553
Literature, 84, 564, 578 f.
Little daft Parliament, 409
Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, 2nd Earl of (d. 1828), 608
Livingstone, Sir Alexander, of Callendar, 113 f.
Lochalsh, Alexander of, 141
Lochiel, John Cameron, of, 544
Lochleven, 227, 228, 235, 236, 252
Lochmaben, 85, 132, 134
Loch-nan-Uamh, 553, 559
Loch Trool, 73
Lockhart, George, of Carnwath, 505, 506, 518, 520, 522, 524, 527, 545
Logan, John, 582
Lollardy, 95, 143, 190, 191
Lollius Urbicus, 7
London, Fire of, 437
Long Parliament, 349 f., 367 f., 406 f., 414
Lorraine, Anthony, Duke of (d. 1544), 183
— Charles, Cardinal of, 184
— John, Cardinal of, 184, 214
Lothian, 19, 27, 68, 80, 274, 300, 364
Loudoun, John Campbell, 1st Earl of (d. 1663), 323, 335, 346, 359, 360, 364, 366, 387, 391, 393
Louis VII, King of France, 43
— XI, King of France, 102, 127, 131
— XII, King of France, 155
— XIV, King of France, 525, 535
— XV, King of France, 551, 552, 556
Lovat, Simon Fraser, 12th Baron (d. 1747), 502, 540, 550, 554, 560
— estates, 568, 575
Ludlow, Edmund, 311
Lyle, Robert, 2nd Baron (d. 1497?), 140
Lyndsay, Sir David, 163, 578

MacAlpin, Kenneth, King of Alban, 17
Macbeth, King of Alban, 21, 25
McCrie, Thomas, 620
Macdonald, Alastair, 372, 377
— Alexander, of Glencoe, 553
— Alexander, of Keppoch, 553
— Ranald, of Clanranald, 553
Macdonell, Donald, of Lochgarry, 550, 553
— John, of Glengarry, 550, 553
Macgregor, William, of Balhaldies, 550 f.
MacHeth, Donald, 41
— Kenneth, 50
— Malcolm, 41
McKail, Hugh, 439
Mackay, General Hugh, of Scourie, 477, 549
Mackenzie, Sir George, of Rosehaugh, 455, 470, 475
Mackintosh, Sir James, 595, 599
— Brigadier William, of Borlum, 538 f.
McLachlan, Margaret, 463
MacLellan, Sir Patrick, of Bombie, 118
Macpherson, James (Ossian), 564, 579
— Sir John, 565
McWard, Robert, 453, 454
MacWilliam, Donald, 46, 50
Madeleine of Valois, Queen of Scotland, 166

Maer, the, 37
Maggie Lauder, 579
Magna Carta of the Church of Scotland, 265, 275
Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, 27
Magus Muir, 448
Maitland, John, of Thirlestane, 1st Baron (d. 1595), 270, 275
— William, of Lethington, 193, 197 f., 206 f., 229 f., 241
Malcolm I, King of Alban, 19
— II, King of Scotland, 19
— III, Canmore, King of Scotland, 22 f.
— IV, King of Scotland, 41 f.
Mallet, David, 586
Malloch, David, 586
Malory, Sir Thomas, 312
Malt duty, 509, 518, 522, 532, 546
Man, Isle of, 53
Manchester, 557
— Regiment, 557
Mannan, 14
Mansfield, William Murray, 1st Earl of (d. 1793), 564
Mar, Donald, 12th Earl of (d. 1332), 80
— Alexander Stewart, Earl of (d. 1435), 95, 98, 105
— John, Earl of (d. 1479), 130 f.
— Robert Cochrane, Earl of (d. 1482), 124
— John Erskine, 1st Earl of (d. 1572), 239
— John, 2nd Earl of (d. 1634), 251, 252, 256, 258, 285, 286
— John, 6th Earl of (d. 1732), 508, 521, 532, 534, 536 f.
Marchmont, Patrick Hume, 1st Earl (d. 1724), 517
Margaret, Queen of Scotland (d. 1093), 22 f.
— — (d. 1275), 51
— — (d. 1290), 54 f.
— — (d. 1486), 129
— — (d. 1541), 148, 153 f., 168
— Queen of Norway (d. 1283), 53, 54
Margarot, Maurice, 602
Marie de Coucy, Queen of Scotland, 50, 53
Marischal, William Keith, 3rd Earl (d. 1527), 140
— William, 7th Earl (d. 1661), 343, 347
— George, 10th Earl (d. 1778), 543 f., 552
Marlborough, John Churchill, 1st Duke of (d. 1722), 525, 526, 586
— Sarah, Duchess of (d. 1744), 529, 533
Marmion, 588
Marnoch, 623
Marrow Controversy, 613
Mary, Queen of Scotland, 171 f., 183 f., 204 f., 259
— of Gueldres, Queen of Scotland, 116, 125, 127, 128
— of Guise, Queen of Scotland, 166, 171 f., 183 f.
— I, Queen of England, 186, 191, 195
— II, Queen of Great Britain, 475
Masham, Abigail, Lady (d. 1734), 533
Matignon, Maréchal de, 527
Matilda, Queen of England, 31 f.
Mauchline, 390, 583, 584
Mazarin, Cardinal Jules, 379, 384
Mealmaker, George, 603
Meatae, 7, 8
Medici, Catharine de', 214, 238
Melfort, John Drummond, 1st Earl of (d. 1714), 467, 475
Melrose Abbey, 30, 36, 175
Melville, George, 1st Earl of (d. 1707), 477, 481
— Andrew, 242, 249, 251, 252, 253, 271, 278, 283, 298, 620
— Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount (d. 1811), 569, 572 f., 593, 599 f., 605
— Sir James, 215, 216, 223
— James, 271, 298
Menteith, Earldom of, 11
Merse, 447
Methven, Henry Stewart, Baron (d. 1551?), 161, 162
Mickle, William Julius, 582, 586
Middle Shires, 308

Middleton, John, 1st Earl of (d. 1674), 422, 429, 430
Militia, 424, 443, 446, 449, 568, 603 f.
Mill, Walter, 194
Millar, Andrew, 139
Milton, John, 312, 364
Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, 580, 587
Mitchell, Sir Andrew, 565
— James, 441, 448
Moderates, 613 f.
Monmouth, Robert Carey, 1st Earl of (d. 1639), 286
— James Scott, Duke of (d. 1685), 395, 450 f., 465 f.
Mons Meg, 120
Montalembert, André de, 181
Montgomerie, Alexander, 249
Montgomery, Sir James, of Skelmorlie, 477, 480 f.
— Lorges de, 175
Montreuil, Jean de, 379 f., 390
Montrose, 190, 196, 251, 537, 541, 607
— John Graham, 3rd Earl of (d. 1608), 263
— James, 1st Marquess of (d. 1650), 334, 342, 346, 351, 353 f., 371 f., 395 f.
Moray, James Stewart, 1st Earl of (d. 1544), 164
— James Stewart, 1st Earl of (d. 1570), 173, 188, 193, 203 f., 229 f., 237
— James, 2nd Earl of (d. 1592), 264
— Alexander, 4th Earl of (d. 1701), 468
— Andrew de, 66
— Sir Robert, 439 f., 444
— Earldom of, 11, 21, 35, 41, 46, 50, 211
— See of, 28, 322
—shire, 408
— Synod of, 623
Mormaers, Council of, 37, 60
Morpeth, 372
Morton, James Douglas, 4th Earl of (d. 1581), 218, 221, 224, 225, 232, 239, 241 f., 244, 252
Morton, William, 6th or 7th Earl of (d. 1606), 221, 227
— William, 7th or 8th Earl of (d. 1650), 359
Mossgiel, 583
Muir, Thomas, 600, 601
Munro, Sir Hector, 565
Murray, Lord George, 558 f.
— General James, 565
— John, of Broughton, 552, 554

Nairne, Carolina Oliphant, Baroness (d. 1845), 584
Nantes, Edict of, 467
National Debt (1707), 508
Navigation Act, 442, 489, 490, 499
Nectan, King of the Picts, 16
Negative Confession (1581), 335
Neolithic Race, the, 3
New Lights, 616
— Machar, 617
— Model, the, 370, 378, 379, 380, 382, 386, 388
— Party, 505
Newark, 369, 371, 380, 381
— David Leslie, Baron (d. 1682), 370, 377, 385, 391, 400 f.
Newbattle Abbey, 36
Newcastle-on-Tyne, 23, 343, 348, 352, 369 f., 381, 384, 385, 503
— William Cavendish, Duke of (d. 1676), 369, 371
— Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st Duke of (d. 1768), 551, 570
— Treaty of (1244), 50
Newspapers, 565
Newstead, 9
Nithsdale, William Maxwell, 5th Earl of (d. 1744), 538 f.
Non-Intrusion Controversy, 620 f.
Norfolk, Roger Bigod, 4th Earl of (d. 1270), 46
— Thomas Howard, 2nd Duke of (d. 1524), 147, 150 f.
— Thomas, 3rd Duke of (d. 1554), 159, 168
— Thomas, 4th Duke of (d. 1572), 198, 233 f., 241
Norham Castle, 60, 63, 147, 150
Normandykes, 8
Norsemen, 17

Northampton, Council of (1176), 43
— Earldom of, 31 f.
— Treaty of (1328), 78, 79
Northumberland, Siward, Earl of (d. 1055), 30, 32
— Earldom of, 5, 41, 45, 48
Nova Scotia, 309

Ochiltree, Andrew Stewart, 2nd Baron (d. 1598), 218, 219
Octavians, 275 f.
Ogilvie, John, of Pourie, 276
Old Lights, 616
Orange, William Prince of (d. 1650), 229, 256, 267
Orkney, 129, 272, 308, 397
— Henry Sinclair, 2nd Earl of (d. 1418), 95
— Earldom of, 308
— See of, 441
Orleans, Philip, Duke of (d. 1723), 535
Ormesby, William, 64
Ormonde, James Butler, 1st Duke of (d. 1688), 426
— James, 2nd Duke of (d. 1745), 533 f.
Oswald, King of Bernicia, 15
Oswy, King of Bernicia, 15, 16
Otto IV, Emperor, 45
Oxford, 366, 371, 372, 379
— Robert Harley, 1st Earl of (d. 1724), 529, 534
Oyzel, Henri Sieur d', 185

Paine, Thomas, 601
Paisley, 575, 577, 607, 611
— Abbey, 86, 173, 265
Palmer, Thomas Fyshe, 601
Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount (d. 1865), 595
Parchment Barons, 598
Paris, Treaty of (1763), 570
Parliament:
(1326), 79, 108
(1364), 83
(1367), 83
(1397), 92
(1425), 103
(1427), 105, 108
Parliament:
(1439), 113
(1452), 119
(1455), 120
(1466), 128
(1482), 133
(1513–14), 155
(1522), 158
(1525), 161, 190
(1528), 162
(1540), 190
(1543), 172, 174
(1546), 178
(1548), 181
(1555), 186
(1558), 187
(1560), 199
(1567), 226
(1569), 235
(1571), 239
(1584), 254
(1587), 260
(1592), 264, 301, 482
(1593), 270
(1596), 278
(1607), 292, 296
(1612), 301
(1621), 305
(1639), 346
(1641), 358, 361
(1643), 367, 368, 369
(1645), 374
(1648), 390
(1649), 393, 394, 427
(1650), 403
(1661), 424
(1662), 427
(1663), 431
(1669), 442
(1670), 445
(1681), 456
(1685), 464
(1686), 468
(1689), 474, 475, 479
(1702), 497
(1703–07), 499 f.
Parliament, the United:
(1653), 409
(1654), 411
(1656), 412
(1659), 413

Parliament, the United:
(1707), 524
(1708), 527, 528
(1710), 529
(1712), 531
— franchise, 566, 597
— reform, 596 f., 627
Parma, Alexander Farnese, Duke of, 245, 263
Parsons, Robert, 245, 276 f.
Paterson, William, 490
Paul III, Pope, 166
Peel, Sir Robert, 609, 625
Peerage, 528
Pembroke, Aymer de Valence, Earl of (d. 1324), 72
Penda, King of Mercia, 16
Pentland Muir, 119
— Rising, 437 f.
Percy, Sir Henry, 90, 94
— Thomas, 580
Peregrine Pickle, 586
Perth, 42, 47, 66, 80, 81, 90, 92, 103, 107, 110, 196, 235, 269, 281, 284, 298, 304, 373, 375, 376, 402, 405, 411, 537 f., 555, 560, 611, 616
— James Drummond, 4th Earl of (d. 1716), 467
— James, 3rd titular Duke of (d. 1747), 550, 555
— John, 4th titular Duke of (d. 1747), 558
— Articles of, 302 f., 314, 318, 321, 327, 341, 428
—shire, 300, 447
— and Stirling, Synod of, 615
Peterhead, 540
Peterloo Massacre, 606
Philip II, King of Spain, 182, 197, 214, 219, 220, 229 f., 261 f.
Philosophy, Scottish, 589 f.
Picts, 2, 8, 9, 10 f., 16 f.
Pilgrimage of Grace, the, 167
Pitscottie, Robert Lindsay of, 124, 130, 133, 135, 150, 160, 162
Pitt, William, 563, 599, 605
Pittenweem, 547
Pius V, Pope, 229, 237
Pleas of the Crown, 38
Plotters, 356
Poictiers, Diane de, 184
Poker Club, 569
'Popes,' Presbyterian, 281
Population, 575
Porteous, Captain John, 548
Post, Letter, 565
Post-nati, 296
Prayer-book, Edward VI's (1552), 194, 202, 326
— Howat's (1617), 327
— Laud's (1637), 325
Presbyteries, institution of, 253
Preston, 557
Pride's Purge, 393
Pringle, — 263, 267
Printing press, 139
Privy Council, the, 315, 316, 317, 318, 325, 331, 333, 337, 354, 359, 364, 365, 424, 427, 433, 441, 445, 455, 456, 461, 479, 509, 524
Propositions, the Nineteen, 382
Protesters, 391 f., 403 f., 421 f.
Psalms, Sternhold-Hopkins (1561), 325, 341
— James VI—Alexander (1637), 325
— Rous (1650), 385
Pym, John, 363

Quadruple Alliance (1720), 522
Queensberry, William Douglas, 1st Duke of (d. 1695), 458, 460, 468
— James, 2nd Duke (d. 1711), 499 f., 512, 515, 519, 525, 526, 528
— Plot (1703), 502

Radical War, 607
Raedykes, 8
Ragman Roll, the, 64, 65
Ramsay, Allan, 576, 580, 581
— Allan, junior, 564
Randolph, Sir Thomas, 76, 79, 80
— Thomas, 214 f.
Rattray, 377
Red Castle, 121
Reform, burgh, 607 f.
— county, 608
— Parliamentary, 596 f., 627

Reid, Thomas, 564, 592, 599, 616
Reidswire, Raid of, 242, 243
Relief Church, 617, 627
Remonstrants, 403 f., 415, 421 f.
Renaissance, 136
Renfrew, 41
—shire, 407
Renwick, James, 460 f., 471
Resby, John, 95
Resolutioners, 403 f., 415, 421 f.
Revolution settlement, 475 f.
Richard I, King of England, 44
— II, King of England, 89
— III, King of England, 132
Richmond, Alexander, 606
Ridolfi, Roberto, 238 f.
Ripon, Treaty of (1640), 349
Rising of 1715, 536 f.
— 1719, 544
— 1745, 553 f.
Rizzio, David, 208, 213, 220, 221, 224, 231
— Joseph, 222
Roads, 549, 578
Robert I, King of Scotland, 66 f., 70 f., 181
—II, King of Scotland, 81, 82, 86 f.
— III, King of Scotland, 91 f.
Robertson, Principal William, 564, 574, 599, 617
Roderick Random, 586
Roebuck, John, 577
Roger, William, 124
Rolliad, 572
Rose, Bishop Alexander, 474
Ross, Euphemia, Countess of (d. *c.* 1395), 97
— John Macdonald, 11th Earl of (d. 1498), 116
— James Stewart, Duke of (d. 1504), 143
— Earldom of, 46, 97, 105, 130, 140, 217
— See of, 36, 205, 284
Rothes, Andrew Leslie, 5th Earl of (d. 1611), 218, 219, 221
— John, 1st Duke of (d. 1681), 422, 425, 431 f., 439, 455
Rothesay, 598
— David Stewart, Duke of (d. 1402), 93, 94
Roubay, M. de, 185
Roundabout Raid, the, 218
Rous, Francis, 385
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 591
Roxburgh, 38, 41, 66, 74, 80, 85, 89, 90, 96, 102, 122, 125
Royal Burghs, 38, 47, 79, 108, 509, 510, 514, 518, 524, 597, 607
Rule Britannia, 586
Rump Parliament, 414
Rupert, Prince, 369, 372
Russell, Lord John, 595, 611
Rutherford, Alison, 581
Rutherglen Declaration (1679), 448
Ruthven, Patrick, 3rd Baron (d. 1556), 218
— William, 4th Baron (d. 1584), *see* Gowrie, 1st Earl of
— Castle, 246
— Raid, 246, 251, 270
Rye House Plot, 465

Sacheverell, Henry, 529, 530
Sadler, Sir Ralph, 167 f.
St Aidan, 15
— Andrews, 197, 247, 279, 336, 364, 399
— — See of, 25, 28, 44, 53, 57, 67, 93, 96, 116, 124, 143, 155, 166, 173, 176, 178, 195, 254, 432, 458
— — University of, 95, 324
— Augustine, 15
— Bartholomew, Massacre of, 229, 241
— Columba, 12 f.
— Germain-en-Laye, Treaty of, 310, 526
— Giles', Edinburgh, 237, 322, 330
— Kentigern, 14
— Mungo, 14
— Ninian, 9
— Salvator's College, St Andrews, 96
Salisbury, Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of (d. 1612), 285
— conference (1289), 58
Salmon fishing, 110
Salt duty, 509

Sanquhar Declaration (1680), 452, 454
Sanquharians, 454 f.
Saxe, Marshal Maurice de, 552
Scone, 21, 28, 29, 51, 64, 72, 76, 80, 196, 304
Scota, Princess, 1
Scots, 1, 8, 12
— Plot (1703), 502
Scots wha hae, 584
Scott, Sir Walter, 91, 114, 133, 163, 547, 552, 563, 564, 580, 587 f., 595, 603, 605, 610
Seafield, James Ogilvy, 1st Earl of (d. 1730), 500, 519, 532
Seaforth, William Mackenzie, 5th Earl of (d. 1740), 539, 544
Secession Church, First, 613 f., 627
Seekers, 388
Sempill, Francis, 550, 552
— Robert, 579
Semple, Gabriel, 435
Separatists, 388
Session, Court of, 84, 109, 280, 306, 315, 332, 359, 424
Seven Earls, the, 37, 60
Severus, Emperor, 8
Shaftesbury, Anthony Cooper, 1st Earl of (d. 1683), 446
Sharp, Archbishop James, 425 f., 448
— Archbishop John, 507
Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 599
Sheriffs, 47, 68, 141
Shetlands, *see* Western Isles
Sheves, William, 124
Shipping, 575
Short Parliament, 346
Shrewsbury, George Talbot, 4th Earl of (d. 1538), 159
— Charles, Duke of (d. 1718), 534
Sibbald, Sir Robert, 468
Sibylla, Queen of Scotland, 28
Simson, John, 613
Sixty Bishops, the, 481
Skelton, John, 160
Skinner, John, 579, 582
Skirving, Adam, 582
Slains Castle, 271
Smith, Adam, 564, 569, 590, 591, 592, 593
Smith, Sydney, 595, 605
Smollett, Tobias George, 564, 571, 586, 590
Smuggling, 547
Sobieska, Maria Clementina, 544
Solemn League and Covenant, 368 f., 394 f.
Somerled, King of the Isles, 41
Somerset, Edward Seymour, 1st Duke of (d. 1552), 174, 177, 180
— Charles, 6th Duke of (d. 1748), 534
Songs of Scotland Ancient and Modern, 585
Sophia, Electress of Hanover (d. 1714), 495, 501, 503, 508, 517, 533
Soulis, William de, 75
South Shields, 372
Southwark, 560
Southwell, 377, 381
Spanish Blanks, 266 f.
— Fury, 229
— Succession, War of, 496
Spottiswoode, Archbishop John, 300, 303, 315 f.
Squadrone Volante, 505 f., 525
Stair, John Dalrymple, 1st Earl of (d. 1707), 470, 477, 487
Start, the, 402
State, Officers of, 37, 359, 424, 479
Stephen, King of England, 30 f.
Sterne, Laurence, 583
Steuart, Sir James, 594
Steward, Hereditary, 37, 86
Stewart, Alexander, 104
— Alexander, Archbishop of St Andrews, 143
— Lady Arabella, 277, 285
— Prince Charles Edward, 522, 545, 551 f., 561, 581, 584, 585
— Dugald, 594, 599, 603
— Cardinal Henry, 559
— Lady Isabel, 87
— James, High Steward, 57, 60
— James, of Bothwellmuir, *see* Arran, James, Earl of
— Sir James, of Lorn, 113, 133

Stewart, Prince James Francis Edward, Chevalier de St George, 472, 498, 513, 526 f., 533, 545, 550, 555, 560, 561
— James More, 104
— Sir John, of Dundonald, 104
— Sir Robert, 106, 107
— Walter (d. 1177), 86
— Walter (d. 1327), 86
— Walter (d. 1425), 103, 104
— of Ardshiel, 553
— Family of, 86
Stewarton, 624
Stirling, 38, 104, 196, 198, 224, 239, 333, 391, 402, 537 f., 555, 558, 560, 615
— Castle, 53, 67, 70, 74, 81, 113, 118, 121, 124, 125, 135, 155, 156, 162, 174, 225, 226, 246, 252, 437, 472, 558
Stracathro, 64
Strachan, 592
— Colonel Archibald, 402, 404
Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of (d. 1641), 348, 349, 351
Strange, Sir Robert, 564
Strathbogie Castle, 211, 212, 271, 375
Strathclyde, Kingdom of, 11, 14, 17, 19, 27
Strathearn, Malise Graham, Earl of (d. *c.* 1490), 104, 114, 120
— Earldom of, 121
Strozzi, Leo, 179
Sunday Schools, 619
Superiorities and Teinds, Commission for surrender of, 319 f.
Supplicants, 332 f.
Surrey, John de Warenne, 3rd Earl of (d. 1304), 64
Sutherland, John Gordon, 15th or 16th Earl of (d. 1733), 537
Swift, Jonathan, 521

Tables, the, 333 f.
Tacitus, Cornelius, 5
Tam o' Shanter, 584
Tanaus, 5
Tannahill, Robert, 585
Tantallon Castle, 105
Tea-Table Miscellany, 580
Teinds, titulars of, 317 f.
Telford, Thomas, 578
The Battle of the Baltic, 586
The Boatie rows, 582
The Braes of Yarrow, 581
The Campbells are coming, 585
The Castle of Indolence, 586
The Cotter's Saturday Night, 584
The Evergreen, 580
The Fatal Discovery, 571
The Flowers of the Forest, 581, 582
The Gentle Shepherd, 580
The Hundred Pipers, 585
The Lady of the Lake, 588
The Laird o' Cockpen, 585
The Lament of Flora Macdonald, 585
The Lay of the Last Minstrel, 588
The Lord of the Isles, 588
The Pleasures of Hope, 586
The Seasons, 586
The Shipwreck, 586
The Skylark, 585
The Thistle and the Rose, 149
The Vision, 584
The Waukin' o' the Fauld, 580
The White Cockade, 584
Theodosius, 8
There's nae Luck aboot the Hoose, 582
Thirds of Benefices, assumption of, 201, 242
Thistle, Order of the, 470
Thomson, James, 564, 586
— William, 564
Threave Castle, 120
Throckmorton, Francis, 251, 255
Thurot, Captain François, 569
To a Mountain Daisy, 584
To a Mouse, 584
Torphichen, 617
Torphichen, —, 124
Torwood, 404, 455
Toshach, 37
Touraine, Duchy of, 115
Towneley, Francis, 557
Tranent, 604
Traquair, John Stewart, 1st Earl of (d. 1659), 345, 346, 356
Trent, Council of, 229
Trew Law of Free Monarchies, 288

NOV 27 1991

SEP 30 1996

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